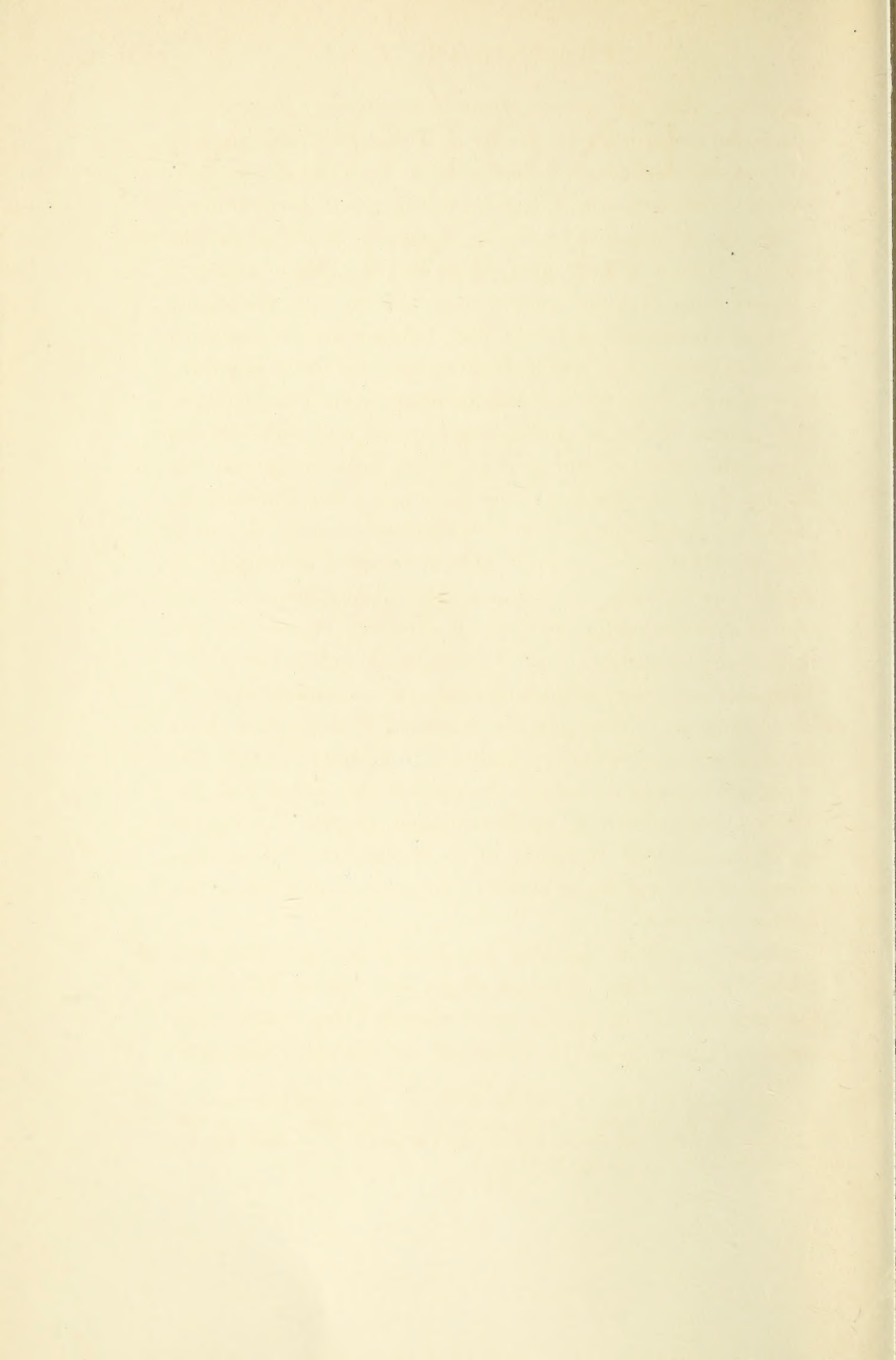


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XENOPHON

HELLENICA

TEXT BY

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OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1906

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XENOPHON

HELLENICA

EDITED BY

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OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

WITH BY

G. E. BURNETT

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1900

XENOPHONTIS

OPERA OMNIA

RECOGNOVIT

BREVIQUE ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVXIT

E. C. MARCHANT

E COLLEGIO SANCTAE ET INDIVIDVAE TRINITATIS APVD OXONIENSES

TOMVS I

HISTORIA GRAECA

OXONII

E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO

OXONII

Excudebat Horatius Hart

Typographus academicus

PRAEFATIO

XENOPHONTIS Opera omnia retractanti, quae olim Ludovicus Dindorf multa cum laude recensuit, mihi erat consilium editionis Oxoniensis simul textum propius ad scripturam codicum optimorum reducere, simul apparatus criticum ita purgare et emendare ut cum novis fortasse augerem copiis tum omnia constanter delerem quae aut mendosa aut parvi essent pretii. Permulta igitur quae commemoravit Dindorf eieci; multa e codicibus ab aliis posterius eruta silentio praetermisi. Imprimis autem id mihi agendum arbitratus sum ut quae in libris manuscriptis tradita erant ea, si ullo modo tolerari possent, in textu retinerem potius quam coniecturam acciperem veri quidem simillimam, sed non fatalem, ut ita dicam, et necessariam. Orthographiam tamen contra libros correxi nulla plerumque varietatis mentione facta.

Quod autem ad *Ἑλληνικά* sive *Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν* attinet, anno 1890 edidit Otto Keller, qui codices B D M V C F alios tanta cum diligentia partim a sese partim ab aliis collatos adhibuit ut in tanto illo tamque immenso campo nullum iam inexploratum reliquerit angulum. Itaque cum apparatus critici ornandi munus obirem, leve mihi impositum est onus eorum eligendorum quae ad institutum huius editionis quad-

PRAEFATIO

rare videbantur, additis quas ipse praesto habebam et meis et aliorum coniecturis. Sed nova quaedam nuper accessere subsidia Hellenica relegenti haudquam spernenda. Quas vero invenerunt lacinias Grenfell et Hunt, et ediderunt in libro qui Oxyrhynchei Papyri I inscribitur, saeculi II esse opinantur: sed ita sunt exiles ut non multa inde colligere audeamus de Xenophontis contextu. Ad III. I, 6 vera forma *συνέ-μειξαν* ostenditur. Mox sequitur *προσέλαβεν καί*; neque scio an recte iudicent Gemoll alique Xenophonten nonnunquam *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν* ante consonantem addidisse: certe hic illic exhibent codices B H et papyrus Π ubi ceteri libri omittunt. Verum maioris sunt momenti quae eodem fere tempore vulgavit R. Wessely fragmenta papyracea libri primi. Quamvis enim negligenter scripta, satis demonstrant Xenophontis contextum ineunte saeculo III haud ita multum discrepasse ab eo quem nunc legimus. Olim pars erant exemplaris privati cuiusdam in usum conscripti: hodie in bibliotheca regia Vindobonensi servantur. Necesse mihi visum est vitia vel manifesta quibus scatet papyrus ille in apparatu referre, quo facilius in iis quoque rebus de quibus minus liqueret iudicarent lectores quanta librario sit tribuenda fides. Si quis rationem scribendi perscrutabitur, videbit his fragmentis hic illic luculentissime confirmari cum lapidum vetustorum testimonia, tum virorum doctorum praecepta.

Inter codices melioris quae dicitur familiae quantopere ceteros bonitate antecellat codex B nemo ignorat. Dolendum sane praestantissimum illum codicem in libro septimo miserrime esse truncatum. Sed quae illi desunt, ea in codicibus melioris familiae M D V H Pal.

PRAEFATIO

integra exstant, quorum H et Pal. in hac recensione paranda primi adhibuimus. Est autem codex H, qui in Musaeo Britannico exstat, saeculi XIV chartaceus. Praeter Hellenica (fol. 1-84) insunt Xenophontis Hipparchicus (fol. 85-90), Hiero (fol. 91-95), de Re Equestri (fol. 95-101), Lacedaemoniensium Respublica (fol. 101-106), Commentarii (fol. 107-136), Oeconomicus (fol. 137-151), Convivium (fol. 152-159), Cynegeticus c. 1 (fol. 160). Sed alia manu scripta sunt folia 1-84, alia fol. 85-160: et quin e duobus vel pluribus voluminibus hoc unum sit conflatum idcirco dubitari non potest quod ultima verba Hellenicorum olim in summo folio 85 scripta nunc desideramus; cum autem ceterae codicis chartae octonae sint conglutinatae, folia 81-84 contextionis ratione interrupta separatim esse coniuncta volumen inspicienti satis apparet. In libri quinti capite primo ea quae archetypo codicum melioris familiae foedissime mutilato defuerunt primum quidem necessitate coactus omisit librarius, relictis plerumque lacunis maioribus quam pro numero litterarum perditarum. Idem postea codicem nactus deterioris familiae lacunas illas explevit. Sed cum ad v. 1, 5-6, ubi plura desiderantur, nullam reliquisset lacunam, eum unum locum sarcire supersedit. In nostro codice ι subscriptum perraro additur, saepe per librarii negligentiam verba omittuntur aut depravantur.

Pal.=Palatinus 140 bibliothecae Vaticanae, saeculi xiv bombycinus. Nihil praeter Hellenica continet. Huius codicis G.E. Underhill, qui ipse paucis ante annis inspexerat, conferendum curavit librum septimum, et collationem, qua est benevolentia, mecum communi-

PRAEFATIO

cavit. Ut minus saepe quam H a ceteris codicibus discrepat, ita eo fortasse pluris esse videatur quod nunquam fere delirat. Fatendum tamen nullas inde fruges percipi posse quae non in codicibus M D iam antea fuerint repertae. In varietatibus autem memorandis ut aliorum ita Britannici et Palatini brevitatis causa multa consulto praetermisi quae memoratu indigna iudicavi.

Nonnunquam mentionem feci codicis X, deterioris familiae, quem nuper contulit descripsitque G. Jorio. Est Neapolitanus saeculi XV chartaceus, et proxime ad indolem codicis F accedit. Haec prorsus commemorari debebant: in lib. III. 5, 24 *χωρίων τούτων* exhibet X pro *χωρίων του*, et in lib. IV. 6, 1 *αὐτῇ*, ubi ceteri falsam habent lectionem *αὐτῶ*.

Ceterum monendus lector signo [Π] in apparatu nostro significari Π ibi deficere.

E. C. M.

Scriebam Londini

mense Ianuario a. M.DCCCC.

XENOPHONTIS OPERA

TOMVS I	HISTORIA GRAECA
TOMVS II	COMMENTARII
	OECONOMICVS
	CONVIVIVM
	APOLOGIA SOCRATIS
TOMVS III	EXPEDITIO CYRI
TOMVS IV	INSTITVTIO CYRI
TOMVS V	OPVSCVLA

SIGLA

- P = duae lacinae pap. saeculi II (III. i, 3-7)
Π = fragmenta papyracea saeculi III (I. ii, 2-I. v, 8)
B = cod. Parisinus 1738
M = cod. Ambrosianus Mediolanensis A 4 inf.
H = cod. Britannicus 5110
Pal = cod. Palatinus 140
D = cod. Parisinus 1642
V = cod. Venetus Marcianus 368
C = cod. Parisinus 2080
F = cod. Perizonianus Lugduno-Batavus 6
F₂ = coniecturae cod. F additae
X = cod. Neapolitanus XXII
vulg. = lectio editorum vetustiorum

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Α

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἰ
Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμά-
χησαν αὐτῇσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ 2
5 τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον
εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα
ἡμέρα. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν,
ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ
10 τριήρεις, ὥς ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων 3
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδντον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατό-
πεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην 4
ἐν Ἰλῖφ θύων τῇ Ἀθηναῖ, ἐβόηθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ
15 καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς
μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμά- 5
χησαν περὶ Ἀβυδὸν κατὰ τὴν ἡύονα, μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.
καὶ τὰ μὲν νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ

5 τούτων secl. Kondos
Kondos : ἤννε marg. C

XEN. HELL.

7 ἐσήμανε codd. 10 ἤνοιγε] ἤννε
16 ἀνταναγόμενοι codd. : corr. Hertlein

- 6 δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι νανσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελο-
 ποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
 παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπείσβαινων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
 μέχρι δυνατόν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἱππεῦσι
 7 καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ 5
 Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο.
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων
 λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς
 8 Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλη
 ὥχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ 10
 Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε
 9 ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων. μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον· ἀφικόμενον
 δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα
 ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἴρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν 15
 10 βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστε-
 ρον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος
 ἐν Καρία ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζο-
 11 μενάς· οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα νανσὶν ἐξήκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς 20
 Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζο-
 μενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι
 αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς
 Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς
 12 περιπλεῖν ἐκέλευσε. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη 25
 αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπείσπλει Θηραμένης
 εἴκοσι νανσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος
 εἴκοσιw ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφοτέροι ἡργυρολογηκότες.
 13 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις
 τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθρόαι δὲ 30
 γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς

I δεούσαιw codd. praeter M

15 εἴρξεν codd.

22 ἐπακτρίσι B

4 αὐτοῦ codd.

30 ἀθρόαι codd. ut ubique

11 εἰς om. B

ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου
 ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόννησον. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος 14
 ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεξοῦ. ταύτην
 μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκι-
 5 βιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη
 εἶη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεξομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ
 ἔστιν, ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ
 βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὠρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα 15
 πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς
 10 ἐξαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ
 τε, ὃς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν
 ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος ὥς ἐπὶ 16
 ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῶ. ἐπειδὴ
 δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου
 15 ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας
 πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα
 οὐσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων 17
 τριήρεις οὐσας πλείους τε πολλῶ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 λιμένι, ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς
 20 ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς 18
 εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν
 δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέ-
 θανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ὥχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόννησον πλὴν
 25 τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαισαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι.
 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ 19
 δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλι-
 πόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ 20
 μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν
 30 παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ
 πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἔπλευσεν
 εἰς Πέρηνθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέ- 21

- ξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον· Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο
 22 μὲν οὖν, χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῆς
 Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατευ-
 τήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς 5
 τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὐμαχον, τοῦ
 τε χωρίου ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ
 τι ἄλλο δύναιντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
 23 στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ὥχοντο. παρὰ δὲ Ἴππο-
 κράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα 10
 πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε· Ἐρρεῖ τὰ
 κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίοιμες
 24 τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννη-
 σίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ
 ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων, ὥς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ, 15
 ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ
 ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνῶν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναῦτας φύλακας
 25 κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας
 τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε
 ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, 20
 χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζων.
 26 ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἄμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ
 τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων
 μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρα-
 κοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα 25
 διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.
 27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων
 στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέ-
 σαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγο-
 ρούντος ἀπωλοφύρουτο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὥς ἀδίκως 30

3 Χαλκηδονίας codd. : Καλχηδονίας Π Β ad i. 3, 2 8 δύναντο Β : ἡδύ-
 ναντο cet. 11 ἐάλω Cobet 12 κᾶλα Bergk : καλὰ codd. Μίνδαρος
 δ' codd. : δ' om. Plutarch., Eustath. ἀπέσσυα Β 17 φύλακας C :
 φυλακὰς cet. 29 προηγορούντος V : προηγούντος cet.

φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους
εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
πρὸς τὰ αἰεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας,
μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοή- 28
5 σαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι
καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν
στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοῖη τι
αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι, μεμνημένους Ὅσας τε
ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε,
10 ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων,
τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ
διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
ὑπάρχουσαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένον, δεομένων ἔμι- 29
ναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ αὐτ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ'
15 Ἐπικύδου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος.
τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατάξιν αὐτούς,
ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβού-
λοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίᾳ δὲ <οἱ> πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτην 30
προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ
20 προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὦν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικε-
στάτους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν,
ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρῶ καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς
τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεκοινοῦτο ὃ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν
ἢ πράττειν, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ
25 τοῦ παραχρήμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμο- 31
κράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἡυδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν
καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους

1 παρὰ τὸν νόμον secl. Nauck 4 μέχρις codd. ut saepe 7-8 εἰ δέ
... διδόναι post ὑπάρχουσιν (13) legit Schenkl, inter πόλιν et μεμνημένους
lacunam statuens 8-13 μεμνημένους... ὑπάρχουσιν Schneider post
αὐτ' ἐκείνων (4), Dind. post παραγγελλόμενα (3) transposuit 9 τε
post αὐτοὶ add. codd. praeter C 14 τ' Ἐπικύδου Cobet : τε πιδόκου
codd. 17 ὅπη B 18 οἱ add. Steph. 22 τὸ πρῶτ vel
τοπρῶτ codd. : corr. Wolf συναλίζων Morus : συναυλίζων codd.
23 ἀνεξινούτο Suidas 27 sqq. κατηγορήσας... τριήρεις del.
Brückner

ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον 5 τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

- 32 Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου στάσεως γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ Λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμοστής Ἑτεόνικος. κατατισταθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πράξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος 10 ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ
- 33 παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἅγισ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θρά- 15 συλλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον,
- 34 ὥς μαχούμενος, ἂν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἅγισ ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι 20 προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ
- 35 πεντήκοντα. Ἅγισ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾷ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σίτος φοιτᾷ· 25 κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.
- 36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεῖσῶν νεῶν ἕκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ὄχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλ- 30 λυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν,

14 τῶν Ἀθηναίων secl. Nauck
25 σχήση B 26 καὶ secl. Dind.

16 γυμνάσιον secl. Cobet

αἱ ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον
 εἰς † Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. καὶ 37
 ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγουμένου
 στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἰροῦσιν
 5 ἐν τρισὶ μῆσι δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινούντα καὶ Ἱμέραν.

Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, Π
 ἥ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στά-
 διον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ
 Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτῆμονος,] Ἀθη-
 10 ναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τά τε ψηφισθέντα
 πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς
 ποιησάμενος, [ὥς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένοις,] ἐξέπλευσεν
 ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μέινας τρεῖς ἡμέρας 2
 ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελαν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήρην καὶ
 15 προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές
 τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὄντας
 τοὺς ψιλούς ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν 3
 δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλούς ἀπέκτειναν
 ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον
 20 ὥς διακοσίας, καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευ- 4
 σαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο
 εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφῶνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς
 ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ
 σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον
 25 καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ 5
 Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας,
 βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἓνα μὲν ζῶν ἐλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ

2 Σηστόν] Ἀβυδὸν cit. Breitenbach 2-5 καὶ . . . Ἱμέραν del.
 Sievers 6-9 ᾧ . . . Εὐκτῆμονος del. Marsham 12 ὥς . . . ἐσομένοις
 del. Morus : ἐσομένοις] χρησόμενος Weiske 14 Πύ]γελα : hic
 incipiunt frag. Π 15 προσέβαλλε [Π] B : προσέβαλε C F με(ιλ)-
 ητ(ου) Π 16 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὄντας Π : ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων cet.
 18 αὐτῶν B alii 28 βοηθήσας τισὶ τῶν παρόντων ἱππέων Holwerda :
 βοηθήσας μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων Madvig

- 6 ἀπέκτεινε. Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θά-
 λατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὥς εἰς Ἑφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τισσα-
 φέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε
 7 εἰς Ἑφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη 5
 καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἑφεσον ἀπέπλευσε,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς
 δὲ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ
 8 ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 10
 ἐβοήθησαν ὁσφίσιν ὅς τε σύμμαχοι οὖς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε,
 καὶ Συρακόσιοι ὅς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ
 ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι
 μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἰππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀρι-
 9 στογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες 15
 πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν·
 τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥσεί
 ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ
 τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κακεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώ-
 10 λυντο αὐτῶν ὥς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἑφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα 20
 ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις
 καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεία ἔδωκαν καὶ
 κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βου-
 λομένῳ αἰεὶ. Σελινουσίοις δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ
 11 πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους 25
 ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κακεῖ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς
 12 ἔπλεον εὐθὺς Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. ὁρμῶντες δὲ ἐν
 Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεύσας ἐξ Ἑφέσου τὰς
 Συρακοσίας ναὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες
 τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν 30

4 συνελεγεν Π 6 α(πεπλευσεν) Π: ἔπλευσε(ν) cet. 11 σφίσιν]
 Ἑφέσιοι Sauppe, Ἑφεσίοις Kurz: σὺν δὲ σφίσιν Simon 15 καὶ
 Σελινούσiai δύο secl. Büchsenschütz 22 ἔδωκαν] ἔδοσαν Cobet
 24 ἀπολώλει Π C F 26 ἐπλευσαν Π 27 εὐθυ Π: ἐπὶ cet.

εἰς Ἑφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θράσυλλος 13
 εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναῖον,
 Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐν-
 τεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα.
 5 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπαντα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χει- 14
 μὼν ἐπῆει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τοῦ
 Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες
 νυκτὸς ὄχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ 15
 Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ
 10 πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου
 συντάττεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἡττη-
 μένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον
 τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδὸν· Φαρνάβαζος 16
 δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν.
 15 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλι-
 τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος
 ἀφείλετο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται 17
 αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξήλθον
 δέ τινες καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον
 20 καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ 18
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφ-
 εστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν
 καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους,
 ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας,
 25 προέδωσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους σὺν
 τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἄρμωστῇ Λαβῳτῇ. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς 19
 ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν
 βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς III
 30 ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστήρης ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε,
 Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους,

3 ὄντα] δε Π συμφυγάδα Π κατέλευσεν Π cet. : ἀπέλυσεν Wolf
 11 κείνοι B 12 δῆ] δὲ B 13 πρὸς] εἰς Hertlein 29 Φωκαῖα Π 30 ἐν-
 πεσόντος Π 31 Παντακλέους . . . παρεληλυθότων del. Marsham, habet Π

ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτων τῷ πολέμῳ παρ-
 εληλυθότων, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον παντὶ
 2 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον
 ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνη. οἱ δὲ
 Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν 5
 λείαν ἅπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θράκας, ἀστυ-
 3 γείτονας ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν
 ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας,
 ἔλθων εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆγει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων
 χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπ- 10
 4 ἔδοσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν
 τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστει πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν
 Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν
 5 καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθα
 Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 15
 ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥς μαχομένους· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
 ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξωθεν τῶν περιτει-
 6 χισμάτων ἐβοήθει στρατιᾷ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἴπ-
 ποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς
 ὀπλίταις χρόνον πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας 20
 τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἴπποκράτης μὲν
 ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
 7 ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμεῖξαι πρὸς τὸν
 Ἴπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν
 ἀποτευχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον 25
 8 τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ
 τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ὄχετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ
 εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ
 συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνας εἴκοσι

1 ἐτοῖν Π cet., corr. Dind., qui δυοῖν . . . παρεληλυθότων secl.
 6, 7 βειθυνους, οπλειτων Π 14 οἶον [Π] B: om. cet. 17 ἐξωθεν Π:
 ἔξω cet. 18 ἐβοήθει Π: προσεβοήθει cet. 19 θρασυλλος Π:
 θράσυλος BMD: θρασύλος CF hic et ubique 20 οπλε(ιτ)αις Π
 μέχρι ΠB: μέχρις cet. 23 συμμειξαι Π: συμμίξαι cet. 24 στενο-
 πορίαν B: στενωπορίαν Π: στενοχωρίαν cet.

τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα
 πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδωσαν καὶ 9
 ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχη-
 δονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα
 5 χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχη-
 δονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν.
 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὄρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ 10
 Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἐλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκεν,
 ἔχων Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης στρατιώτας
 10 καὶ ἱππέας πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν 11
 δεῖν κἀκεῖνον ὁμνύναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι
 ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὁμείσθαι,
 εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὁμείται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν 12
 ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ
 15 Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυ-
 πτολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε κοινὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις
 πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῆει, 13
 καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν
 ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν
 20 Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος,
 σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος· ἐπο-
 ρεῦντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ
 ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἥδη φεύγων ἐκ
 Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. καὶ Φαρνά- 14
 25 βαζος μὲν τούτους ἦγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον
 ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολι-
 σμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν 15

2 ἔδωσαν καὶ ἔλαβον [Π] B: ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωσαν cet. 3 παρὰ Φαρνα-
 βάζου Π B: πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον cet. 4 ὅσονπερ] ὡνπερ Π 5 μὴ]
 μηδε Π 7 τοῖς τε Π cet. 8 σηλυμβριαν Π B: σηλυβριαν cet.
 κείνην Π B C M D: 'κείνην F ἦκεν] οἱ ἦκεν Π 9 χερρονησιετας Π
 10 ιππεας Π: ἱππεῖς cet. 11 μέχρι ἔλθοι Π B G: μέχρις ἔλθη F M D
 12 δε ἦκεν Π: δ' ἦλθεν cet. ὁμείσθαι] ὁμεισαι Π 20 Φιλοκύδης
 Dind.: Φιλοδίδης C pr.: Φιλοδίκης B C corr. cet.: Φιλόδικος Riemann
 22 πρέσβεις secl. Kurz 26 ἀκροβολιζμος Π

Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρμοστής καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν
 περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Με-
 γαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἑλιξος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὶ
 16 καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς οὐδὲν
 ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυ- 5
 17 ζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἄρμοστής
 οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα
 ὥς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοι-
 ρατάδα καὶ Ἑλίξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ
 πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος 10
 καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι
 καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασσιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀν-
 τάνδρῳ καὶ ἄς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης
 ὦν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἀθροαὶ δὲ
 γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων 15
 ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.
 18 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν
 τῶν Βυζαντίων, Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ
 19 Λυκοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος (ὃς ἐπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον
 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ἀπολογού- 20
 μενος ὅτι οὐ προδιδοίη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι, παῖδας
 ὀρώων καὶ γυναικας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ
 οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σῆτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ 25
 20 μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκ-
 τὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλουμένας
 21 εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἑλιξος
 καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ

4 κοιραταδης Π 5 ἠδύναντο Π cet. 11 post ἄλλαι add. ἄλλη
 Schäfer 12 καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ post ὅπως (14) transposuit Trieber
 18 Βυζαντίων πρὸς ἔργον ἐτράποντο· ἦσαν δὲ οἷδε· coni. Hartman
 19 επαγομενος Π : ὑπαγόμενος cet. 20 απολογουμενος Π : εἰπὼν V :
 om. cet. 21 προδιδοιη Π : προδοίη cet. 22 απολλυμένους Π Β :
 απολλυμενας cet. 27 καλούμενον Dind.

πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον,
οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὃ τι ποιήσαιεν, παρέδωσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς.
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας 22
ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρᾶς καὶ
5 ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδείῳ IV
ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα
ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς 2
παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἳ τε Λακεδαι-
10 μονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιος [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὧν δέονται
πάντων πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων 3
πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις,
ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλείον σφράγισμα
15 ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον
τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.
ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ 4
Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνα-
βῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ 5
20 εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδὲ πω
ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ
πραπτόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσ- 6
βεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ
δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὥς μὴδὲν μέμψησθε· ἐπειδὴ δὲ 7
25 ἐνιαυτοὶ ἦσαν τρεῖς, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς,
φάσκων ὁμωμοκέναι καὶ ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ
παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι
αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν
πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

3-5 Κοιρατάδης ... αποδρᾶς ... απεωθη ... δεκελιαν Π 6 Γορδεῖω
Π: Γορδίῳ cet.: Γορδιείῳ Dind. 10 ὄνομα secl. Kurz: vocem
agnoscit Π 11 ἄγγελοι secl. Holwerda καὶ ἔλεγον] λεγοντες Π
πάντων ὧν δέονται praeter Π omnes 18 μάλιστα μὲν Schneider
22 κατεσχε Π 24 μεμψησθε Π: μέμψηται C F M al.: πέμψηται B
25 ἦσαν τρεις Π: τρεῖς ἦσαν cet. 26 καὶ Π: om. cet.

- 8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπο-
 πλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν
 τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν
 9 κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν
 Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης 5
 ὤχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
 μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσιν κακῶς ὑπό
 10 τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ
 σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ
 ἦκεν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγούς εἶλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην 10
 μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον
 11 ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ
 χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν
 δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς
 ἐπυνθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, 15
 καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἢ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοι.
 12 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν
 ἡρημένον καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατ-
 ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ἧ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἢ πόλις,
 τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο 20
 ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ
 οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι
 13 ἂν ᾔψασθαι. καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
 καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαν-
 μάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες 25
 [ὅτι] οἱ μὲν ὥς κράτιστος εἶη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος
 [ἀπελογήθη ὥς] οὐδ' ἀδικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἑλαττον ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτενόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ

6 ἐκεῖ Herwerden : ἐκεῖθεν codd. 16 ὅπως] ὅπερ B εχοι Π : ἔχει
 cet. 17 αὐτὸν ἡρημένον Π : αὐτὸν ἡρημένους B al. : αὐτὸν αἰρουμένους C
 24 ἄστεος C F M D V 26 ὅτι del. Schneider 27 ἀπελογήθη
 ὥς secl. Brückner 28 μοχθηρότερόν C 29 κεινον Π δ' αὐ
 τό τε κοινὸν codd. [Π] : τε del. ed. Junt. : δ' del. Morus

τὸ κοινὸν αὖξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς
 πόλεως δυνατοῦ· ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα 14
 τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγεννημένης ὡς ἡσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια,
 ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα
 5 αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμυχανίας 15
 δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κιν-
 δυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ
 οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν
 ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίῃ φυγῇ ἀπειρ-
 10 γόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι 16
 καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν
 γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν
 τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς
 †τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἴοισπερ πρότερον†, ὕστερον δὲ δυνα-
 15 σθείσῃ ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λει-
 φθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι
 ἐτέροις βελτίσῃ οὐκ εἶχον χρήσθαι· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροι- 17
 χομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν
 ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσαι ἡγεμῶν κατα-
 20 στήναι. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε 18
 μὲν οὐκ εὐθύς, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους,
 εἰ παρείησαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, 19
 αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους
 25 μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν
 παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπτοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ 20
 βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἡσεβήκει,
 εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἡδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων
 καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν

1 τοῦ om. Π 12 ἐαυτῷ codd. [Π]: corr. Morus 14 τοιούτος
 οἴοσπερ codd. [Π]: τοιούτοις . . . οἴοις Morus: τοιούτους . . . οἴοιςπερ
 προσήκον E. Müller: τοιούτοις . . . οἴοις περιμένειν μὲν Zurborg: post
 πρότερον lacunam statuit Breitenbach 19 ὄντων] μελλόντων Lieb-
 hold 21 εὐθύς Π: εὐθέως cet. 23 κατειδεν Π 25 μετὰ
 αὐτων Π: μετὰ τῶν cet.

- ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς οἷός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρό-
 τερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν
 ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν
 21 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρα- 5
 τιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἵππείας δὲ
 πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν
 κατάπλουν τρίτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδεί-
 μαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡρημένοι κατὰ 10
 22 γῆν στρατηγοί. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασε
 τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
 Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς
 ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἱ αὐτόθι ἦσαν.
 23 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαῖον τε ἔστησε καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας 15
 ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κακείμενος ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.
 V Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ
 Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον
 ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς
 ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' 20
 εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα μέχρι
 2 οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεϊς ἀφίκετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς
 αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
 κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκὼς εἶη, αὐτοῦ
 τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὥς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέ- 25
 3 σθαι. Κῦρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ
 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων δὲ
 ἦκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιλίπη, τοῖς ἰδίοις
 χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα,
 καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν 30

2 πρότερον] πρῶτον Dind. [Π] 6 ἱππεῖς codd. 8 τρίτῳ] τετάρτῳ
 Cobet: πέμπτῳ al. 11 το στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασε Π: ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στρά-
 τευμα cet. 12 ἀνδρείας Π χώρας secl. Cobet 26 ταῦτα: fort. ταῦτὰ
 27 ἄλλ'] ἀλλα Π 28 ἐὰν] ἣν Π ἐπιλίπη Π: ἐκλίπη cet. 29 ἣν Π

καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐπῆρουν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν 4
τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὗτος
ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς
ναῦς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη 5
5 αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατόν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστει-
λεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως
ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι,
ὁπόσας ἂν βούλωνται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσαν- 6
δρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ
10 προπιῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν,
εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσ-
θείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον 7
δὲ τριῷβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι
μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον
15 εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, 8
ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους.
ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, 9
ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως
τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴδὲ οἷτινες ἰσχυροὶ ᾧσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες
20 ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσαν- 10
δρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν
τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἐπισκευά-
ζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύ- 11
βουλον ἕξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἦκοντα †τειχίζειν Φώκαιαν δι-
25 ἐπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον
τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς
Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ 12
ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐισπλεύσας παρ'
αὐτὰς τὰς πύργους τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ 13

I ταυτα τε Π: ταυτ' cet.

codd. mel.: ἐπέστειλλεν F₂

οφειλόμενον codd. [II]

14 προέδωκεν codd.: om. Π

16 Τισσα- 24 ἦκοντ' ἀποτευχίζειν coni. Hol-

werda: ἦκοντα περιτειχίζειν Krüger

5 ἐπέστειλεν Leonclavius: ἀπέστειλεν

13 προοφειλόμενον Leonclavius: προσ-

οφειλόμενον codd. [II]

16 Τισσα- 24 ἦκοντ' ἀποτευχίζειν coni. Hol-

werda: ἦκοντα περιτειχίζειν Krüger

- Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας
 ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν
 πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ
 δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς
 14 λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἥνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου 5
 δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρ-
 μέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαί-
 δεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον,
 οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν
 καὶ τροπαῖον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, 10
 15 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης
 ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα
 τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βού-
 λοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ
 τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. 15
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ
 16 Ἡϊόνα. οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυ-
 μαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειαν
 τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλέκεναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς
 εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, 20
 Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον,
 17 Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογέννην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονηρῶς
 καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν
 18 εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδρου σὺν αἰς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισαμένων 25
 Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἐπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ
 Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρον ἐπεμψαν Φανοσθένην, τέτταρας ναῦς
 19 ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν
 αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἔδωσαν
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωρίεα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, 30
 πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων

3 post δὴ lacunam statuit Hartman καὶ αὐτὸς Morus 5 ἥνοι-
 ξεν] ἥνυσεν Riemann 17 Ἡϊόνα] Τέων Schneider coll. Diod. 13, 76
 20 Λέοντα] Λυσίαν Zeune 31 Ἀθηνῶν καὶ secl. Dind.

κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν,
 πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφείσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα
 πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ 20
 ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις
 5 ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ
 ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε
 ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλήζετο. καὶ ὁ 21
 ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύ-
 σαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα
 10 μυριάσιν εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ, μάχη μὲν ἡττηθέντες,
 προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς μῆνας.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἦ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ VI
 ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηναῶν νεὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, [Πιτύα
 μὲν ἐφορεύοντας, ἄρχοντας δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν,] οἱ Λακε-
 15 δαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ
 τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτων] ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς
 ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς 2
 ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδῃ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παρα-
 διδοίῃ καὶ ναυμαχία νενικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ
 20 Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμον παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦναι, καὶ
 ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάν- 3
 δρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατί-
 δας πρὸς αἱς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν
 25 ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντή-
 κοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὐσας τετταράκοντα
 καὶ ἑκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.
 καταμαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, 4
 οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων
 30 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτειν ἐν

6 ἀναγόμενος codd. : corr. Hertlein 7-11 καὶ . . . μῆνας del. Unger
 13-14 Πιτύα . . . Ἀθήνησιν et mox καὶ . . . ἔτων secl. Dind. Πιτύα
 Dind. : πίτιος B al. : πίτυος V 19 fort. ναυμαχίαν 20, 21 οὐ . . .
 νῆες del. Cobet 21 τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦναι B : παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς cet.

τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων
γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις
ὥς χρηστέον οὐ γινωσκόντων †ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμ-
ποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ
τοῦτο†, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδης συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακε- 5
δαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε
ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ
κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ. ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς
πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὥς ἂν 10
δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι
καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται (ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ),
συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμέ
ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα
ἐνθάδε. 15

6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἴκοι πεί-
θεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κύρον ἦται μισθὸν
7 τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλ-
λικρατίδης δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας
φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς 20
Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἔνεκα ἀργυρίου,
φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῇ οἴκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν
διαλλάξιν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς
8 Μίλητον· κἀκεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ
χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν. 25

Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρχουσι πεί-
θεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλείστα κακὰ ἤδη

1 ἀεὶ διαλλάττειν Cobet 1-5 ἀνεπιτηδείων . . . τοῦτο corrupta :
alii alia ratione corrigunt ; sed omnia incerta : ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων Jacobs
2 ἄρτι] ἄριστα Liebhold 3 οὐ] εἶ Cobet 4 καὶ κινδυνεύοιεν
Weiske 5 δέ] δὴ Liebhold 7 μὲν om. codd. opt. 9 τὸ
Hertlein : τὰ codd. 13 συμβουλευέτε marg. cod. M m. r. : συμ-
βουλεύω codd. 19 τὰς θύρας C al. : ταῖς θύ(ή B)ραις M 22 ἦν
codd. αὐτοῦ B : αὐτῷ (ῶ) cet.

ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις 9
 συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἤκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ
 ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄζοντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσαν- 10
 5 ὁρος Κύρω ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα οἷχεται. Κῦρος δὲ
 ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν
 πεῖσαι. ὑπισχνοῦμαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν 11
 ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν
 10 ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξωμεν τοῖς βαρ-
 βάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς
 ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ 12
 αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρη-
 15 μάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα
 ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν
 ἐφοδιασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν πολεμίαν
 οὔσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμναίων προσχωρεῖν, 13
 ἀλλ' ἐμφροῦρων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα
 20 ἐχόντων ἀττικίζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ
 κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, 14
 τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς
 τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελεύοντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ
 τοὺς Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδέν, ἂν
 25 Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. τῇ δ' 15
 ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφήκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο.
 Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν.
 κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑπο-
 30 τεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε φύγοι.

6 αὐτοὺς B 10 δείξωμεν V 19 ἀλλ' ἐμφροῦρων ὄντων] ἅτ'
 ἐμφρουρούντων Cobet 21 διήρπασαν B: διήρπαζον cet. 24 οὐ-
 δέν' ἂν Naber: οὐδένα codd. 25 εἰς . . . δυνατὸν secl. Kruse κείνου
 B M: κείνου F al. 30 φύγοι B: φύγη cet.

- 16 Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν
 πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας,
 καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
 τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἑρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας
 δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν 5
- 17 καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὥς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
 κατακλυθεῖς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ
 ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον·
 τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει
- 18 ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος 10
 ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μετα-
 πεμφάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ
 στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.
- 19 ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν,
 καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ 15
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ
 μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα
 πλεύσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν
 τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην
- 20 ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλόν. τὴν 20
 μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνείχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ
 σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὥς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα
 μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες
 ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ 25
 λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ
- 21 πέλαγος. τῶν δ' ἐφορμούντων ὥς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον, τὰς τε
 ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοήθουν τεταραγ-
 μένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ

4 Λέων propter 7. 1 corruptum putat Morus 6 ἑβδομήκοντα]
 τετταράκοντα Cobet πολεμίων Fr. Portus : πολιτῶν codd. 15 σίτον
 B 20 παραλαβὼν codd. : corr. Steph. 27 ἤνοιγον] ἤνυτον Rie-
 mann post τε add. γὰρ Breitenbach 28 ἐγειρόμενοι] ἐπειγόμενοι
 Göller

ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ
 δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ, ἀναδησάμενοι
 ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ 22
 Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναὺς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς
 5 Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν
 Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὤρμισατο εἰς τὸν
 εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπι- 23
 πλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων
 δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγεννη- 24
 10 μένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν
 ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
 ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες
 τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκάτον ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, 25
 15 κἀκεῖθεν Σαμίας ναὺς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας
 πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν
 ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον
 ἕξω οὔσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ
 ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν 26
 20 Σάμῳ οὔσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναὺς καὶ
 ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεῖς
 ἔδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρα [ἀντίον τῆς
 Μυτιλήνης]. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 27
 25 τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρα] ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης. τῆς 28
 δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινων αὐτῷ ἐξαγγελιάντων ὅτι
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὥς ἐξαπιναίως
 προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώ-
 λυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 30 ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο 29

1 ἀφορμήσασαν Dind. : ἐφορμήσασαν codd. 2 δύνοντι C F : δύναντι
 B M 7 τὸν τῶν B : τῶν cet. 9 αὐτοῦ codd. 11 εἰσβιβάζοντες B
 13 τὰς om. codd. plerique 18 αἱ πᾶσαι] ἅπασαι B 22 ἀντίον
 τῆς Μυτιλήνης secl. Krüger 24, 25 ἀντίον . . . ἄκρα secl. Krüger

εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐώνυμφ, παρατεταγμένοι ὦδε. Ἀριστο-
 κράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί,
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἑτέrais πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο
 δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης·
 παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾷς τεταγ- 5
 μένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι Ἰππεύς· ἐχό-
 μεναι δ' <αἱ> τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷς· ἐπὶ
 δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι
 30 ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε
 πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἑτέrais 10
 πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων
 31 τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δὲ Ἀριστογένης. οὕτω δ'
 ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον.
 αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ
 μιᾷς ὥς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμένοι, διὰ 15
 τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.
 32 Ἑρμῶν δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριῆρεις τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων πολλῶ πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν
 ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη †οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται† αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, 20
 33 φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχροὺς ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν
 χρόνον πολύν, πρῶτον μὲν ἄθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμένοι.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὼς ἀποπεσὼν
 εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ'
 αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν 25
 Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς
 Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατ-
 34 ἐπλευσαν. ἀπώλουντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ

7 αἱ add. Stephanus μιᾶ(ι) plerique : μία B 17 Ἑρμῶν
 BC 19 ἦσαν] εἶεν Hartman 20 οὐδὲν μὴ] οὐδαμῇ
 Jacobs : οὐδὲν μὲν Schneider : secl. Büchschütz : οὐδέος μὴ
 Liebhold οἰκεῖται] οἰκῆται Liebhold : οἰκῆσει Breitenbach : οἰκῆ
 Riemann : οἰκίεῖται Paris. A. Ald. : οἰκτιεῖται Simon 21 ἔφη
 εἶναι B : εἶναι ἔφη cet. : ἔφη secl. Dind. 26 Χίον πλείστη, τινῶν δὲ
 Madvig

εἴκοσι αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν
 προσευεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικὰ μὲν
 ἑννέα, πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους
 ἢ ἐξήκοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς 35
 5 ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύ-
 βουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν
 ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδουκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους,
 ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορ-
 μούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμὼν
 10 διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον δὲ στήσαντες
 αὐτοῦ ἠύλίζοντο. τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλῃς πάντα 36
 ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν
 ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνούσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ
 διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὖθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν
 15 στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας
 νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώ-
 λασιν ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ 37
 ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις
 παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα
 20 σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον (ἣν δὲ τὸ
 πνεῦμα οὖριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ 38
 πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας.
 Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδε-
 δράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδίαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς
 25 Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ
 περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν
 Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν
 διαπραζάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμῳ.

Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν πλὴν VII
 30 Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἶλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον
 Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος 2

3 πασῶν] τῶν πασῶν Cobet
 ἐξ cet. 28 σάμῳ B C

4 καὶ secl. Schneider

5 ἑπτὰ D :

- μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένους οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἐξ
 καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου
 καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρασύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέ-
 δημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστῆκώς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς
 διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν 5
 κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν
 ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου· κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς
 στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δεῖσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην.
 3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τε
 τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους 10
 δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον
 4 παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλὴ ἔδῃσε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησίᾳ
 ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγοροῦν ἄλλοι τε καὶ
 Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι
 οὐκ ἀνείλυντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου 15
 καθήπτοντο, ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον ἣν ἔπεμψαν οἱ
 στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν
 5 αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο (οὐ γὰρ προυτέθη σφίσι
 λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον), καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι 20
 αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν
 ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ
 ἔστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις
 6 τοιούτοις· καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως
 οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς 25
 προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν,
 ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος
 τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων
 δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν
 συμπλεόντων πολλούς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· 30
 7 ἐβούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι

4 ὁ τοῦ δήμου B : om. cet.

διωκελείας C F 8 τὸν om. B

5 διωβελίας Dind. : διωκελείας B M :

14 ὑποσχεῖν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς B 16 ἣν

Stephanus : καὶ codd.

18 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα C F

25 αὐτοὺς del. Cobet

ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν (τότε γὰρ ὄψῃ
 ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων), τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προ-
 βουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνουντο.
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες 8
 5 καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν
 Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας
 καὶ ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα
 πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἤκοιεν. ὥς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν
 ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίξενον ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν
 10 τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλή 9
 εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος τήνδε·
 Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ
 ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι,
 διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλὰς· θεῖναι δὲ
 15 εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῇ
 κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ
 ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν
 ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν 10
 ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἑνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ
 20 τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι.
 παρήλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχεος 11
 ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους,
 ἔαν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ
 ἀνείλουντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.
 25 τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες 12
 συγγεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι
 τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆρουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος
 ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μή τις ἑάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν ὃ ἂν
 βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους 13
 30 τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἔαν

4 φράτερες Dind. 6 θηραμένη B F al. 9 καλλίξινον B M ut in
 §§ 9, 12, 14, 26, 35 13 προτεραία B M 17 ἐν om. B 20 δημεῦ-
 sai Riemann 25 προσεκαλέσαντο Morus: προσεκαλέσαντο codd.
 26 συγγεγραφέναι] γεγραφέναι Cobet

μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ
 14 ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεών
 των οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τὸν
 νόμον, αὐθις Καλλίξενος ἀναβὰς κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά.
 15 οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις 5
 φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους
 τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον
 16 πάντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε 10
 Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέ-
 δοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβου-
 17 λεύσω· ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ
 μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας βουλομένους
 πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ 15
 Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν
 18 ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλουντο. εἶτα νῦν τὴν
 αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτόντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς
 τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐπι-
 19 βουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὐκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι 20
 πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστ'
 ἀληθῇ πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε
 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεούς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτούς. συμβουλεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐθ' ὑπ'
 ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας 25
 εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἂν βούλησθε δίκην, καὶ ἅμα πάντας καὶ
 καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες
 αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον
 20 πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἵστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

1 κλήσιν Dobree: ἐκκλησίαν codd. 8 πάντα B Athenaeus:
 om. cet. 14 ἔπεισαν] μετέπεισαν Brückner: ἔπανσαν Goldhagen
 19 ὑπ' C al.: ἐπ' B al. 21 μάλιστα τὰληθῇ Weiske 23 τὰ
 μέγιστα εἰς Morus: εἰς τὰ μέγιστα codd 26 εἰδότες Castalio:
 εἰδότες codd. 27 μίαν] καὶ μίαν schol. in Demosth. cod. Patm.

πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καίρωνον ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ
 κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον
 ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀπο-
 θανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ
 5 δήμευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ 21
 ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν
 ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν
 (γάρ) μοί ἐστιν ἐκείνῳ περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην
 πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, 22
 10 ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν
 πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ,
 ἂν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα
 αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες 23
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρίνεσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον
 15 διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέ-
 γεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι [ἐάν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν
 ἐάν τε μή], ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορῆσαι, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ
 ἀπολογῆσασθαι. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες 24
 τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθή-
 20 σονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἄδικοῦντες ἀπο-
 λούνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσεβούμεντες καὶ εὖορ- 25
 κούμεντες κρίνεῖτε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς
 ἐκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας,
 τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ 26
 25 δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὦν ἂν
 βούλησθε ἀποκτείνετε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον
 κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξενος
 τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ;

2 τὸν om. B 3 ἀποθανεῖν . . . ἐμβληθέντα Dobree: ἀποθανόντα
 . . . ἐμβληθῆναι codd. 8 γὰρ Brodaeus: om. codd. 9 εἰ μὴ
 βούλεσθε Goldhagen 11 προδῶ B 14 τῶν νόμων Cobet
 κρίνεσθωσαν codd.: corr. Cobet 15-18 ἐνὸς μὲν . . . ἀπολογῆσασθαι
 Zurborg: ea sane quae seclusi non Xenophontis sunt 20 ἡμῶν
 B F M corr. ἀδικοῦντες] ἀδίκως Leonclavius: οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀδικοῦντες
 Stephanus: ἀδικοῦντες secl. Kurz 25 ἢ Madvig

- 27 ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα †ἀποκτείναιτε†, μεταμελήσει δὲ ὕστερον. †ἀναμνήσθητε† ὥς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἦδη ἔστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου
 28 ἡμαρτηκότες. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἶτα δ' Οἰνόνην προδιδόντι 5
 Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις οὔσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προύθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπο-
 29 στερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντας 10
 τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειράσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν 15
 ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας· Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς
 30 δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι· καὶ δοξάντων τούτων κατα- 20
 λιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, αὗται ἅπασαι γίνονται ἐπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἐκάστην
 31 ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειφ- 25
 θέντων <τῶν> τριηράρχων ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηρα-
 μένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν.

1 ἀποκτείναιτε Victorii H: ἀποκτείνητε codd. plerique: ἀποκτείνετε B
 2 μεταμελήσει] μεταμελήσῃ F₂ M D μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀναμνή-
 σθητε κτλ. Peter: ἀποκτείνητε, μεταμελήσεσθε Deedes: alii alia 3 ἀν-
 θρώπου Stephanus: ἀνθρώπους codd. 4 ἡμαρτηκότες omnes praeter F
 ποιήσαιτε Zeune: ποιήσῃτε B: ποιήσοιτε C al. 7 προύθετε F₂:
 προὔθετο B F₁: προὔθετο C M al. 10 ὄντες Peter 13 ἐπ' ὑπ' B M
 19 ἀμφότερ' ἂν Stephanus 20 καταλιπεῖν ἔταξαν Weiske 26 τῶν
 supplevi τριηράρχων del. Breitenbach

ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων
οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις
ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν μὴ
5 ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο
κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ 32
χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευά-
σαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου,
ὧν εἰς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεὼς δια-
10 σωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν
τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἥπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ
προσταχθέντα. μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν 33
τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττη-
μένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων
15 ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυ-
ναμίας [οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πράξαι
τὰ προσταχθέντα]. ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γε-
ραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις
πειθομένους.

20 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ 34
Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον·
ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων
δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτο-
λέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας
25 γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατ-
εψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὅκτῳ ὄντων·
ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἑξ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον 35
μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἷτινες τὸν δῆμον
ἐξήπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγνητὰς κατα-

2 καὶ καλῶς del. Dind.

3 τούτοις] τοῦτο Hartman: τούτους

vulg. 4 πρὸς] τὰ πρὸς Nauck 7 παρεσκευάσαντο] παρεκελεύ-

σαντο F 9 ἐπὶ] ἀπὸ Cobet: ἐκ cit. Keller 10 καὶ αὐτὸν . . .

ἀναιρέσεως del. Nauck 16 οὐχ . . . προσταχθέντα del. Brückner:

ἱκανοὺς γενομένους] ἱκανῶν γενομένων conl. Hartman

στήσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων, ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξενος δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ 5 ἄστυ, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

1 ἕως ἂν Stephanus: ἐὰν codd.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες, **I**
 ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζό-
 μενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ
 τροφήν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συν-
 5 ἴσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι·
 οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους
 μάθοιεν ὅποσοι εἴησαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ **2**
 Ἑτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ
 πλήθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς
 10 ἐπιχειρήσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμή-
 σωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι
 ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ
 ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο
 εἶναι, μή τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας διαβολὴν
 15 σχοίεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ᾧσιν·
 ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια **3**
 ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τιμὴ ὀφθαλ-
 μῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι,
 ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτῶντων τινῶν **4**
 20 διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ
 Ἑτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγ-
 γελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, αἰεὶ ὁ
 ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθείῃ ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἑτεό- **5**

νικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναὺς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην ναὺν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὥς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ 5
6 μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγόντες εἰς Ἑφεσον ἐβουλευσάντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν 10
7 προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὥς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἀρακόν· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι 15
8 ναὺς παρέδωσαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων].

8 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς [τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός], ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέω- 20
σαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν
9 δύναίτο ποιῆσαι. Ἱεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεῖν εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὃ δὲ αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὥς ἀρρωστών, πέμψας ἀγγέλους. 25
10 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντας δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἑφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἑτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ ποῦ τις ἦν,

1 συνεισενεγκεῖν C F: fort. recte 3 ἐσήμανεν codd. 13 ταῦτα
BC al. 16-17 ἐτῶν . . . παρεληλυθότων secl. Unger §§ 8, 9 del.
Unger 19, 20 τῆς . . . πατρός secl. Breitenbach 21 μόνον]
μόνῳ C F 22 χειρίς Stephanus: χειρός codd. 25 πέμψας ἀγγέ-
λους fort. secludendum 26, 27 ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου del. Marsham

καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπη-
 γείτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ἤτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ 11
 εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη, καὶ ἔτι
 πλείω πολλῶ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι,
 5 ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰργύριον, ἐπὶ τὰς 12
 τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλό-
 μενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ †πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμφατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ 13
 10 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκείνον
 καλοίη, ὣν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων,
 ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσε ἀφεστῶτας. ἤκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον 14
 οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῶ πλείους
 ναῦς ἔχη· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐαυτῷ,
 15 ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ
 πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι
 ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς
 εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ
 πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

20 Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδοὺς τὰ 15
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετὰπεμptos ἀνέβαινε,
 μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν
 Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρεῖαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβολῇ κατὰ
 25 κράτος αἰρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μιζοβάρβαροι
 οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκείθεν δ' ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' 16
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς
 ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ
 παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοῖς
 30 ὑπάρχουσι προσείλοντο Μένανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον.

1 τ' om. CF 8 πρὸς del. Kurz τὰ πρὸς conicio 10 κείνον codd.
 11 μηδείας BC F 17 ὡς] ἥς Nauck 21 πρὸς] παρὰ B 24 προσ-
 βολῇ del. Zurborg 28 ἐπὶ τὴν] τὴν ἐπὶ CF 30 προσείλοντο B:
 εἴλοντο cet. ὕ*

- 17 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἔκπλουν καὶ
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ
18 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία
αὐτοῖς ἦν. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμ- 5
ψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι παρήσαν περὶ. ἤγειτο δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος.
19 προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰρουῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρ-
πασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σίτου
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα 10
20 πάντα ἀφήκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας
πλέοντες ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιούντι ναυσὶν
ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀριστοποιουμένοις
αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν
21 εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν 15
εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διεῖχε δ' ὁ
Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτην σταδίου ὥς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα
22 δὲ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ
ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναὺς ἀριστοποιησαμένους
εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὥς εἰς ναυμαχίαν 20
καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλων, προεῖπεν ὥς μηδεὶς
23 κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν
μετώπῳ ὥς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύ-
σανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅψε ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς 25
24 τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν
νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι,
κατιδόντας ὃ τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι.
καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐταὶ ἦκον.
ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπαν- 30
25 ἤγοντο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν

1 ἐκπλεῖ] ἔπλει Dind. 4 ἐκ Weiske: ἐπὶ codd. 7 παρήσαν Dind.
12 ὠρμίσαντο B 18 δὴ] δὲ F 21 παραβαλὼν marg. ed. Basil.

Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμούντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει,
 τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους
 ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει
 ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ
 5 μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν παρήνυι πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς
 πόλιν· οὐ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ 26
 στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι
 αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνουν.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥχετο. Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη 27
 10 ἐπιπλέονσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις,
 ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ
 τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποιοῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκάστην
 ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονούντες
 δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμ-
 15 παλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ
 δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς 28
 ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμπαρήει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ
 τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμηνεν
 εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν
 20 ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι,
 αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν
 ἐπὶ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ'
 ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλεί-
 στους ἀνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ
 25 τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω 29
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ
 μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ
 ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος
 30 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγελοῦσα τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος 30
 δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα εἰς

5 πρὸς] εἰς Kurz
 μανε(ν) codd.

ἀπαγγελοῦσα V corr.

11 ἐπειδὴν D: ἐπὴν cet. (B?)

30 ἀπαγγέλλουσα B M D V: ἀπαγγέλουσα C F:

17 et 18 ἐσή-

Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους
 τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἥ δ' ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατειρ-
 γάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ληστήν εἰς
 Λακεδαίμονα ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος
 31 τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας 5
 τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώ-
 των. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων, αἱ τε ἥδη παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ αἱ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν
 ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀπο-
 κόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο 10
 τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν
 πάντας κατακρημνίσαιαν. Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν
 32 Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
 πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν
 Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδείμαντον, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ 15
 ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος·
 ἠτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος
 δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ
 Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἶη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος
 εἰς Ἑλλήνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν. 20

II Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸ
 Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ
 προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς
 τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. 25
 2 Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινα
 που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας,
 διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐ,
 εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλληγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν
 Πειραιᾶ, θάττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. κατα- 30
 λιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον ἄρμοστὴν

18 ὃς . . . κατεκρήμνισε del. Cobet
 ἄλλοθι] ἄλλοσε Hertlein 29 ὅτι om. C

28 μόνον] μὲν Cobet

Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπε-
σκεύαζεν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς 3
ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν
5 μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστρῳ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγ-
γέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον
τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πευθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ
ἐαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ
10 Ἰστιαίας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ
ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν 4
ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἐνὸς
καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τᾶλλα
πάντα ὥς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ
15 οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις 5
ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις
ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε
δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἑτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς
20 Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς 6
ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων·
οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν
πόλιν. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε 7
εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν δια-
25 κοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Πελοποννησίοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ
ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Πανσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαν- 8
τες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρα-
τοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ [τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ].
30 Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἰγίαν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν 9
Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἠθροίσας, ὥς δ'

αὐτως καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέρ-
 ροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμίνα ὥρμισατο πρὸς
 τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα
 εἶργε τοῦ εἴσπλου.

- 10 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατ- 5
 ταν ἠπόρουσαν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς
 ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν †εἰ
 μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν
 ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ ἑτέρα ἢ
 11 ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους 10
 ποιήσαντες ἐκατέρουν, καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ
 πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς
 ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀγιν,
 βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη
 12 καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ 15
 αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος
 αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθη-
 13 ναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν
 ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς] καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι
 αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐ- 20
 τοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον
 14 ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε
 καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν·
 ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι, καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἐτέ-
 15 ρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν 25
 τευχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλευεῖν· Ἀρ-
 χέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον
 εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προ-
 καλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τευχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν
 ἑκατέρον· ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμ- 30

7 εἰ μὴ] τοῦ μὴ E : μὴ οὐ Hartman : τὸ μὴ Hertlein 19 πλησίον
 τῆς Λακωνικῆς del. Cobet 27, 28 pro Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . προυκαλοῦντο
 Cobet dedit κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς Λακεδαιμόνιοι προυκαλοῦντο : κρά-
 τιστον εἶναι del. Kurz

βουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ 16
 ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει
 Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλό-
 μενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς
 5 δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν
 ὁπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σίτον
 ἅπαντα ὃ τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ 17
 μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως
 μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύει εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ
 10 εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ
 δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγε- 18
 λούντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα
 Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους
 15 εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 19
 πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι
 λόγῳ ἦκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα
 οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν
 ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα,
 20 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθη-
 ναίους, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν 20
 Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς
 μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο
 εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας
 25 καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας
 καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττον ὅποι ἂν
 ἡγῶνται. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπαν- 21
 ἔφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος
 30 περιεχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ

4 ἀντέχουσι Leonclavius: ἀνέχουσι codd.

Franke 9 κελεύει B: κελεύει cet.

nam stat. Otto

δὲ om. C

17 εἶπαν B

5 πλείω] πλέον

16 post Σελλασία lacu-

nam stat. Otto 28 ἐπανέφεροντο C F

- 22 λιμῶ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἔφ' οἷς οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν
 Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρή πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ
 τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τινῶν αὐτῷ, πολὺν δὲ
 πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. 5
- 23 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ
 οἱ φυγάδες κατήσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρί-
 δων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ
 'Ελλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.
- 24 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμο- 10
 κράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέν-
 των ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων
 Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.
- III Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἥ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα 15
 Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Εὐδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθο-
 δώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρ-
 χίᾳ ἤρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
 2 καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε.] ἔδοξε τῷ
 δῆμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατέρας νόμους
 συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ἤρέθησαν οἷδε· 20
 Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης,
 Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διο-
 κλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς,
 Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης,
 Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, 25
 3 Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μνησιθεΐδης. τούτων
 δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγχις δ' ἐκ
 τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ
 πόλεις ἐκάστους.
- 4 Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκό- 30
 φρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας,

§ 24 del. Unger § 1 del. Marsham 14 ᾧ B: ἐν ᾧ cet.
 15 Ἐνδίου Dind. et in § 10 19 τοὺς πατέρας del. Nauck §§ 4 et 5
 del. Dind.

τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος 5
 τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμά-
 5 ριαν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίους
 συνοικούντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου
 καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς
 ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντῃ, ἐπεὶ 6
 10 οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν
 ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὁμολόγησαν ἐν ἱμάτιον ἔχων
 ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραδοῦναι
 καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις 7
 παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχον-
 15 τας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφήκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν
 κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς 8
 Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρω-
 τήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφά-
 νους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυ-
 20 ρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο
 τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα 9
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [εἰς ὃ ἐξά-
 μηνος καὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς
 25 ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ'
 οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ'
 Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτου
 οἷδε· Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδης, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησί- 10
 στρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλει-
 30 στόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας,

6 αὐτῶν codd. 10 οὐ Paris. A : om. cet. βουλευομένων C F
 15 φρουρεῖν del. Brückner 17 ἀπαγαγὼν B 18 πειραιῶς B : τοῦ πει-
 ραιῶς cet. 23 εἰς δ. . . § 10 κατέπλευσεν del. Brückner ἔκμηνος Cobet
 24 ὀκτῶ] ἐπτά Weissenborn 25 οἱ B : om. cet. 30 Χαρίλας Heiland

Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιπίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Εὐῆδιος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν].

- 11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ 5
τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ'
ᾧ τε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓστας πολιτεύσονται, τού-
τους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βου-
λὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὥς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.
- 12 ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ 10
συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας,
συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπὲρ θανάτου· καὶ ἥ τε βουλή ἡδέως
αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἳ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνῆδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ
- 13 ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι
ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ 15
τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε
καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμ-
πράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι
καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνούντο.
- 14 ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστήν 20
συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὥς
πάντα ἐπαινοίῃ ἂ πράττειν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμ-
πέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς
πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον 25
ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι
ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.
- 15 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώ-
μων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ
πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ 30
Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ

τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς μηδὲν
 κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ
 ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δέ 16
 (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ
 5 ἐγχωροίῃ τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν
 ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά
 ἔσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶε ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης
 τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἀποθυνη- 17
 σκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί
 10 τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ
 Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωονὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν
 πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ 18
 τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἡδὴ φοβού-
 μενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρνείησαν πρὸς
 15 αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας
 δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα 19
 ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίῃ ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν
 βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωονὺς ποιή-
 σασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα
 20 ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὗτ' ἔξω τούτων σπου-
 δαίους οὗτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι·
 ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρᾶτ-
 τουτας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων
 κατασκευαζομένους. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν 20
 25 ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω
 τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ
 ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς
 καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων
 πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλουντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα

7 ἢ ὥσπερ Hermann: ὥσπερ τυραννίδος del. Jacobs 14 συρ-
 ρείησαν B: συρρήσαν C: συρείησαν M al.: συρρυῶσι Portus 17 εἶναι
 πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Zurborg 19 τρισχιλίους] post hoc v. εἶτα ποιήσασθαι
 add. Cobet, ὀρίσασθαι add. Dind., καταλέξασθαι add. Leonclavius,
 καταλέξαι add. Hartman 22 ἡμᾶς B: ὑμᾶς cet. 26 ἐπὶ] θέσθαι
 Kan 28 αὐτοῖς codd.

- 21 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενο-
μένων, ὥς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὃ τι βούλονται, πολλοὺς
μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε
δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι,
καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀπο- 5
22 κτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ
καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρί-
νατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελ-
τίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι
μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν ἔω, ἡμεῖς δὲ 10
ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν;
23 πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν
νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλονται, ἐπιβου-
λεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς
ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὥς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ 15
παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι
εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν
24 τὴν βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ
Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

- ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείους 20
τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτεία μεθί-
στανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη
ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τε
τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ
διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. 25
25 ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν
πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις
τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐ ποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο,
οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ
26 Λακεδαιμονίῳ γνῶμη τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ 30
ἐάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα

3 μὲν om. B 4 καὶ om. B 12 τῷ om. B 19 ὧδε om. B
20 πλείονας codd. ut saepe 23 ἐνθάδε B : om. cet. 26 ἡμῖν
τε Weiske : τε ἡμῖν codd.

ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῶν δίκαιον
 εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει,
 δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην 27
 τουτουὶ οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ
 5 ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα
 μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον,
 ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν.
 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν,
 οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς 28
 10 μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας,
 αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας
 ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι,
 νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς
 15 μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν
 πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὥς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει 29
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην.
 καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσίᾳ πολέμου, ὅσῳ
 χαλεπώτερον φυλάσασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ
 20 δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολέμοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ
 αὖθις πιστοὶ γίνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι,
 τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ
 λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ 30
 φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα.
 25 οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν
 πατέρα Ἄγνων, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν
 μεταστήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον,
 πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου 31
 30 καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. [καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν

4 ὑμᾶς τε καὶ ἡμᾶς B 5 ἦν codd. 12 ὑμᾶς τοῖς Brückner :
 ἡμᾶς τοῖς codd. 20 πολέμοις Weiske : πολέμοι codd. ἄνθρωποι
 Cobet 29 δήπου Steph. : δήπου γὰρ codd. : δήπου et γὰρ supra l. B
 30 καὶ γὰρ . . . ἀμφοτέρων del. Morus

- μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφο-
 τέρων.] δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν
 μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι
 ἀντικόπη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ δια-
 πονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν 5
 ἀφίκωντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδὴν τι ἀντικόψη, εὐθὺς εἰς
 32 τὰναντία πλείου; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ
 πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι
 πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
 ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. 10
 οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον
 ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατη-
 33 γορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ. ὅστις γε
 μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ 15
 δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου
 χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ
 τὰς μεταβολάς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀσθῆναι ποιῆσαι;
 ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὥς
 προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ 20
 34 τάδ' ἐννόησατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία
 εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν
 ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν
 καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως 25
 τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιοθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν
 σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὥς οὗτος
 σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσῃε τῶν ἐναντία
 γινωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
 πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμῃοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας. 30
 35 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς

1 ἀποβλέπει] ἀπολέπει Postgate : ἀπολείπει Laves : ἀποβέβληται Ellis
 3 ἦν codd. 11 καὶ B : om. cet. 22 ἐκείνῃ] ἐκεῖ Dind.

ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ
 τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
 ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήπου τοῦ κατ'
 ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ'
 5 ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου
 ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ
 πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ
 πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο.
 φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι
 10 ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω 36
 γε τὸ Κριτίαν ἑπαρνεομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ
 παρῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως
 δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς δεσπότας. ὦν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε 37
 15 γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς
 μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας
 ὑμῶν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖν, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν
 τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν
 οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἂ νῦν
 20 πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ 38
 ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι
 καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα
 ἐγινώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε
 κάγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ γὰρ ἡρξάμην τὰναντία
 25 τούτοις γινώσκειν. ἥδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν 39
 Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκούντος
 ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικούντος δ' οὐδὲ ἔν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβή-
 σουντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσουντο·
 ἐγίνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου,
 30 καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε

4 προσταχθέντα με C F 11 παρνεομηκέναι Wolf : παρακηκοέναι
 Wytttenbach : παρνεομηκέναι Schmidt : παρεγνωκέναι Weidner : an
 παρενηνοχέναι? 13 κατασκευάζων C F 17 ποιεῖ B : ποιεῖν cet.
 19 τά τε] τὰ τότε Bake 22 ὁμολογουμένους F pr. V ταῦτα B al.

τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενή-
 40 σοιτω. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφώντας ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένοι,
 ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο,
 ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες
 41 ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων 5
 ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι
 τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ
 πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους
 παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλο- 10
 μένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναί-
 μεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἔξῃν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γε δέοιντο,
 καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πείσαντας.
 42 οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἔξδ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλ- 15
 λομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσῃν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν
 πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς
 δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον
 οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἥδειν γὰρ ὅτι
 οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει 20
 43 ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσονται, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλο-
 μένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσονται. ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν
 ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομί-
 ζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποι-
 εῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμαχοὺς πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, 25
 οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον
 οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας
 ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους
 ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ
 44 ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι 30
 ἀληθῇ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύ-
 βουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἢ ἐγὼ λέγω

μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίνεσθαι ἢ ἂ οὗτοι πρᾶτ-
 τουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμαχῶν
 πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς
 ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγείσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι
 5 τῆς χώρας. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὥς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μετα- 45
 βάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
 τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο,
 διδασκόμενος ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν
 ἢ δημοκρατία πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν 46
 10 ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρί-
 σταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι
 ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς δ' ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι
 ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ'
 αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν
 15 φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὥς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον 47
 ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς
 τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ
 δημοκρατίᾳ πάντως μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστο-
 κρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ 48
 20 Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε πολεμῷ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν
 οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν [ἂν] καὶ οἱ
 δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν
 †δραχμῆς† μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμι οἱ
 οὐκ οἶονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν [ἂν] εἰς
 25 τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ
 μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων
 ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην
 εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ 49
 Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς
 30 καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσθητοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε·

6 ἐπὶ B: om. cet. 13 ἐταίροις Steph.: ἐτέροις codd. 14 αἰσθα-
 νόμενος C F 21, 24 ἂν del. Dind. 22 δραχμῆς] αὐτῆς C.
 Schmidt: ἀρχῆς Wytttenbach 27 διὰ τούτων] διὰ τοῦτο C: δια-
 τάττειν Dind. ἡγούμην F₂: ἡγουμένην cet.

ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἔσχατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

- 50 Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνούς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι 5 τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια 51 ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον 10 εἶναι οἷου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρών τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὗ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων 15 μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. 52 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ 20 εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ νόμον οὔτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν 53 κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, 25 ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὔτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν 30 54 ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου

2 ἔσχατα V D : ἔσχατώτατα cet.

ἐπιτρέψει cet.

ἐννομωτάτους B

13 ὑμῖν B

31 ἐξαλειπτότερον B

5 ἐπιτρέψοι aut ἐπιτρέψαι B :

19 ὑμῖν C M

21 τοὺς πάντων

ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κήρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν
 Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις,
 ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναι-
 δεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη,
 5 Θηραμένην τουτονὶ κατακεκρίμενον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς 55
 δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἑνδεκα οὗ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων
 πράττετε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ
 Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ
 εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνό-
 10 μενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 ὀρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευ-
 τηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια
 ἔχοντες παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς 56
 μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δ' ἔν
 15 ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξειτο,
 εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη,
 οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ
 κώνειον ἔπие, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν
 αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγ-
 20 νοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ
 φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, IV
 ὥς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς
 25 ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἡγον δὲ ἐκ
 τῶν χωρίων, ἔν' αὐτοῖ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς
 ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολ-
 λούς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας
 τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

30 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὥς σὺν 2
 ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ

1 ἐκέλευσε] ἐκάλεσε Steph.

3 τοῦ om. B

τε B: αὐτῶν cet.

5 θηραμένη B M D V

6 οἱ ἑνδεκα del. Naber

- τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις
 καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέ-
 βαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα
 3 δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα 5
 ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες
 τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν
 παμπλήθης καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς
 τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνούς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς
 4 ἀποβαλόντες. γινώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν 10
 λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέρπουσιν εἰς
 τὰς ἐσχατίας ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς
 τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο
 φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ
 5 ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν 15
 Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς
 νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια
 6 ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν
 ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν
 ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον 20
 ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ
 ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὗς αὐτῶν κατέ-
 βαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια,
 καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν,
 τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, 25
 7 καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπ-
 αναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασά-
 μενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκευὴ ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς.
 οἱ δὲ ἕξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων
 οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνεί- 30
 8 λοντο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου

3 προσέβαλλον B F : προσέβαλον cet.

9 ὑπὸ Wyttenbach : ἀπὸ codd.

19 post ἕκαστος lacunam stat. Laves

6 ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς C F

16 φυλὴν F₂ V corr. : βουλὴν cet.

27 καὶ alterum B : om. cet.

οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα,
 ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι
 καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσῃ. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν
 ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα·
 5 ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι
 βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσῃς φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται,
 ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ
 διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ
 αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ'
 10 ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρεῖται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημ-
 μένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα
 παραδούναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς τὸ 9
 Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς,
 15 ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πο-
 λιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν
 μετέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν
 συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα
 ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβήσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς
 20 τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ 10
 φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδεῖου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν
 δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον
 ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
 25 περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς
 τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς
 ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ
 τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ
 ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχεί- 11
 30 ρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὦν
 πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνε-

3 δεήσῃ] δεήσοι C F
 Kurz: Ἐλευσινίοις Classen

5 ἐν] σὺν Palmerius ἵππεῦσι] ὄπλοις
 6 πόσῃς B D corr.: πόσοι cet.

18 συνειλημμένων Morus: συνειλεγμένων codd. 22 οἷς B: ὄσοις cet.

- σπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ 5
- 12 συνεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν 10
- ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτοὺς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα
- 13 ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνήσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν 15
- πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας καὶ οἰκίων ἐξήλαντον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰὲ 20
- 14 ἠυχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν 25
- ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρώμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὔσι τροπαῖα ἴστασθαι διδόασιν· καὶ νῦν δὲ 15
- κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον

6 ἀντανέπλησαν F : ἀντεπλήρωσαν C pr. : ἀντανεπλήρωσαν C corr.
 8 αὐτοῖς Leonclavius : αὐτοῖς codd. 11 μεθ' αὐτοῦ B : μετ' αὐτοῦ
 cet. 17 δὲ D : δὲ cet. ὑμᾶς B 18 τὰ φίλτατα Portus
 21 ἐναντίοι μὲν Wytttenbach 22 εἰδότες ὅτι ed. Basil. 23 ὅπως
 Castalio : οὕτως codd.

ἵεναι δύναιτ' ἂν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα
 ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ
 πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. καὶ ὥρετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσῃν τοῖς 16
 γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς,
 5 ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφiehτε τὰ βέλη, ἁμαρτήσεται
 μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύ-
 σουσιν αἰὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς
 καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλόμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν.
 ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ 17
 10 συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὧν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν
 θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευ-
 θερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ
 μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπιδώσι τὴν πασῶν
 ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημεῖον
 15 γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὧν καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν
 οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον
 παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν
 τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, 18
 20 ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ
 πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν [ἂν] τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις
 ἢ τρωθείῃ· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν,
 ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι
 θάνατος, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 19
 25 ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς
 ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος ἐμπесὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπο-
 θνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἳ δ'
 ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον
 δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος,
 30 τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος,
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον,

1 ἵεναι Madvig
 τῇν] τῶν B
 Dind.

2 ἀφιέντες F V: ἐφιέντες cet.
 20 παρήγγειλεν F corr. D pr.

13 ὑμῶν F
 21 ἂν del.

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδουσιν,
 20 προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ
 τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὖφωνος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος
 ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι 5
 βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιή-
 σαμεν, μετεσχίκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων
 καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ
 συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ'
 ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν 10
 ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθε-
 21 ρίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶων καὶ μητρῶων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ
 κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινω-
 νοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους
 παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε 15
 τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγον
 δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν ἢ πάντες
 22 Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν
 εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἷσχιστόν τε καὶ
 χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ 20
 ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ'
 εἴ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθα-
 νόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ
 κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ 25
 τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ
 23 ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάννυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ
 καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων
 ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ 30
 ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεῖη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς

10 prius καὶ om. omnes praeter B 13 κηδεστίας Nauck
 ἑταιρείας C 26 ἐαυτῶν C F 31 χρεῖη B: χρῆ(ῃ) cet.

ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδίκηκεναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὐδὲν δέοιεντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ
5 τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι. καὶ εἶλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπήλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα 24
τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθειδον δὲ
10 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντο- 25
15 δαποί, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύνια, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλίται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ ἐβδομήκοντα·
20 προνομᾶς δὲ ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθειδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος 26
μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξήει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰζωνέων τισὶν
25 εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἱππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύον-
τας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν 27
δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρό-
30 νουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει,

11 ἐφώδευον τὸ Wytttenbach : ἐφωδεύοντο codd. 12 κατὰ B :
κατὰ τὰ cet. 24 Αἰζωνέων Palmerius : ἔξω νέων codd. 25 αὐτῶν
codd. 26 ἀπέσφαξε F D : ἐπέσφαξε cet.

ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς
μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους
λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιο τοῦ
δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν
28 λίθων πράγματα παρείχε. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς 5
Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν
τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύοντων, ὥς ἀφε-
στηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισά-
μενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ
Πειραιεὶ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 10
ἀποκλεισθείησαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς
δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἁρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ
29 τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς
μὲν Ἑλευσινάδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοπον-
νησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως 15
μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν
ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ
μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωροῦντων
Πανσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργα-
σμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο 20
τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν.
30 συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ
Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν
ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦν-
τας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους 25
βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκεῖαν καὶ πιστὴν
ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ
Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεὶ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας,
31 Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον. πέμπων
δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πανσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐκέλευεν 30
ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, προσέβαλλεν

1 ἐκ] ἐν B: εἰς C pr. 9 τῷ B: om. cet. 20 ποιήσοιτο B: ποιήσαιτο
cet. 29 post εὐώνυμον add. Ἑλευσίνι Herwerden 31 προσέβαλλεν
Leonclavius in marg.: προσέβαλεν V: προσέβαλλον aut προσέβαλον cet.

ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς
 ὦν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ
 ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ
 Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν
 5 λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ 32
 παρέιχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλᾶν εἰς
 αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ [τοὺς] τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν
 δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς
 10 τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ
 Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε 33
 πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ
 μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξενον,
 ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ
 15 ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ'
 ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει
 Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης
 ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ
 τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος 34
 20 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλῖται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ
 ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά,
 παρήγγελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις
 ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς
 25 βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς
 χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν
 αὐτῶν ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας τροπαῖον 35
 στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ
 30 λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρή λέγοντας
 πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους.

5 εὐαποτειχιστότατος B: εὐαποτείχιστος cet. 8 τοὺς del.
 Dind. 21 ἄλλων] Ἀλῶν Madvig 23 παρήγγειλε C F:
 παρηγγελε (sic) B 27 Ἀλαῖς] ἄλλαις C pr.

οἱ δ' ἐπεΐθοντο. διίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ
ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους,
λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν,
ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι
36 εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὢν συνή- 5
κουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων
συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφο-
τεροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς
μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς 10
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ
37 ἄστει ἰδιώτας, [καὶ] Κηφισοφώντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ
μέντοι οὗτοι ὄχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ
ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παρα-
διδόασιν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαί- 15
μονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται· ἀξιούν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς
ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παρα-
38 διδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. ἀκούσαντες
δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοί, ἐξέπεμψαν
πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν 20
Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλ-
λαξαν ἐφ' ᾧ τε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι
δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν
ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες
φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. 25
39 τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Πausανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα,
οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν† οἱ
40 στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν· Ὑμῖν, ἔφη,

1 διίστη B: διίστησι cet.

Dind. 10 τοῦ om. C F

om. V: del. Wyttēbach

om. V

... δέκα om. B

θέντων codd.

3 τῷ om. V

11 τοὺς] δύο conicio

14 λέγοντες Cobet

23 post τριάκοντα fort. excidit καὶ τῶν δέκα

26 περανθέντων Wyttēbach: περαιω-

θέντων codd. 28 post κατέβησαν add. ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν Cobet

8 et 9 μετὰ τῆς

12 καὶ

22 ὡς

καὶ τῶν

ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γυνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι
 ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν.
 πότερον δικαιοτέροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος
 5 ὑμῶν ὦν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκηκεν·
 ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῖα
 ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
 προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φρονη-
 τέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς 41
 10 ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν
 προέχειν, οἳ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ
 συμμαχοὺς Πελοποννησίουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων
 περιείληφθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονη-
 τέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἷγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶ
 15 δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ
 ἠδικομένῳ τούτῳ δῆμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε 42
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξίῳ ἐγὼ ὦν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ
 εὖορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα,
 20 καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς
 ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν 43
 ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκού-
 σαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἑλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι
 πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους
 25 ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέρψαντες τοὺς
 φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ ὁμό-
 σαντες ὅρκους ἦ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ
 τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

2 ἀναλογίσασθε C : ἀναλογίσθηθε B 4 δικαιοτέροί ἐστε Steph. :
 δικαιοτέρον ἔσται codd. 5 ἠδίκηκεν Dind. : ἠδίκησεν codd.
 13 περιείληφθε vel παραλέλυσθε Wyttenbach : περιελήλυθεν BF corr.
 MDV : προελήλυθεν C : περιελέλασθε Geist : περιεληλύθατε ἐς τοῦτο
 Portus 14 κύνας B : om. cet. 28 τε Schneider : γε
 codd.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Γ

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ **I**
τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἡξίου,
οἷόςπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους
πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ
5 δ' ἔφοροι δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε
ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο. κακῆενος
μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἔπραξεν· ἔχων γὰρ
τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν,
καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Σύννεσιν μὴ δύνα-
10 σθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ.
ὥς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στρατευμά τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων 2
ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὥς
ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ
θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

15 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασιλεῖ δόξας 3
γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολέμῳ, σατράπης
κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος, εὐθύς
ἡξίου τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι.
αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι
20 τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὅτι Κῦρον, ὅτ' ἔζη, αὐτ' ἐκείνου ἡρημέναι
ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαί-
μονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἡξίου, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος προστάται εἰσὶν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ

Ἀσία Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἢ τε χώρα μὴ δημοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ
 4 αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν. οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐ-
 τοῖς Θίβρων ἀρμοστήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδα-
 μῶδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς
 τετρακισχιλίους. ἠτήσατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων 5
 τριακοσίους ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ'
 ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες
 5 κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλουντο. ἐπεὶ δ'
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε [μὲν] στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ 10
 πόλεις ἐπείθοντο ὅ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι. καὶ
 σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁρῶν Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ
 πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἡγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὦν, δύναίτο
 6 ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδῆναι διαφυλάττειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες
 οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου συνέμειξαν αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἤδη 15
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις
 Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκοῦσαν προσέλαβε καὶ Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλί-
 σαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ
 Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου· ἐκείνῳ δ' αὕτη ἡ χώρα
 δῶρον ἐκ βασιλέως ἐδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρα- 20
 τείας· προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος,
 ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαιγάμβριον,
 ὁ δὲ Μύριαν καὶ Γρύνειον· δῶρον δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις
 ἦσαν παρὰ βασιλέως Γογγύλῳ, ὅτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων μηδίσας
 7 ἔφυγεν. ἦν δὲ ἄς ἀσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θίβρων 25
 ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἐπεὶ
 οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο εἰλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον
 ὤρυττεν, ὥς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὥς δ' ἐκ τοῦ

9 μὲν del. Cobet 12 ὁρῶν] ὁρῶδων Palmerius τὸ ἱππικὸν]
 πρὸς add. ante τὸ ἱππικὸν Herwerden: τῶν πολεμίων add. ante ἱππικὸν
 Otto 15 συνέμειξαν pap. frag. P: συνέμειξαν cet. 17 προσελα-
 βεν P Ἀλίσαρνίαν codd. [P]: corr. Schneider 29 ἀφαιρησόμενος
 Cobet

τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ
 ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστη-
 σεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ
 Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκασαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν
 5 ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύε-
 σθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἦδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευο- 8
 μένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ
 δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος.
 10 ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιωθεὶς ἔφυγε·
 κατηγοροῦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὥς ἐφείη ἀρπάζειν τῷ
 στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ 9
 στράτευμα, γνοὺς ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρην
 καὶ τὸν Φαρναβάζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει
 15 ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλό-
 μενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ
 καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ· ἄρμο-
 στῆς γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος,
 διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἐστάθη τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔχων, ὃ
 20 δοκεῖ κηλὶς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀταξίας
 γὰρ ζημίωμά ἐστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὸν
 Φαρναβάζον ἦει. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσοῦτ'w διέφερεν εἰς τὸ 10
 ἄρχειν τοῦ Θίβρωνος ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς
 φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας
 25 τοὺς συμμάχους.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ'
 αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν ἕξῃ, Ζήνις Δαρδανεύς·
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ
 Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν, Μανία ἢ τοῦ
 30 Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανὶς καὶ αὐτή, ἀναξεύξασα στόλον καὶ
 δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι καὶ παλ-

1 ἐνέβαλον [P] B V: ἐνέβαλλον cet.

Photius ἀπεκαλεῖτο C

13 τισσαφέρην B

9 μηχανικὸς C F V pr.

27 ταύτης om. C F V

- λακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ
 11 Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο. ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους εἶπεν· ὦ
 Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τᾶλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς
 φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὥστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἂν οὖν
 ἐγὼ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεῖ ἄλλον 5
 σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δέ τί σοι μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοὶ
 12 δῆπου ἔσται ἀφελομένῳ ἐμὲ ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀκού-
 σας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναικα σατραπεύειν.
 ἣ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τοὺς τε φόρους οὐδὲν
 ἥττον τάνδρὸς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο 10
 πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον, αἰεὶ ἦγε δῶρα αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκείνος εἰς
 τὴν χώραν καταβαίνει, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα
 13 καὶ ἥδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύ-
 λαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττι-
 δίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν 15
 Ἑλληνικῷ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἄρμα-
 μάξης θεωμένη· ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως
 ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν κατεσκευάσατο. συνε-
 στρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσσοὺς ἦ
 Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. 20
 ὥστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ
 14 σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει. ἤδη δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν
 πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας, θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὢν,
 ἀναπτρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τινων ὡς αἰσχυρὸν εἶη γυναικα μὲν ἄρχειν,
 αὐτὸν δ' ἰδιώτην εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαττομένης 25
 αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσῆκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευούσης
 καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάξοιτο, εἰσελ-
 θὼν ἀποπνίξαι αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
 αὐτῆς, τό τε εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς ἑπτα-
 15 καίδεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργιθα ἐχυρὰς 30
 πόλεις κατέσχευεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ.

1 μάλιστα] μέγιστον Cobet 2 λόγον B 4 et 6 ἦν codd.
 6 δέ τί] δ' ἔτι B 20 ἐμβάλλοι Cobet 25 μάλα B : om. cet.

αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Φαρναβάζω
 ἔσφζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μειδίας
 πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρναβάζω ἡξίου ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ
 ἡ Μανία. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς
 5 ἔλθων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη ζῆν
 βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανία. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ 16
 τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν
 καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἐκού-
 σας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις
 10 ἡξίου ἐλευθεροῦσθαί τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη δέχεσθαι καὶ
 συμμάχους γίνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ
 Κοκυλῖται ἐπειθόντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐ-
 ταῖς, ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πάνυ τι καλῶς περιείποντο·
 ὁ δ' ἐν Κεβρῆνι, μάλα ἰσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων, 17
 15 νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξειε Φαρναβάζω τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθῆναι
 ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὁ δὲ ὀργιζό-
 μενος παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ
 οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἐθύετο.
 ὥς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ· καὶ μέχρι
 20 τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυόμενος, μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων·
 ἔσπευδε γὰρ πρὶν Φαρνάβαζον βοηθήσαι ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι
 πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος. Ἀθηνάδας δέ τις Σικυνώνιος λοχαγός, 18
 νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φλυαρεῖν διατρίβοντα, αὐτὸς δ'
 ἱκανὸς εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδρα-
 25 μῶν σὺν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν κρήνην συγχοῦν. οἱ
 δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτόν τε συνέντρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέ-
 κτειναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπήλασαν.
 ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν
 καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἔρχονται ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους παρὰ
 30 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἂ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοίη,
 οὐκ ἀρέσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ βούλονται σὺν τοῖς Ἑλλησι

5 σὺν fort. spurium 10 εἰς Dind. : πρὸς codd. 22 Ἀθηνάδας]
 σθενάδας B 27 τοὺς om. C F 28 ἀθυμοτέρους κατὰ Liebhold
 31 ἀρέσκει B V C F

- 19 μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ διαλεγομένων
αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἦκε λέγων ὅτι ὅσα
λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν
Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκῶς ταύτῃ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ἡγείτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' 5
ἀναπετάσαντες ἐδέξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα φρου-
20 ροὺς εὐθὺς ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν Γέργιθα. ὁ δὲ
Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὁκνῶν δ' ἤδη τοὺς
πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἂν
εἰς λόγους, εἰ ὁμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πό- 10
λεως ἐκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἓνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τούτων
ὁπόσους τε καὶ ὁποίους βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν δέκα ἐξῆλθε,
καὶ συμμείξας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἡρώτα ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν σύμμαχος
γένοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ' ᾧτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους
τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔαν. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἦει πρὸς τὴν 15
21 Σκῆψιν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο κωλύειν
βία τῶν πολιτῶν, εἶασεν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας
θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει τοὺς μὲν
τοῦ Μειδίου φρουροὺς ἐξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολίταις
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος, ὥσπερ Ἑλλήνας καὶ ἐλευ- 20
θέρους χρή, οὕτω πολιτεύειν, ἐξελθὼν ἡγείτο ἐπὶ τὴν Γέρ-
γιθα. συμπρούπεμπον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Σκηψίων,
22 τιμῶντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. ὁ δὲ Μειδίας
παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἡξίου τὴν τῶν Γεργιθίων πόλιν παρα-
δοῦναι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔλεγεν ὥς τῶν 25
δικαίων οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσοι· ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦει πρὸς τὰς
πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδίᾳ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἡκολούθει αὐτῷ
εἰρηνικῶς εἰς δύο. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν
ὄντων ὀρώντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος
δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδᾳ· Κέλευσον, ὦ Μειδία, ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας, 30
ἵνα ἡγῇ μὲν σύ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κἀνταῦθα

19 δὲ F: om. cet.
26 ἀτυχήσει C

25 αὐτω(ι) codd.: corr. Büchschütz

θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ὥκνει μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας,
 φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμα συλληφθῇ, ἐκέλευεν ἀνοῖξαι.
 ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὖ τὸν Μειδιαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν 23
 ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε θέσθαι
 5 περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθυε
 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀνείπε καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυ-
 φόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας· Μειδιά γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν
 εἶναι. ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιοίη, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ 24
 10 μὲν τοίνυν ἄπειμι, ἔφη, ξένιά σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δέ,
 Οὔ, μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ
 σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε οὖν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν
 τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους καὶ διασκεψώμεθα καὶ ποιήσωμεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, 25
 15 ἡρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Μειδιά, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρ-
 χοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατέλιπε; Μάλιστα, ἔφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι
 οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος
 δ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηψίων εἶπον· Ψεύδεται σε οὗτος,
 ὦ Δερκυλίδα. Ὑμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, μὴ λίαν μικρολογεῖσθε. 26
 20 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρῶα· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, Μανία
 δὲ τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες εἶπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὐκοῦν
 καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἔφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἔφασαν. Ἡμέ-
 τερ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ ἡμῖν Φαρνά-
 βαζος. ἀλλ' ἡγείσθω τις, ἔφη, ὅπου κείται τὰ Μανίας καὶ
 25 τὰ Φαρναβάζου. ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας 27
 οἴκησιν, ἣν παρειλήφει ὁ Μειδίας, ἡκολούθει κακείνους. ἐπεὶ
 δ' εἰσῆλθεν, ἐκάλει ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας δὲ
 τοῖς ὑπηρέταις λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴ τι
 κλέπτουντες ἀλώσوينτο τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγή-
 30 σουντο. οἱ δ' ἐδεῖκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν
 αὐτὰ καὶ κατεσημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν. ἐξίων δὲ 28

3 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν C F
Dind.

10 μὲν τοίνυν D: μέντοι νῦν cet.

... ποιήσωμεν V pr. D corr.

4 ἐκέλευε B: ἐκέλευσε cet.

18 ψεύσεται B

5 αὐτὸν

14 διασκεψόμεθα

οὓς ἤρυν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἵργασται τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀκτακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· ἂν δέ τι προσεργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἶπε γινώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺν εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι 5 ἔσωστο. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου· Ἐμὲ δὲ ποῦ χρὴ οἰκεῖν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιοτάτον, ὦ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαντοῦ Σκήψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρῷα οἰκίᾳ.

II Ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ὀκτῶ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ 10 φιλίᾳ χειμάζων βαρὺς εἴη τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὥσπερ Θίβρων, μηδ' αὖ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ Ἰππῳ κακουργῇ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μέντοι Φαρνάβαζος νομίσας τὴν Αἰολίδα ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ 15 οἰκήσει Φρυγίᾳ, σπονδὰς εἴλετο.

2 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίδα Θράκην ἐκεῖ διεχείμαζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πᾶν τι ἀχθομένου· πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ 20 ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἱππεῖς τε ὥς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὥς τριακόσιοι, οὗτοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ὥς εἴκοσι στάδια, αἰτοῦντες φύλακας 25 τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐξῆσαν ἐπὶ λείαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ χρήματα.

3 ἥδη δ' ὄντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῖς πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ' ἐξῆσαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἑλλήνας φύλακας, συλλεγύντες παμπλήθεις 30 πελτασταὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσπίπτουσι τοῖς ὀπλίταις

3 εἰ . . . προσεργασώμεθα C

6 ἔσονται BV

12 κακουργοίη

Dind. : κακουργεῖ B

18 οὐδὲ Naber : οὐδὲν codd.

22 ἐπειδὴ

δὲ] ἐπεὶ δ' C : ἐπεὶ δὲ F₂ V : ἐπεὶ δὴ F₁

ὥς διακοσίοις οὖσιw. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν
 ἔβαλλον, οἱ δ' ἠκόντιζον εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο
 μὲν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ἐποιοῦν δ' οὐδὲν κατειργάμενοι ἐν τῷ
 σταυρώματι ὥς ἀνδρομήκει ὄντι, διασπάσαντες τὸ αὐτῶν
 5 ὀχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἥ μὲν ἐκθέοιεν ὑπε- 4
 χώρουν, καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὀπλίτας, ἔνθεν δὲ
 καὶ ἔνθεν ἠκόντιζον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἐκδρομῇ
 κατέβαλλον. τέλος δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες κατηκον-
 τίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα
 10 εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ᾗσθοντο τὸ πρᾶγμα,
 ἀποχωρήσαντες, ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν
 Βιθυνῶν. ταχὺ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ τοὺς 5
 σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Θρακῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἀπολα-
 βόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον. ὥστε οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ
 15 ᾗσθοντο, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡῦρον ἢ νεκροὺς γυμνοὺς
 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανῆλθον οἱ Ὀδρύσαι,
 θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολλὸν οἶνον ἐκπιόντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 καὶ ἵπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες, ὁμοῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἦγον καὶ ἔκαον τὴν Βιθυνίδα.
 20 Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ἀποπορευόμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐκ τῶν 6
 Βιθυνῶν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Λάμψακον. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ
 ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν Ἀρακός τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ
 Ἀντισθένης. οὗτοι δ' ἦλθον ἐπισκεψόμενοι τὰ τε ἄλλα
 ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἑροῦντες μένουσι
 25 ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν. ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ σφίσιν
 αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας
 εἰπεῖν ὥς ὦν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποιοῦν μέμφουτο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ
 νῦν οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν, ἐπαινοῖεν. καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀδικῶσιw, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἂν δὲ δίκαια
 30 περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ποιῶσιw, ἐπαινέσονται αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ 7
 μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν

II ἀποχωρήσαντες del. Keller: ἀπεχώρησαν vulg. post μάχη
 add καὶ Morus 26 καὶ quod ante συγκαλέσαντας exhibent codd.
 ante ἐπιστεῖλαι transp. Simon

Κυρείων προεστηκώς ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν· ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἴτιον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δέ, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἱκανοὶ ἐστε 8 γιγνώσκειν. συσκηνούντων δὲ τῶν τε οἴκοθεν πρέσβειων 5 καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρακον ὅτι καταλελοίποιεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερροννησιτῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναιντο τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐργάζεσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν· εἰ δ' ἀποτευχισθείη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ 10 σφίσιν ἂν γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις ὅποσοι βούλουντο Λακεδαιμονίων· ὥστ' ἔφασαν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ πεμφθείη τις Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς 9 πόλεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἦν ἔχοι γνώμην ταύτ' ἀκούσας, ἀλλ' 15 ἔπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἡδόμενος ὅτι ἐμελλον ὄψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς διαγούσας. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω μενετεόν ὄν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐπήρето πότερα βούλοιο σπονδὰς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ 20 χειμῶνος ἢ πόλεμον. ἐλομένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τότε σπονδὰς, οὕτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνον πόλεις φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς Θράκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεύθου ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χερ- 25 ρόνησον. ἦν καταμαθὼν πόλεις μὲν ἔνδεκα ἢ δώδεκα ἔχουσαν, χώραν δὲ παμφορωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὔσαν, κεκακωμένην δέ, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, ἐπεὶ μετρῶν ἡῦρε τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη διελὼν τοῖς στρατιώταις 30

12 ὅποσοι vulg. : ὅποσοις codd.

15 ἀλλ' ἀπέπεμψεν F DV

16 ἐπ' Grote : ἀπ' codd.

17 τὰς πόλεις fort. spurium : τὰς ἑλλη-

νίδας πόλεις C

22 ἐκείνον] ἐκεῖνα Cobet

23 φιλίας del.

Breitenbach : ἐν εἰρήνῃ del. Morus

28 μετρῶν] μέτρον Krüger

τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἄθλα ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν τοῖς πρώτοις
 ἐκτειχίσασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστοι ἄξιοι εἶεν, ἀπετέλεσε
 τὸ τεῖχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἡρινουῦ χρόνου πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ
 ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἔνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ
 5 λιμένας, πολλὴν δὲ κἀγαθὴν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευ-
 μένην, παμπλήθεις δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομὰς παντοδαποῖς
 κτήνεσι. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. 11

Ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς
 ἐχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ἠῦρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχοντας χωρίον
 10 ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὀρμωμένους φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας
 τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ ζῶντας ἀπὸ τούτου. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι
 πολὺς σίτος ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδενσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει·
 καὶ ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς, καταστήσας ἐν
 αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητήν, καὶ κατασκευάσας
 15 ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἔκπλεω πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἵνα εἴῃ αὐτῷ
 καταγωγὴ, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἑφεσον, ἣ ἀπέχει
 ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν.

Καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγον Τισσαφέρνης 12
 τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι.
 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνούμενοι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν
 Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἴῃ ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνει, εἰ
 βούλοιτο, ἀφιέναι αὐτονόμους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· εἰ οὖν
 κακῶς πάσχοι Καρία, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος, οὕτως
 ἂν ἔφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν συγχωρῆσαι αὐτονόμους
 25 σφᾶς ἀφεῖναι· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἔπεμψαν πρὸς
 Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβαίνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύ-
 ματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ
 παραπλεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ 13
 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην
 30 ἀφιγμένος, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο

6 παγκάλας B : παγκάλους cet.

16 ἡ . . . ὁδόν del. Büchsenschütz

διῆγον] ἦγον C pr. : εἶχον C corr.

συγχωρήσειν codd. : del. Cobet

11 ἀπὸ Herwerden : ἐκ codd.

18 ἐν εἰρήνῃ] ἡσυχίαν C

24 συγχωρῆσαι Dobree :

- Τισσαφέρνης, ἅμα δὲ διαμαρτυρόμενος ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἶη κοινῇ
πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως· ἄλλως τε γὰρ ὑπεφθόνει τῆς στρατηγίας
τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀπεστερη-
μένος. ὁ δ' ἀκούων· Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, διάβηθι 5
σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων βουλευ-
14 σόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἱκανὰς φυλακὰς
εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἰωνίαν. ὥς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν πεπερακότες
εἰσὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὥς ὀκνοίῃ μὴ ὁ 10
Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἐρήμην οὔσαν καταθέοντες
φέρωσι καὶ ἄγωσι τὴν χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτός. πορευό-
μενοι δὲ οὗτοι οὐδέν τι συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι, ὥς
προεληλυθότων τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν, ἐξαίφνης
15 ὁρώσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας σκοποὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημάτων· καὶ 15
ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μνημεῖα καὶ τύρσεις
τινὰς καθορώσι παρατεταγμένους ἢ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἡ ὁδὸς Κῆρας
τε λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον ἐτύγχανε παρὸν
στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅσον εἶχεν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν
καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν μάλα πολὺ, τὸ μὲν Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ 20
16 δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρναβάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ. ὥς δὲ
ταῦτα ἦσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς
λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην εἰς ὀκτώ, τοὺς
δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα ἐκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ
τοὺς ἱππέας, ὅσους γε δὴ καὶ οἷους ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων· αὐτὸς 25
17 δὲ ἐθύετο. ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στράτευμα,
ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὥς μαχομένον· ὅσοι δὲ
ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πριήνης τε καὶ Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων καὶ
τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πόλεων, οἱ μὲν τινες καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ σίτῳ
τὰ ὅπλα ἀπεδίδρασκον· καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σίτος ἐν τῷ 30

3 τῆς στρατηγίας Leonclavius : τῇ στρατηγίᾳ D corr. V corr. : τῇ(ι)
στρατιᾷ(ι) cet. 10 ὥς Castalio : ὥς ὅτι codd. 13 δὲ D pr. : δὲ
καὶ cet. αὐτοὶ C 15 σκοποὺς Palmerius : σκοποῦ codd. 22 τα-
ξιάρχαις codd.

Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι ἦσαν οὐ
μενοῦντες. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐξηγγέλλετο μάχεσθαι 18
κελεύειν· ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης τό τε Κύρειον στράτευμα
καταλογίζομενος ὥς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας
5 νομίζων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι,
ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι εἰς λόγους βούλοιτο
αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους
τὰ εἶδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν προῆλθε πρὸς
τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευάσμεν μὲν ἔγωγε
10 μάχεσθαι, ὥς ὀράτε· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνος βούλεται εἰς λόγους
ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μέντοι ταῦτα δέῃ ποιεῖν,
πιστὰ καὶ ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ληπτέον. δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα 19
καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρ-
βαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς
15 Λεύκοφρυν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδός τε ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον καὶ
λίμνη πλέον ἢ σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ
ὑδατος. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς
τὸ συγκείμενον χωρίον ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι
ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσαιντο. ὁ μὲν δὲ 20
Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτονόμους ἐφ' βασιλεὺς τὰς Ἑλ-
ληνίδας πόλεις, ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν
ὅτι, εἰ ἐξέλθοι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ
Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρμοσταὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες
ἀλλήλοις σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεχθέντα
25 Δερκυλίδᾳ μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλεύᾳ.
Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδᾳ, 21
Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι
τοῖς Ἡλείοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους
καὶ Ἀργεῖους καὶ Μαντινάδας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην φάσκοντες κατα-
30 δεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυνον καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ

5 ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι] ἐπολέμησεν C : ἐπολεμήσειεν Tucker 11 ἂν
C : ἄμα V : ἂ cet. : εἰ . . . δεῖ Dind. : fort. ἂ ἂν μέντοι δέῃ δέῃ vulg. :
δεῖ vel δὴ vel δέοι codd. 15 τε] τὸ C F corr. 21 εἶπαν B :
εἶπον cet.

ἀγῶνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος
 Θηβαίοις τὸ ἄρμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε
 Λίχας στεφανώσων τὸν ἡνίοχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτόν, ἄνδρα
 22 γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν· τούτων δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ἄγιδος πεμφθέν-
 τος θῦσαι τῷ Διὶ κατὰ μαντείαν τινὰ ἐκώλυνον οἱ Ἥλείοι 5
 μὴ προσεῦχέσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες ὥς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον
 εἶη οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ'
 23 Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ· ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν
 πάντων ὀργιζομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς. πέμψαντες οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἥλιον 10
 εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιον δοκοίη
 εἶναι ἀφιέναι αὐτοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους.
 ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἥλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα,
 ἐπιλήιδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι.
 ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἄγισ ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν 15
 24 Ἥλειαν κατὰ Λάρισον. ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν
 τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπιγίγνεται·
 ὁ δ' Ἄγισ θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας
 διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἥλείοι πολὺ θρασύ-
 τεροι ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ᾔδεσαν 20
 25 ὀνυμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐσας. περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαντῷ
 φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιον, καὶ συν-
 εστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἳ τε
 ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ
 τοῦ Ἄγιδος δι' Αὐλῶνος, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες 25
 τῶν Ἥλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι,
 ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς. διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσ-
 26 εχώρουν Λετρίνοι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
 ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ

1 παραδόντες B M C F 2 ὅτι B D 10 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς B
 13 ποιήσοιεν Schäfer: ποιήσοιαν F: ποιήσειαν cet. 16 Λάρισον
 Portus: λάρισσαν codd. 20 εἰς] πρὸς C 21 περιόντι B:
 περιμόντι cet. 24 πάντες B: om. cet. 27 δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς Portus:
 δὲ πεταλιεῖς codd.

οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειράτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο,
 κόπτων καὶ κᾶων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη,
 ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὥστε
 ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν
 5 ἐκόντες ἦσαν συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς.
 καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοπον-
 νήσῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια 27
 καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτεί-
 χιστος γὰρ ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ
 10 δύνασθαι ἐλεῖν. δηουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ οὔσης τῆς
 στρατιᾶς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν τὸν
 λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι (τὸ) παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἀργύριον †δι' αὐτῶν† προσχωρήσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐκ-
 πεσόντες ἐξ οἰκίας ξίφῃ ἔχοντες σφαγὰς ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλους
 15 τέ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ ὅμοιόν τινα Θρασυδαίῳ ἀπο-
 κτείναντες τῷ τοῦ δήμου προστάτῃ ᾤοντο Θρασυδαῖον
 ἀπεκτονέειν, ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος παντελῶς κατηθύμνησε καὶ
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' ᾤοντο πεπραγμένα εἶναι, 28
 καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο τὰ ὄπλα εἰς τὴν
 20 ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὐπὲρ
 ἐμεθύσθη. ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν ὁ Θρασυ-
 δαῖος, περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
 ἔσμου μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμὼν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡγείτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος 29
 ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος,
 25 ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρήσαντες ταῖς
 σφαγαῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Ἅγισ ἀπὼν διέβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλφειόν,
 φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ
 Λύσιππον ἀρμοστήν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἥλιδος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν
 στράτευμα διῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὸ μὲν 30
 30 λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου

6 στρατεία Leonclavius: στρατιά codd. 8 τὰ om. B 11 τὸν
 Kühn: τὸ codd. 12 τὸ Leonclavius: om. codd. 13 τὴν
 πόλιν ante δι' αὐτῶν add. Leonclavius αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν Schäfer
 21 ὁ Θρασυδαῖος del. Kruse 23 prius ὁ om. B

καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο καὶ ἤγετο ἢ τῶν Ἡλείων χώρα.
 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
 συνεχώρησε Φέας τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ
 τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ
 Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις 5
 καὶ Ἀκρωρείους καὶ Λασιῶνα τὸν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἀντιλεγό-
 μενον. Ἦπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας καὶ
 Μακίστου ἡξίουσι οἱ Ἡεῖοι ἔχειν· πρίασθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν
 τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν
 31 τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ 10
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι βία πρια-
 μένους ἢ βία ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων λαμβάνειν,
 ἀφιέναι καὶ ταύτην ἠνάγκασαν· τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ
 Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείοις
 ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιοῦ- 15
 μένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι. τούτων
 δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία Ἡλείων
 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων
 καὶ Ἡλείων πόλεμος ἔληξε.

III Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἅγρις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν 20
 δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμιν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων
 ἦδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ
 ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον
 ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα
 καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς 25
 2 φάσκων Ἀγίδος εἶναι, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος
 δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἄλλ' ὁ νόμος, ᾧ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ
 ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς
 ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός καὶ ὥς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν

3 Φέας Dind.: σφέας codd.

Κυλλήνης O. Müller: κυλλήνην codd.

4 post ἀφεῖναι add. καὶ Grote

24 ὠσιώθησαν Dind.: ὠσειώθησαν C:

ὡς εἰώθησαν cet.

ἡμέραι παρήλθον C

25 ἀντέλεγεν F: ἀντέλεγε C

26 ὁ ἀδελφός F

29 ὢν om. C F

καὶ Jacobs: καὶ codd. ὥς

Jacobs: ᾧ(ι) codd.

ἐμὲ ὢν Cobet

δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὃν τὸ καλεῖς
πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἢ πολὺ κάλλιον
ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν. Ἄλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδᾶν
ὥς μάλα σευ ψευδομένῳ κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θωλάμου
5 ἐξελάσας σεισμῳ εἰς τὸ φανερόν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνε-
μαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος
χρόνος εἶναι· ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσέ (σε) καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ
θαλάμῳ, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένον. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. Διο- 3
πίθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, Λεωτυχίδῃ συναγορεύων
10 εἶπεν ὥς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἴη φυλάξασθαι τὴν
χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγη-
σιλάου ἀντεῖπεν ὥς οὐκ οἶοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν
φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν
15 χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁπότε μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους
τῆς πόλεως ἡγούντο. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφο- 4
τέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἶλοντο βασιλέα.

Οὕτῳ δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου,
θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσίων ὑπὲρ τῆς
20 πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι ἐπιβουλήν τινα τῶν δεινотάτων
φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυνεν, ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη
τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἶπεν· ὦ Ἀγη-
σίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτῳ μοι
σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις
25 καὶ τοῖς σωτήρσι, καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο.
ληγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει
τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ
πράγματος Κινάδωνα. οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος 5

1 ὃν τὸ Dind.: ὃν τοι M D V: ὃν τοι F corr.: οὗ τοι B 3 ἀλλὰ
ὁ Ποτειδᾶν Valckenaer: ἀλλ(ὰ) ὁπότε δ' ἂν codd. 4 ὥς] καὶ Nauck
σευ Valckenaer: σοι codd. κατεμάνυσεν Valckenaer τῷ θαλάμῳ
Parisinus E 6 δὲ B: om. cet. 7 τοι] τυ (= σε) Keller
ἔφυσε B M D V: ἔφησε C (F₁ ?): ἔφυγε F₂ σε addidi 13 post
χωλεύσαι add. τὴν βασιλείαν Otto: χωλὸς βασιλεύσῃ Tell 21 ἔθυνεν
Morus: ἔθυσεν codd. 28 νεανικὸς Naber

καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὖρωστος, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρομένων
 δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πῶς φαίη τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔσεσθαι, εἶπεν ὁ
 εἰσαγγεῖλας ὅτι ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύει ὁπόσοι εἶεν Σπαρτιάται ἐν τῇ
 ἀγορᾷ. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους 5
 καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους ὥς τετταράκοντα, ἡρόμην· Τί δὴ
 με τούτους, ὦ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε·
 Τούτους, ἔφη, νόμιζέ σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
 πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ. ἐπιδεικνύναι δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔνθα 10
 μὲν ἓνα, ἔνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
 ἅπαντας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτια-
 τῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἓνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην, συμ-
 6 μάχους δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ πολλούς. ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων
 πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶναι, λέγειν 15
 καὶ περὶ τούτου ἔφη αὐτὸν ὥς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστατεύουσιν
 οὐ πάνυ πολλοί, ἀξιόπιστοι δὲ συνειδέειν· αὐτοὶ μέντοι
 πᾶσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέειν καὶ εἴλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ
 τοῖς ὑπομειοσι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις
 λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν 20
 7 τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν. πάλιν οὖν
 ἐρωτῶντων· Ὅπλα δὲ πόθεν ἔφασαν λήψεσθαι; τὸν δ'
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἱ μὲν δῆπου συντεταγμένοι ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ [ἔφασάν
 γε] ὅπλα κεκτήμεθα, τῷ δ' ὄχλῳ, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σῖδηρον
 ἐπιδείξαι αὐτὸν ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ξίφη, 25
 πολλοὺς δὲ ὀβελίσκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ ἀξίνας,
 πολλὰ δὲ δρέπανα. λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα
 ὅπλα πάντ' εἴη ὁπόσοις ἄνθρωποι καὶ γῆν καὶ ξύλα καὶ

9-12 πλέον . . . συμμάχους B Pal.: om. cet.

clavius: om. B

18 ἔφασαν del. Hertlein

11 δύο Pal. Leon-

20 οὐδένα ἂν C:

οὐδὲν ἂν cet.

22 post λήψεσθαι Madvig excidisse putat αὐτὸς ἔφη

τοῦτο ἐρέσθαι vel sim.

23 ἔφασάν γε del. Morus:

27 καὶ δρέπανα δὲ πολλὰ C

τὸν δ' ἔφη vel αὐτὸν δ' ἔφη conicio

ἐφ' ὅσον δεῖ Madvig: ἐφ' ὅσον γε δεῖ Keller

λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας
τὰ ὄργανα ὅπλα ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀόπλους.
πάλιν αὖ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα πράτ-
τεσθαι, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιδημεῖν οἱ παρηγγελμένον εἴη. ἀκού- 8
5 σαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐσκεμμένα τε λέγειν ἠγήσαντο
αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην
ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων
ἄλλος ἄλλοθι ἐβουλευσάντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς
Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι ἥκειν
10 ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τοὺς ἐν
τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν
γυναικα, ἣ καλλίστη μὲν αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι
δ' ἐφίκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυ-
τέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. ὑπηρετῇκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ 9
15 Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν
σκυτάλην ἐκείνῳ, ἐν ᾗ γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὓς ἔδει συλ-
ληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων,
"Ἴθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρετῶν κέλευέ
σοι συμπέμψαι ἐξ ἧ ἐπταὶ οἱ ἂν τύχῳσι παρόντες. ἐμε-
20 μελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρέτης εἰδείη οὓς δέοι πέμ-
πειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδείεν ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν.
εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἀμάξας,
ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὥς
ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἑνα ἐκείνον ἔπεμπον. ἐν δὲ τῇ 10
25 πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανον αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ᾔδεσαν
ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἴη, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον ἐβούλοντο τοῦ
Κινάδωνος οἷτινες εἶεν οἱ συμπράττοντες, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι
αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμῆνυνται, ἵνα μὴ ἀποδρῶσιν. ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ
συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνειδότας πυθό-
30 μενοι αὐτοῦ γράψαντες ἀποπέμπειν τὴν ταχίστην τοῖς
ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ' ἔσχον οἱ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὥστε

3 μέλλοι B: μέλλει cet. 8 ἄλλος] ἄλλοι Halbertsma 13 ἐφίκει]
ἐδόκει Cobet 16 ἐκείνῳ B: αὐτῷ(i) cet. 18 ἔφασαν Hertlein:
ἔφη codd. 26 πρῶτον om. B

11 καὶ μόραν ἱππέων ἔπεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ' Αὐλῶνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰλημμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦκεν ἱππεὺς φέρων τὰ ὀνόματα ὧν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρῆμα τὸν τε μάντιν Τισαμενὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάμβανον. ὥς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἠλέγχετο, καὶ ὠμολόγει πάντα 5 καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἔλεγε, τέλος αὐτὸν ἦρουντο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, μηδενὸς ἥττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἤδη δεδεμένος καὶ τῷ χεῖρι καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν 10 περιήγοντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

IV Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ ὧν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τριήρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεύσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζομένας, προσακούσας δὲ 15 καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζομένων· ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη 2 εἰδέναι. ἀνεπτρωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς 20 συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺν περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὥς ἐσώθῃ τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δώσι τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν 25 νεοδαμῶδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἱ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας 30 παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου. ἐπαγ-

1 μόραν Leonclavius: μοῖραν C corr.: μοῖραν C pr. cet. 4 ἄλλους τοὺς B: om. cet. 21 συναγαγόντων C 29 ἐκείνου] αὐτοῦ C

γυλαμένον δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδόασί τε οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ᾗτησε καὶ ἐξαμήνου σίτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξήλθε,
 ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προείπεν ὅσους τε
 5 δέοι ἐκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ'
 ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων
 ὅτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο. ὥς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι 4
 οἱ βοιώταρχοι ὅτι θύοι, πέμψαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ
 εἶπαν μὴ θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν
 10 ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ
 ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος
 δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ στρα-
 τεύματος πλείστον, εἰς Ἑφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης πέμ- 5
 15 ψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτονόμους
 καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ'
 ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης· Εἰ τοίνυν
 θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι
 ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἀλλὰ
 20 βουλοίμην ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἑξαπατάσθαι.
 Ἄλλ' ἔξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως
 . . . σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἀδικήσῃ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθείσι Τισ- 6
 σαφέρνης μὲν ὥμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἑριππίδα
 25 καὶ Δερκυλῖδα καὶ Μεγίλλω ἢ μὴν πράξῃν ἀδόλως τὴν
 εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει
 ἢ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσῃν τὰς σπονδὰς.
 ὁ μὲν δὲ Τισσαφέρνης ἂ ὥμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ
 τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς

1 στρατείαν Leonclavius: στρατιὰν codd. 2 ἐκμήνου Cobet
 5 ὅπου Morus: ὅσους codd. 9 εἶπαν B: εἶπον cet. 10 ἐπιμαρ-
 τυρόμενος F M D V 15 εἶπε τοῦ Leonclavius 22 ad supplendum
 sententiae hiatum Cobet inseruit ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξῃν. Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ἔφη,
 ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως 25 Μεγίλλω Dind.:
 μεγιάλω(ιῶ) codd. 27 πράττοντος C: προστάττοντος B al.

ὧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

- 7 Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, 5 ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γινγνώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀγησιλάου ὦν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἰὲ παμπλήθης ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἰδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, 10 8 ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμηνε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον· οἳ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοίη Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς 15 τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράττοντά τι ἡττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὥς δ' αἰὲ τὰ ἐναντία ὦν ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἔγνω δὴ τὸ γινγνόμενον· καὶ οὔτε ἔπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἔτι εἶα ὄχλον τοῖς τε συμπράξαι τι δεομένοις σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔλαττον ἔξοιεν, εἰ 20 9 αὐτὸς παρείη. βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύ γε τοὺς φίλους ἠπίστω. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι· τοὺς δέ γε αὖξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' 25 ἴσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μῆτ' αἰσχύνομαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μῆτ' ἐμποδῶν σοι ὦ, ἀπόπεμψόν ποί 10 10 με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὦ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, 30 καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος

2 ἐπέμενε] ἐνέμενε Cobet coll. Ages. I. II ἐνέμεινε: ἐπέμεινε F₁ sed ei in ras.: ἐπέμεινε cod. Neap. X II ἔμηνε] ἔδακνε Uebelen 26 ἴσως B: ἴσως ἔφη cet. 31 ἐλλήσποντον C

αἰσθόμενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ
 Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα
 τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἱππέας
 ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ,
 5 αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἦκεν ἄγων πρὸς
 Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦσθη τε τῇ πράξει
 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπνυθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ
 ἀρχῆς.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ κατα- 11
 10 βάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προείπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ
 πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι
 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ
 ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν
 Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα
 15 φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσ-
 βεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχει, ὅτι ἐπιorkήσας
 αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι
 συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώ-
 ταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ
 20 πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ
 Καρίαν προείπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ
 Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
 εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, 12
 καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἣ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος
 25 ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην,
 τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν
 ὀρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ' ἱπ-
 πικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον περιῆγε, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι
 καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἱππῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα
 30 ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι
 εὐθὺς τάναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς

3 αὐτὸν Schneider : αὐτὸν codd. 11 καὶ σύμμαχοι B 16 ἔχει
 B : ἔχει cet. 26 αὐτοῦ Hertlein : αὐτοῦ codd. 27 ἱππικὸν]
 ἱππικὸν ἅπαν C 28 ἱκανὸν C F

τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσ-
 13 δοκήτοις παμπλήθη χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον
 χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου,
 προϊόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὡς προϊ-
 δοιεν τί τᾶμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ 5
 Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον
 ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμ-
 φθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
 τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα
 ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν 10
 Ἑλληνες ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγ-
 μένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα
 ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν
 14 ὤρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἤλθον, ὅσοι μὲν
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, 15
 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανείνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν
 ἱππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν
 οἱ Ἑλληνες ἱππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς
 ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ [Περσῶν] εἰς
 15 αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἵππομαχίας, 20
 θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἄλοβα
 γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέντος στρέψας ἐπο-
 ρεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γινώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἱππικὸν
 ἱκανὸν κτήσαιοτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι,
 ἔγνω τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολε- 25
 μεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ
 πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε· προειπὼν δέ, ὅστις παρέ-
 χοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ
 μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι
 ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως ζητοίη. 30

1 post πορεία ex Ages. 1. 16 ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ
 τὰς inser. Valckenaer ἀπροσδοκήτως C 4 προϊόντος] προϊόντες
 Leonclavius αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ Köppen 8 οὔτοι] αὐτοὶ Hartman
 12 εἰς Morus: ἐκ codd. 19 Περσῶν del. Morus 28 ἵππον V:
 ἱππικὸν cet. 30 αὐτοῦ codd.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν 16
 τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἑφεσον· ἀσκήσαι δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος
 ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστα
 σωμαίων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεύου·
 5 καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προύθηκεν, ὅσοι
 κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανέιν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ
 παρῆν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν
 γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἱππόδρομον τῶν ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ
 ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετώντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην 17
 10 τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἧ ἦν [τὴν Ἑφεσον] θέας ἐποίησεν· ἥ τε γὰρ
 ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων ὠνίων,
 οἳ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ
 σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ ζωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα κατε-
 σκεύαζον, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως οἶεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον
 15 εἶναι. ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἂν τις κακείνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν 18
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανω-
 μένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς
 στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέ-
 βουιντο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶεν,
 20 πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι;
 ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινα 19
 ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς
 ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλίσκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν.
 ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε
 25 ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων
 εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι
 μάχεσθαι.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὗ 20
 ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε οἱ μὲν περὶ
 30 Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς
 οἱ περὶ Ἑριππίδαν παρήσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν καὶ

3 et 4 ἥτις] εἷτις B 7 ἀνδρῶν del. Cobet τῶν om. V: τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων exhibit Ages. I. 25 10 τὴν Ἑφεσον del.
 Valckenaer: non exhib. Ages. 11 μεστὴ ἦν C Ages.

- ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς νεοδα-
 μώδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἑριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους, Μύγδωνα
 δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ προεῖπεν
 αὐτοῖς ὥς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα
 τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην 5
 21 παρασκευάζουσιν ὥς ἀγωνιούμενοι. ὁ μὲντοι Τισσαφέρνης
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἑξαπα-
 τῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε
 πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ
 ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγ- 10
 σίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν
 Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας
 πολεμίων πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε,
 22 τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἦκου οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς. καὶ τῷ μὲν
 ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπε διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν 15
 ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς
 αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν
 ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον τὴν
 βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπλήθεσι 20
 23 τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιννώσκων
 ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὕτω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ
 οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην
 συνάψαι, εἰ δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα
 εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν 25
 ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς,
 τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑψηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὥς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς
 24 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο
 οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, 30

15 εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν Ages. i. 36 17 ἐπαρμένους F: in Ages. i. 30
 ἐπαρμένους exhib. codd. 18 ὁ ἀγησίλαος Ages. 22 μὲν τοῖς B
 παρῆει C 23 ἀπῆει F₁ (?) cod. Neap. X 26 ὀπλιτῶν Ages.:
 ἱππέων codd. τὰ B: τοὺς cet.

καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
 ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἰρούσι καὶ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὥσπερ εἰκός,
 εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ
 5 φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε
 πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ ἡῦρε πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα τά-
 λαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησίλαος
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν.

Ὅτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν 25
 10 ἔτυχεν ὦν· ὥστε ἡγιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
 γνούς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον
 εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην κατα-
 πέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας
 ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέ-
 15 γοντας· ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ
 ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιῷ σὲ μὲν
 ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους
 οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀποκριναμένου 26
 δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσῃε ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι
 20 τελῶν, Σὺ δ' ἀλλά, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μετα-
 χώρησον, ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν
 ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἔως ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
 ἐκείσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνῳ
 μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν
 25 ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ 27
 τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ
 ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γιγνώσκουσι καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντινα
 αὐτὸς βούλοιο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῷδε
 λογισμῷ, ὥς, εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε πεζὸν πολὺ
 30 ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἐν οὔσης τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφοτέροις,
 τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας 28

5 ἄλλα τε] ἄλλ' ἅττα C
 Ages. : αὐτοῦ cet.

11 ὁ Περσῶν om. C
 29 ἀμφότερα C F

12 ἑαυτοῦ F

δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε
 ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι
 ὁπόσας ἐκάστη βούλοιτο τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί,
 ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο
 29 χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς ἑκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Πείσανδρον 5
 δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλότιμον
 μὲν καὶ ἔρρωμένον τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρα-
 σκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ
 ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν
 ἐπορεύετο.

10

- V Ὁ μὲντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
 καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ δια-
 νοοῦμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας
 ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἰρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τί χρῶτο τοῖς
 πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, 15
 δοὺς χρυσίου εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει
 πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προ-
 εστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ᾧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς
 Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν
 Ἀνδροκλείδῃ τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ καὶ Γαλαξιδώρῳ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ 20
 δὲ Τιμολάῳ τε καὶ Πολυάνθῃ, ἐν Ἀργεὶ δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ
 2 τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου
 τοῦ χρυσίου ὅμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομί-
 ζοντές τ' αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι†. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα
 εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ 25
 δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον, συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς
 μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.
- 3 Γινώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ
 μή τις ἄρξει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι Λοκροὺς 30

3 ἐκάστη] ἐκάστους B

22 τούτου om. M D V

νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν

ἔσεσθαι Simon

15 Τιμοκράτην] Ἑρμοκράτην Plut. Artax. 20

23 νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι Laves:

νομίζοντές γε αὐτὴν

25 εἰς] πρὸς Cobet

τοὺς Ὀπουντίους, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεύσι
 τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς, χρήματα τελέσαι, νομίζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας
 τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ
 ἐψεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν
 5 Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα ἔλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν 4
 Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Θηβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς
 Λοκροῖς, ὥς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν
 ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμ-
 βεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς
 10 τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδήουν τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι
 πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἠξίουں βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, δι-
 δάσκοντες ὥς οὐκ ἤρξαντο πολέμον, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι ἦλθον
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον 5
 πρόφασιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι
 15 αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν
 Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι ἀκολουθησά-
 ῃ. ἦτιώοντο δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν.
 ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὥς θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγχιλάον
 οὐκ εἶων καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὥς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ
 20 καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγχιλάῳ συνεστράτευν.
 ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν
 τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγχιλάου, καὶ
 ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδῶν σφίσιν εἶναι.
 25 οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 6
 φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Λύσανδρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν
 εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτούς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα
 παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλιάς καὶ
 Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἀλίαρτον. ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ Πανσανίας, ὅσπερ
 30 ἔμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς ῥήτην ἡμέραν,
 ἔχων Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους.

2 τελέσαι] ἐλάσαι Schneider

11 αὐτοῖς codd.

12 ἤρξαντο]

ἤρξαν τοῦ Cobet

15 ἐν Δεκελείᾳ] τῆς ἐκ Λείας Breitenbach

21 καλὸν del. Schäfer

25 τῶν] τῆς B

28 Μηλιάς Keller

- καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα ἔπραττε καὶ
 7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας,
 ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεζόμενος ἐν Τεγέα
 τοὺς τε ξιναγοὺς διέπεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων
 στρατιώτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις 5
 ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν,
 πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τοιαύδε.
- 8 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισα-
 μένων χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ
 ὀρθῶς μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλ' 10
 εἷς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν, ὃς ἔτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος.
 ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ,
 τότε ἅπανσα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς.
 δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὀργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
 9 δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. πολὺ 15
 δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιούμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἐγένεσθε, προθύμως
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες
 ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀφικόμενοι
 πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει·
 ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐτοσὶ 20
 10 ὑμᾶς ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλοισθ' ἂν
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπι-
 στάμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοῖ
 τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖτε; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν
 ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαρ- 25
 ρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε πλείστων ἤρχεστε, τότε
 πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι
 ἀποσταῖεν, ἔκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι προύστησαν, τότε ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγί-
 11 γνωσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ 30
 ὑμεῖς συνασπιδοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε,

I τὰ om. M 6 ἐμβαλοῖεν Dind. : ἐμβάλοιεν B D F : ἐμβάλλοιεν
 M V C 7 τοιαύδε] τάδε C 8 ψηφισαμένων B : ψηφισαμένοις cet.
 16 προθύμους C 27 ὅποι] ὅπη D C

ἀναφανήσονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς. ὥς δὲ ἀληθῆ
 λέγομεν, ἔὰν ἀναλογίσησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ
 ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν αἰεί
 ποτε δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἡλεῖοί γε μὴν νῦν 12
 5 ἔστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῖς
 προσγεγέννηται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς
 τί φῶμεν, οἳ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαροῦ-
 μενοι ὑπ' ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν
 δαπανημάτων μετείχον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπραξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ
 10 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποίας ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ποίων χρημάτων
 μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἴλωτας ἄρμοστὰς
 ἀξιούσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων,
 ἐπεὶ ἠτύχησαν, δεσπόται ἀναπεφήνασιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ 13
 οὗς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ
 15 ἐλευθερίας διπλὴν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχέκασιν· ὑπὸ τε
 γὰρ τῶν ἄρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὗς
 Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει. ὃ γε μὴν τῆς
 Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' αὐτοῖς συμβαλλόμενος εἰς
 τὸ ὑμῶν κρατῆσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ' ὑμῶν
 20 κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἔὰν ὑμεῖς αὖ 14
 προστῆτε τῶν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικουμένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺν
 ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πρόποτε γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχετε,
 τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνων δήπου ἡγεῖσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων
 καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχετε καὶ
 25 αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνες ἂν
 γένοισθε. καίτοι ἡμεν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι,
 ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δέ γε εἰκὸς τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενε-
 στέρως ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων,
 30 ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένων βοηθήσο-
 μεν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων 15

5 πολλῆς om. C F

18 συμβαλλόμενος V Morus

21 οὕτως B

23 μόνων δήπου] δή που μόνον C

31 τῶν λακεδαιμονίων C

πλεονεξία πολὺ εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἤρχεστε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλαπλασίῳ ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὥπλισμένων πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ 5 πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρα πόλει ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.

- 16 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων πάν-
πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν
αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ 10
τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως
παρακινδυνεύοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ ἔλα-
βον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς,
ἡμεῖς δέ γε μεθ' ὑμῶν μαχούμεθα ἐκείνοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ'
17 ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς 15
ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Πανσανίας μὲν ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων
στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ
ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων 20
καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκείνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἔφθη
18 τὸν Πανσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενος. ἦκων δὲ οὐκ ἐτι
ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος στράτευμα,
ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ἦει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτο- 25
νόμους γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ
19 τείχει διεκώλυνον, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἀκούσαντες
δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἳ τε ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ
ἵππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον
ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὥς κρατήσω 30

2 μὲν B: om. cet. οὐκ ἐχόντων Orelli: οὐχ ἐκόντων codd.
5 νομίζομεν V: νομίζοιμεν cet. 12 χάριτα] χάριν Cobet 23 λακε-
δαιμόνος B: λακεδαιμονίων cet. 27 προσέβαλλε C F 30 ἐπ-
έπεσον Stephanus: ἔπεσον codd.

ὑπέμενεν, ἄδηλον· τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος
 ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν
 Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ
 ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι. ὥς 20
 5 δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ στενοπορία
 ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ὀπλῖται ἠκόντιζόν
 τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὥς δὲ ἔπεσον αὐτῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες
 καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐνέκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ
 10 τοῦ κατάντους καὶ ἀποθυήσκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι.
 ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ 21
 ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
 ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἐκάστους, ἐκ τούτου μείζον δὴ
 15 ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Πανσανίας
 ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ
 ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἡγούντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν σιωπὴν
 τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ 22
 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες συμπαρετάξαντο ὃ τε
 20 Πανσανίας οὐ προσήγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν
 Θηβαίων πολὺ μείζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας
 συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας ἐβουλευέτο
 πότερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τόν τε Λύσανδρον
 ἀναιροῖτο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. λογιζόμενος δ' 23
 25 ὁ Πανσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι <οἱ> ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς
 Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς εἶη καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα
 ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασιν οὐκ
 ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύμως στρατεύοιντο·
 ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν ὥς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ
 30 δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἶη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ

2 ἦ] οἱ B 3 ἔφυγον M 14 μείζον δὴ B: δὴ μείζον cet.
 20 τῷ] τῶν Tillmanns 22 πεντηκοστῆρας codd.: corr. Dind.
 25 ἄλλοι οἱ Stephanus: ἄλλοι codd. λακεδαιμονίων B: τῶν λακε-
 δαιμονίων cet. 27 ἀποκεχωρήκει BC 30 αὐτῶν F₂: αὐτῶν cet.

τείχει ἔκειντο, ὥστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὔσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
 πύργων ῥάδιον εἶη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξεν
 24 αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι
 Θηβαῖοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ὑποδοῖεν τοὺς νεκρούς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ'
 ᾧτε ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν 5
 καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας. τού-
 των δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως ἀπῆσαν,
 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν
 χωρίων του ἐπιβαίῃ, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδούς. αὕτη
 25 μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. ὁ 10
 μέντοι Πανσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου.
 κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστερήσειεν εἰς Ἀλάρτον
 τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι,
 καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἄλλ' οὐ μάχῃ ἐπειράτο τοὺς νεκροὺς
 ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν 15
 τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῇ
 δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη· καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν,
 καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεῖ νόσφ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη.

1 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ Schneider
 τὸν Cobet

4 ὑποδοῖεν B : ἀποδοῖεν cet.
 18 οὖν B : om. cet.

15 τῶν]

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ **I**
 Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις
 δὲ τὰς μὲν βία, τὰς δ' ἐκούσας προσελάμβανε. λέγοντος δὲ **2**
 τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ὥς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν
5 αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξιοι
 καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου
 ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν Ὅτυς καὶ **3**
 συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως
10 οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε
 τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Ὅτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ
 πελταστάς. χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθρι- **4**
 δάτῃ, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ ἂν δοίης Ὅτυν τὴν
 θυγατέρα; Πολύ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος
15 ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε
 μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ὅτυς **5**
 ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἀσπασόμενος·
 ἥρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα,
 μεταστησάμενος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην· Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὅτυ, **6**
20 ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι
 Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ νύόν, ἔφη, ἑώρακας
 αὐτοῦ ὥς καλὸς ἐστι; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρας

4 πρὸς] εἰς Hertlein
 χώρας cet.

12 ὁ ἀγησίλαος F
 16 ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ B

15 καὶ χώρας B:
 21 ἑώρακας codd.

- συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτου μὲν φασι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ
 7 καλλίονα εἶναι. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὅτυς, καλὴ γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ
 ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γενένηται, συμβουλευοίμ' ἄν
 σοι τὴν παῖδα ἄγεσθαι γυναικα, καλλίστην μὲν οὖσαν, οὐ τί
 ἀνδρὶ ἥδιον; πατρὸς δ' εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοντος 5
 τοσαύτην, ὅς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται
 αὐτὸν ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὥς ὀρέσ, πεποίηκεν.
 8 εὖ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκείνον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται
 τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον ἄνδρα εὐεργετῆιν <ἄν> δύναιτο.
 νόμιζε δὲ τούτων πραχθέντων μὴ ἐκείνον ἄν σοι μόνον 10
 κηδεστήν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαιμο-
 νίους, ἡμῶν δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 9 Ἑλλάδα. καὶ μὴν μεγαλειότερως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράτ-
 τοις, τίς ἄν ποτε γήμει; ποίαν γὰρ νύμφην πρόποτε τοσοῦτοι
 ἱππεῖς καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται προύπεμψαν ὅσοι τὴν σὴν 15
 10 γυναικα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἄν; καὶ ὁ Ὅτυς
 ἐπήρετο· Δοκοῦντα δ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθρι-
 δάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος
 μὲν ἐμέ γε οὐκ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι, καίπερ
 ὑπερχαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον μοι δοκῶ 20
 11 ἥδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν ἐξευρίσκω. Τί οὖν,
 ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ ταῦτ' ἐστί; καὶ
 ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἴτ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε
 12 αὐτὸν βουληθῆναι ἅπερ ἡμεῖς. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες
 ἐδίδασκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέτριβον, Βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ Ὅτυ, καὶ 25
 ἡμεῖς δεῦρο καλέσωμεν αὐτόν; Πολύ γ' ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
 σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐκ τούτου
 δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.
 13 προσιόντων δ' εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριππίδας· Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ
 Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἂν τις μακρολογοίῃ; τέλος δὲ λέγει 30

3 συμβουλευοίμ' C F
9 ἄν add. Dind.

14 γήμειεν B

δὲ C F

4 ἄγεσθαι Markland: γενέσθαι codd.
10 κ(κ)είνον codd.

18 ὦ ὅτν pro ὁ Ἀγησίλαος C F

28 δῆ]

13 σοῦ om. C F

28 δῆ]

Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν ἂν ἡδέως ὅ τι σοι δοκοίη. Ἐμοὶ 14
 μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα,
 τύχη ἀγαθῇ διδόναι Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμβάνειν.
 τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἥρος οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα περὶ ἀγαγεῖν.
 5 Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὅτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδη ἂν
 πέμπωτο, εἰ σὺ βούλοιο. ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ 15
 λαβόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὅτυν.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα,
 τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπα-
 10 γαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείῳ ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα
 καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρναβάζω, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ
 καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θῆραι
 αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ <ἐν>
 ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγκαλαι. παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς 16
 15 παντοδαπῶν ἰχθύων πλήρης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα
 τοῖς ὀρνιθεῦσαι δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε,
 καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ
 λαμβάνων. καταφρονητικῶς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ 17
 μὴδὲν πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ
 20 ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον
 ἐσπαρμένοις, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχων δύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἱππέας δὲ
 ὥς τετρακοσίους. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὥς εἶδον αὐτὸν προσελαύ- 18
 νοντα, συνέδραμον ὥς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν,
 ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἄρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
 25 ὅπισθεν γενόμενος, ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. ὥς δὲ 19
 τὰ ἄρματα ἐμβαλόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἄθρόον, ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖς
 κατέβαλον ὥς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατέφυγον
 πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτυχε σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὢν.
 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αἰσθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης 20
 30 τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Κανῇ κώμῃ μεγάλῃ στρατοπεδευόμενον,

10 ἐπεπορεύετο F: ἐπορεύετο C

περιειργασμένοι codd.

ἐν add. Dind.

13 περιειργμένοις Valckenaer:

περιέρρει cet.

16 ἐχείμαζε C: καὶ ἐχείμαζε V

14 παρέρρει B:

BC ὥς om. D: εἰς om. FV

27 κατέβαλλον

ἀπέχοντα στάδια ὥς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ εὐθὺς λέγει
 21 πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. καὶ ὁ Ἡριππίδας ἐπιθυμῶν λαμπρόν
 τι ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὀπλίτας τε εἰς δισχι-
 λίους καὶ πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσούτους καὶ ἱππέας τοὺς
 τε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 5
 22 ὁπόσους πείσειεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ, ἐθύετο· καὶ
 ἅμα δεῖλῃ καλλιερησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρεῖναι πρόσθεν τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου. σκότους δὲ γενομένου οὐδ' οἱ ἡμίσεις ἐκάστων
 23 ἐξήλθον. ὅπως δὲ μή, εἰ ἀποτρέποιτο, καταγελῶεν αὐτοῦ 10
 24 οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἐπορεύετο σὺν ἧ εἶχε δυνάμει. ἅμα δὲ
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδεῖα, τῆς μὲν
 προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν ὄντων πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, αὐτοὶ δὲ
 διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν
 ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ οἷα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ 15
 25 τούτοις σκεύη πολλὰ καὶ ὑποζύγια σκευοφόρα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ
 φοβεῖσθαι μή, εἴ που κατασταίῃ, κυκλωθεὶς πολιορκοῖτο,
 ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας ἐπῆει, ὥσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα
 26 ἀφανίζων τὰς στρατοπεδεύσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρή-
 ματα ἀπήγαγον οἱ τε Παφλαγόνες καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης, 20
 ὑποστήσας Ἡριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἀφείλετο
 ἅπαντα τὸν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ
 27 πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις. ἐκεῖνοι
 μέντοι τὰυτα παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀδικηθέντες καὶ
 ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι ῥέχοντο ἀπιόντες εἰς 25
 Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος
 28 ἀποστὰς βασιλέως ἐπολέμησεν αὐτῷ. Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν δὴ
 τῆς ἀπολείψεως τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ
 τῶν Παφλαγόνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.
 29 Ἦν δέ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, ὃς καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ 30
 ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένος ὢν καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ' ἐκείνουν

8 πρόσθε B § 25 post § 17 transpon. Laves 21 ὑποστή-
 σας] ἐπιστήσας Leonclavius 22 ἵνα] ὅπως C 23 ἀπαγάγη
 DV: ἀπάγη C τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους B 26 πιστεύοντες C F

τὸν χρόνον ἐξενώθη. οὗτος οὖν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
 ὡς οἶοιτο συναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἂν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας
 Φαρνάβαζον. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σπονδὰς λαβὼν καὶ 30
 δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκείμενον χωρίον,
 5 ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαὶ ἐν
 πόᾳ τινὶ κατακείμενοι ἀνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ἔχων
 στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄξιαν. ὑποτιθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν
 θεραπόντων ῥαπτὰ, ἐφ' ὧν καθίζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς,
 ἥσχύνθη ἐντρυφήσαι, ὁρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν φαυλότητα·
 10 κατεκλίθη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶχε χαμαί. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν 31
 ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖπαν, ἔπειτα τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντος
 τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπρούτεινε καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ
 τοῦτο ἤρξατο λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος·
 ὦ Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐγὼ 32
 15 ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος
 ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων
 ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιοῦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος
 μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολεμίους.
 καὶ διπλοῦν ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν πώποτε μου οὔτε
 20 ποιήσαντος οὔτ' εἰπόντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχοιτ' ἂν κατηγορήσαι.
 τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὥς οὐδὲ 33
 δεῖπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαντοῦ χώρα, εἰ μή τι ὦν ἂν ὑμεῖς
 λίπητε συλλέξομαι, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἃ δέ μοι ὁ πατήρ καὶ
 οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ δένδρων καὶ θηρίων
 25 μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἡὺφραινόμην, ταῦτα πάντα ὁρῶ
 τὰ μὲν κατακεκομμένα, τὰ δὲ κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ
 μὴ γιγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ
 με ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισταμένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι.
 ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν ἐψηχύνθησαν 34
 30 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἶπεν·
 Ἄλλ' οἶμαι μὲν σε, ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς

7 αὐτῷ B: om. cet.

Schneider: ἀλλήλοισ codd.

λέξωμαι B 25 μεστὰ B

10 κατεκλίθη Cobet

13 ἤρξατο] ἤρξε τοῦ Dind.

27 δέ] δὴ Morus

11 ἀλλήλους

23 συλ-

διδάξατέ B F₁

Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι ξένοι ἀλλήλοις γίνονται ἄνθρωποι. οὔτοι δέ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιοι γένωνται, σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ξένωμένοις πολεμοῦσι καί, ἂν οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦντες πάντα ἡναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου 5 πολέμια νομίζειν· σοὶ γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς
 35 ἂν ποιησαίμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάξασθαί σε ἔδει ἀντὶ δεσπότην βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότης, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ σοι συμβούλευον· νῦν δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένῳ μηδένα προσκυνοῦντα μηδὲ δεσπότην ἔχοντα ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ 10 σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι
 36 τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μὲν, ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν συμμάχοις χρώμενον αὔξειν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους 15 εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἅμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἴης καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο,
 37 τίνος ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι; Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἀπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνομαι ἅπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττῃ, βουλή- 20 σομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προστάτῃ (τοιούτῳ τι, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοτιμία ἐστίν), εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστα.
 38 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Εἴθ', ὦ λῶστέ σύ, τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. ἐν 25 δ' οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἅπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, καὶ πόλεμος ἦ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφεξόμεθα.
 39 Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν

1 ἄνθρωποι B: οἱ ἄνθρωποι cet. 3 ἂν] ἐὰν C F 7 σε] σοι C F
 11 ἑαυτοῦ B 17 δέοιο codd.: corr. Cobet 18 ἀποκρίνομαι Schneider: cf. Plat. Gorg. 505 C μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων καταλύομεν;
 19 πρέπειν B M D V 27 τῆς σῆς χώρας B: τῆς χώρας τῆς σῆς cet.
 29 τὴν σύνοδον B: τὸν σύλλογον cet.

Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπῆει, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 Παραπίτας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἔτι ὢν, ὑπολειφθεὶς καὶ
 προσδραμών, Ξένον σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι. Ἐγὼ
 δέ γε δέχομαι. Μέννησόν νυν, ἔφη. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτόν
 5 (εἶχε δὲ καλόν) ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξιόμενος,
 φάλαρα ἔχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα,
 περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηδήσας
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετεδίωκε τὸν πατέρα. ὥς δ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ 40
 Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημῖᾳ ἀποστερῶν ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα
 10 ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας υἱόν, τά τ' ἄλλα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
 ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκου υἱέος
 Ἀθηναίου, πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι' ἐκείνον ἐγκριθεῖη τὸ
 στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων.

Καὶ τότε δὴ, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, εὐθὺς 41
 15 ἀπεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἔαρ ἦδη ὑπέφαινε.
 ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Θήβης πεδίον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ
 τὸ τῆς Ἀστυρηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε
 συνέλεγε πανταχόθεν πάμπληθες στράτευμα. παρεσκευάζετο
 γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὥς δύναιτο ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὁπόσα
 20 ὀπισθεν ποιήσαιο ἔθνη πάντα ἀποστερήσειν βασιλέως.

Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι II
 ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ἦσθοντο τά τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ
 πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρα-
 25 τεύειν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα 2
 παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν
 Ἐπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, τά τε ἄλλα διηγείτο ὥς
 ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὥς τάχιστα
 τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν 3
 30 ἤνεγκεν, ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἷων τιμῶν καὶ οἷων ἐλπίδων
 ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὅμως δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσε

4 μέννησο νῦν codd. : corr. Bothe 9 ἀδελφὸς Dind. : ἀδελφὸς
 codd. 20 ἀποστερήσειν] ἀποστήσειν Voigtländer 31 ἀποστε-
 ροῖτο C : ἀποστερεῖτο F : ἀπεστέρητο V pr.

- τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον
 εἶη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· ἂν μέντοι ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται,
 εὖ ἐπίστασθε, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι
 ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσομαι πράξων ὧν ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε.
- 4 ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' ἐψηφί- 5
 σαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ
 καλῶς τὰκεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἦκειν εἰς τὴν
 5 Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες.
 ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλιπεν Εὐξενον ἄρμοστήν
 καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα 10
 δύναιτο διασφύζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' Ἑλληνας
 στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους
 ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστον
 στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις 15
 εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ
 τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις,
 ὅστις εὐιπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλοτάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ
 6 τούτοις νικητήριον δώσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσιν,
 ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερ- 20
 ρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ
 7 εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἄθλα τὰ μὲν πλείστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπονη-
 μένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ ὀπλιτικὰ καὶ ἱππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ
 στέφανοι χρυσοῦ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἄθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο
 ἢ ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσούτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων, 25
 παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη.
 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριππίδας καὶ Ὀρσιππος,
 τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν,
 ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο 30

5 ἀκούσαντες δὲ C πολλοὶ] πολὺ B 18 εὐοπλωτάτην B
 21 ὅτι . . . δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν] ὅστις . . . διευκρινεῖ Kurz: ὅτι . . . δεῖ διευκρι-
 νεῖν Cobet στρατευσομένους Cobet 22 εὖ κρίνειν Otto
 26 παμπόλλων del. Nauck

τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦνπερ βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ δὲ πόλις, 9
ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ γένους
5 ὄντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγείσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆσαν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν 10
οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην
συμφορώτατα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιτο. Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ 11
Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες σίμμαχοι,
10 ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶγμα οἷόνπερ τὸ τῶν
ποταμῶν. οἳ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ
μεγάλοι εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πορρωτέρω γίνων-
ται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ
ῥεῦμα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν μὲν 12
15 ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παραλαμ-
βάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμαχώτεροι γίνονται.
ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὁπόσοι σφῆκας ἐξαίρειν βούλονται,
ἂν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολ-
λῶν τυπτομένους· ἂν δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ προσφέρωσι,
20 πᾶσχοντας μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ'
οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν
αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὴν μάχην
ποιεῖσθαι. δόξαντος δ' εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο ταῦτα. 13
ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο καὶ διωμολογοῦντο
25 εἰς ὁπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ
λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιοῦμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν
τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δὴ
Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντιωέας ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφιάλον.
καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κοριν- 14

2 ἐστράτευσεν M 3 ἔφαινον C 6 ἐξῆσαν] ἐξήνεγκαν B ἦσαν
καὶ V 8 ποιήσαιντο C₂ : ἐποίησαντο C₁ : ποιήσαιντο cet. 28 τὴν
ἀμφιάλον] τὴν ἀμφὶ Ἀλέαν Herbst : τὴν Στυμφαλίαν vel Αἰγιάλειαν
Jungclaussen : τὴν ἀγχιάλον vel αἰγιαλόν Geist : ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμφιάλον
Breitenbach : τὴν ἐπ' αἰγιαλόν R. Schneider

- θίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμ-
 μαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν
 Ἐπιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποιοῦν οἱ γυμνήτες τῶν
 15 ἀντιπάλων. ὥς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῆσαν 5
 διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ
 ἕτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἔμπροσθεν
 ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προΐοντες οἱ Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπείχον τῶν πολεμίων, κἀκείνοι
 αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. 10
- 16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρων. συνελέγησαν γὰρ
 ὀπλίται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων δὲ
 καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων ἐγγὺς τρισχι-
 λιοι καὶ Σικωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ
 καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἀλιδέων ἐγένοντο οὐκ 15
 ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱππεῖς μὲν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων περὶ ἑξακοσίους, Κρήτες δὲ τοξόται ἡκολούθουν ὥς
 τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονῆται Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρίνων
 καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων. Φλειάσιοι μέντοι
 οὐκ ἡκολούθουν· ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν 20
- 17 δὴ <ῆ> μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἥ γε μὴν τῶν
 πολεμίων ἡθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας,
 Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ
 Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων
 γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ 25
 ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον· ἱππεῖς
 δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν [ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν] εἰς ὀκτακο-
 σίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἑξακοσίους, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ
 Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν, Λοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντή-
 κοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν· 30

5 προῆσαν Leonclavius: προσή(ῆ)σαν codd. 13 λασιωνέ(αί)ων
 codd.: corr. Schneider 18 λεδρίνων codd.: corr. id. 21 ἡ add.
 Dind. 24 περὶ] εἰς C 27 ἐπεὶ . . . παρήσαν del. Naber
 30 post ἦν lacunam stat. Dind.

καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες
παρήσαν αὐτοῖς.

Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ 18
ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι κατήπειγον τὴν μάχην
5 συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους
ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ κατ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντε-
τάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγ-
γειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἔσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποιή-
10 σαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ὅπως
ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ
διασπασθείησαν, ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι
κίνδυνος εἴη κυκλωθῆναι. τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 19
οὐκ ἡσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον
15 τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς
ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην.
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ξιναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγ-
γύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὕτω πολὺν ὑπερέτεινον τὸ κέρας,
20 ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἕξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ 20
στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ
Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγοῦντο ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
25 συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ
Θεσπίας γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ἔπιπτον ἐκα-
τέρων. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν 21
Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι
30 πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντε-
ταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας φυλὰς τῶν
Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρήσαι παρήλθον,

ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ
 22 Τεγεατῶν τοῖς δ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῇσαι
 παρῆναι τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας 5
 δὴ παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπε-
 λάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' ἐπέτυχον
 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ
 23 τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ
 γενομένων, οἱ ἡττώμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ 10
 τεῖχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν
 εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατόπεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπανα-
 χωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστή-
 σαντο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

III 'Ο δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει· 15
 ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικῶέν
 τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ
 πολεμίων παμπλήθεις· ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ
 2 ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλαοῦ· Ἀρ'
 ἄν, ὦ Δερκυλῖδα, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπύμπουσαι 20
 πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὥς τάχιστα πύθοντο;
 ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ'
 ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα
 ἂν ἀπαγγείλαις; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ αἰὲ φιλαπό-
 δημοσ ἦν, εἶπεν· Εἰ σὺ τάττοισ. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ 25
 προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἔαν καὶ τάδε εὖ γένηται,
 3 πάλιν παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας
 ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος δια-
 λάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν
 οὖν καὶ Κρανώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμ- 30

10 ἔφευγον F 11 εἰρξάντων Schneider : ἀρξάντων codd. 17 τεθ-
 νᾶναι D F : τεθναῖεν Cobet 26 γε B : om. cet. 28 ἐφ' (sic)
 F₂ test. Keller : ἀφ' cet. πρῶτον] ἤδη C F διαλλάξας] διελάσας
 Otto : διᾶξας Madvig 30 κρανώνιοι codd. : corr. Dind.

μαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι
 αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακο-
 λουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, 4
 τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρᾷ ἔχων
 5 τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυνον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπε-
 λαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ παρε- 5
 τάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ
 εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην
 10 ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ 6
 ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἂν ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
 μάλα εὐρώστους ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγ-
 γέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὥς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι
 αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὥς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν 7
 15 ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ
 δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους
 ἡλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν 8
 ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει.
 ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίνεται·
 20 ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν
 δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο.
 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ 9
 Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα ἠδόμενος
 τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονούντας ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ ἐνεκικήκει
 25 σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων
 τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας
 ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια.

Ὅντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μηνοειδὴς ἔδοξε 10
 φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἡττημένοι εἶεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ

7 αὐτὸν edd.

11 αὐτὸν B: αὐτὸν cet.

12 μάλα om. B:

habet Ages. 2. 3

15 ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' οὐδ' Ages.: ἔφυγον οὐδ' ἀνα-

στρέψαντες cit. Büchschütz

18 αὐτὸν edd.

21 ἐν τῷ ὄρει

τῷ ναρθακίῳ D Ages. 2. 4: ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν ναρθακίῳ codd cet.: ἐν Ναρθακίῳ

ἐν τῷ ὄρει Breitenbach

25 ὑπερβάλλων codd. et Ages. 2. 5: ὑπερ-

βαλὼν Hirschig

- ναυμαχία καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος τεθναίη. ἐλέγετο δὲ
 11 καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδον
 τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀλλήλοις, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὄντα σὺν
 ταῖς Φοινίσσαις εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα
 12 τετάχθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πει- 5
 σάνδρου, καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος [τοῦ] Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμεί-
 ξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς τὴν
 γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν 10
 ἐξεώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναὺς σῶζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο
 εἰς τὴν Κνίδον, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενον ἀπο-
 13 θανεῖν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι τοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἴη αὐτῷ οἶον ἀγαθῶν μὲν γιγνομένων 15
 ἡδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ὄρῳεν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι
 κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὥς ἀγγέλ-
 λοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκώς, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
 14 ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὥς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς
 διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων· ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς 20
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὥς
 Λακεδαιμονίων νικῶντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
 15 Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιωτοί,
 Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς, Λοκροὶ
 ἀμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα ἡ 25
 ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβάσα, ἡμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ,
 ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμῳδεῖς συστρατευσάμενοι
 αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι
 δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσας διὕων παρέλαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγέ- 30
 νοντο ὀπλίται Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν

7 αὐτοῦ codd.
 corr. Schneider

τοῦ del. edd.: αὐτοῦ C
 ὅπῃ] ὅποι F M D V

11 ἐξεώσθησαν codd.:
 18 νικῶν] νικῶν Hartman

πολὺν πλείους οἱ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου· ἱππεῖς δ' αὖ παραπλήσιοι
 ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὲ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων· 16
 διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη
 τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν
 5 πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν
 Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν
 τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐ-
 νύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιὸι ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι
 δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγῇ 17
 10 πολλὴ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἡνίκα δ' ἀπέειχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον
 στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο.
 ὥς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων, ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὦν Ἑριππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν
 αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες
 15 οὔτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικό-
 μενοι ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο
 τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα. κἀν- 18
 ταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησί-
 λαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους
 20 διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθύς
 ἐξελίσσας τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι
 ὥς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, δια-
 πεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώ-
 ρουν ἔρρωμένως. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν 19
 25 ἕξεστω εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἵλετό γε τὰ
 ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας
 ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὀπισθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο,
 ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ συμβαλόντες
 τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον.
 30 τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα,

3 καὶ πῶς B : καὶ πῇ(ῇ) cet. : καὶ γὰρ Ages. 2. 9 : καὶ πῶς Breiten-
 bach 7 τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ] τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ codd. : τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Ages.
 10 ἀπ' D pr. Ages. 2. 10 : ἐπ' cet. 16 ἐτρέψαντο τὸ Ages.

- 20 πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν νίκη
 Ἀγησιλάου ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσενήνεκτο
 πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγου-
 σιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ
 τῷ νεῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ πολλὰ 5
 τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἔαν τε
 ἀπιέναι ἢ βούλονται ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα. τότε μὲν
 οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡδὴ ὀψέ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.
- 21 πρῶ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευε τὸ
 στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας 10
 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ'
 ἐποιοῦν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς
 νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἶ τε σπονδαὶ γίγ-
 νονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάν- 15
 των· Γῦλις δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν
- 22 εἰς Φωκέας, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. καὶ τὴν
 μὲν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκευὴ ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν
 καὶ σῖτον ἥρπαζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων
 ἀποχωρούντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ 20
 Λοκροὶ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες. ὥς δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ διώξαντες κατέβαλόν τινας, ἐκ
 τούτου ὅπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερ-
- 23 δεξίων ἔβαλλον. οἱ δ' ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν
 διώκειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν 25
 διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐπιπτον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προορᾶν τὰ
 ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκουσι
 Γῦλις τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ
 πάντες ὥς ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν καταλευ-
 σθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβοήθησαν 30

7 ἐκέλευε B Ages. : ἐκέλευσε(ν) cet. 19 τελευταίων Schneider :
 τελευταῖον codd. 22 κατέβαλλον BC 24 τὸ Castalio : τὸν
 codd. 25 τε B : om. cet. 26 καὶ del. Hartman τὰ] τοὺς
 C F 29 Σπαρτιατῶν] στρατιωτῶν C F

αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν ἅπαντες ἀπολέσθαι.

Μετὰ τοῦτό γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο IV
στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ' οἶκον. ἐκ
5 δὲ τούτου ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁρμώμενοι, Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυῶνος. ὁρῶντες δ' οἱ
Κορίνθιοι ἑαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν δηρουμένην καὶ ἀποθνή-
σκοντας διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
10 συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὄντας καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν
ἐνεργοὺς οὕσας, οἱ πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης
ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ συνιστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον ταῦτα ἀλλήλους.
γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κοριν- 2
θίωι οἳ τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ
15 οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγενημένοι ὥς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδῶν
ποιήσουιτο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμμένους, κινδυνεύσει
πάλιν ἢ πόλις λακωνίσαι, οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχείρουν ποι-
εῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύ-
σαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν νόμῳ τις καταγνωσθῇ, οὐκ
20 ἀποκτινύνουσιν ἐν ἑορτῇ· ἐκεῖνοι δ' Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν
προεῖλοντο, ὅτι πλείους ἂν ᾤοντο λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥστε
ἀποκτείνειν. ὥς δ' ἐσημάνθη οἷς εἴρητο οὐς ἔδει ἀποκτείνειν, 3
σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔπαιον τὸν μὲν τινα συνεστηκότα ἐν
κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον, τὸν δὲ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι δ' ὃν
25 καὶ κριτὴν καθήμενον. ὥς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, εὐθὺς
ἔφευγον οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν τῇ
ἀγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμούς· ἔνθα δὲ οἱ ἀνοσιώτατοι
καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμιμον φρονοῦντες, οἳ τε κελεύοντες
καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἔσφαττον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥστ'
30 ἐνίοις καὶ τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀδημο-
νῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδόντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἀποθνήσκουσι δ' 4

1 οἱ ἐκ Weiske
Breitenbach
μέλλοντες B

4 δ om. C
24 τὸν δὲ καθήμενον del. Laves

8 πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας
28 κελεύοντες]

οὕτω τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοί· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύσαντος Πασιμήλου
 τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ. ὥς δὲ
 τῆς κραυγῆς ἤσθοντο, καὶ φεύγοντές τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος
 ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκ τούτου ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν 5
 Ἀκροκόρινθον, προσβαλόντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 5 ἀπεκρούσαντο· βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πίπτει τὸ
 κιόκρανον ἀπὸ τοῦ κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενο-
 μένου. καὶ θυομένοις δὲ τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ ὥστε οἱ μάντις
 ἔφασαν ἄμεινον εἶναι καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ 10
 μὲν πρῶτον ὥς φευξόμενοι ἔξω τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοὺς ἔπειθον καὶ μητέρες ἰοῦσαι καὶ
 ἀδελφοί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων ἦσαν οἱ
 ὀμνύοντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μηδὲν χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι,
 6 οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθόν τινες οἴκαδε αὐτῶν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς 15
 τυραννέοντας, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ
 τὸ καὶ ὄρους ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν
 πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζό-
 μενοι τῆς ἐν Ἄργει μετέχειν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 πόλει μετοίκων ἔλαττον δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντό τινες αὐτῶν οἱ 20
 ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι· πειρωμένους δὲ τὴν
 πατρίδα, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Κόρινθον ποιῆσαι καὶ
 ἐλευθέραν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μαιφόνων καθαρὰν, εὐ-
 νομία δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύναιτο καταπρᾶξαι
 ταῦτα, σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιτο, 25
 τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὀρεγομένους ἀξι-
 7 πεινοτάτης τελευτῆς τυχεῖν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖτον ἄνδρε
 δύο, Πασίμηλός τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύντε διὰ χειμάρρου
 συγγενέσθαι Πραξίτῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ, ὃς

6 προσβάλλοντας B 8 ἀπὸ τοῦ Schneider: ἀπὸ τοῦ codd.
 9 καὶ om. B 13 ἀδελφαὶ Naber 15 τοὺς] fort. ἐνίοις
 17 ἀνεσπᾶσθαι Dind. 18 αὐτοῖς B: αὐτῶν cet. 21 ἀβίωτον F₂:
 ἀξιοβίωτοι B: ἀξιοβίωτον cet. 25 δύναιτο del. Cobet 26 γε
 Schneider: τε codd. ἀξιεπαινοτάτης B: ἀξιεπαινετωτάτης cet.

ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μόρας φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυνῶνι, καὶ
 εἶπον ὅτι δύναντ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ κατα-
 τείνοντα ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γινώσκων
 τῷ ἄνδρι ἀξιολπίστῳ ὄντι, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραξάμενος
 5 ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπιέναι μέλλουσιν ἐκ Σικυνῶνος μόραν κατα-
 μείναι, ἔπραττε τὴν εἴσοδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρι καὶ κατὰ 8
 τύχην καὶ κατ' ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς
 πύλας ταύτας ἔνθαπερ τὸ τροπαῖον ἔστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ ἔχων
 ὁ Πραξίτας ἔρχεται τὴν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυνώνιους καὶ Κοριν-
 10 θίων ὅσοι φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν πρὸς ταῖς
 πύλαις, φοβούμενος τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν
 ἄνδρα εἰσπέμψαι σκεψόμενον τὰ ἔνδον. τῷ δὲ εἰσηγαγέ-
 την καὶ οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὥστε ὁ εἰσελθὼν ἐξήγ-
 γειλε πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως οἰάπερ ἐλεγέτην. ἐκ τούτου δ' 9
 15 εἰσέρχεται. ὥς δὲ πολὺ διεχόντων τῶν τευχῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
 παραταττόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἑαυτοῖς ἔδοξαν εἶναι, σταύρωμά τ'
 ἐποίησαντο καὶ τάφρον οἶαν ἐδύναντο πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἕως δὴ οἱ
 σύμμαχοι βοηθήσοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν
 τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακή. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἥ
 20 εἰσῆλθον ἡμέραν ἄμαχοι διήγαγον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκον οἱ
 Ἀργεῖοι πασσυδίᾳ βοηθοῦντες· καὶ εὐρόντες τεταγμένους
 Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυνώνιους δὲ
 ἐχομένους, Κορινθίων δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ
 ἑκατὸν πρὸς τῷ ἑφῷ τείχει, ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι [δὲ] τοῦ
 25 ἑφῶν τείχους <οἱ> περὶ Ἰφικράτην μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τού-
 τοις Ἀργεῖοι· εὐώνυμον δ' εἶχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς
 πόλεως. καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει εὐθύς ἐχώρουν· 10
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν Σικυνώνιους ἐκράτησαν καὶ διασπάσαντες τὸ
 σταύρωμα ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν
 30 ἀπέκτειναν. Πασίμαχος δὲ ὁ ἱππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἱππέας

3 πρόσθε B

M: αὐτῶν cet.

21 πασσυδί DV

φι(υ)λοκράτη(ει) codd.

16 σταύρωμά τ'] σταυρώματ' DCF

18 βοηθήσοιεν B: βοηθήσαιεν cet. fort. recte

24 δὲ del. Morus

25 Ἰφικράτην Schneider:

26 οἱ add. Leonclavius

17 αὐτῶν

οὐ πολλούς, ὥς ἑώρα τοὺς Σικωνίους πιεζομένους, κατα-
 δήσας ἀπὸ δένδρων τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ ἀφελόμενος τὰς ἀσπίδας
 αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἦι ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ
 δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀρώντες τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὥς Σικω-
 νίους οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ Πασί- 5
 μαχος· Ναὶ τὼ σιώ, ὦ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμὲ τὰ σίγμα
 ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὕτω μαχόμενος μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς
 11 πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. οἱ μέντοι
 φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διέδυσαν
 ἄνω, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστρῳ κύκλου· οἱ δ' αὖ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥς ἦσθοντο κρατούμενα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικω- 10
 νίους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύ-
 ρωμα. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν ὀπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους, στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος
 ἐξέπιπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔσχατοι αὐτῶν παιόμενοι 15
 εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἄθροοι σὺν πολλῷ ὄχλῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
 ἀπεχώρουν. ὥς δ' ἐνέτυχον τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Κορινθίων,
 καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα
 μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες ἥλλοντο 20
 κατὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας
 ὠθούμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατού-
 12 μενοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεπνίγοντο. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ
 ἠπόρουν τίνα ἀποκτείνουεν· ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς
 αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἶον οὐδ' ἠῤῥξαντό ποτ' ἄν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρι- 25
 σθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένον, ἐκπεπληγ-
 μένον, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπό-
 μενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντας πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας,
 πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις θείον ἠγήσαιο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 πολλοὶ ἔπεσον ὥστε εἰθισμένοι ὄραν οἱ ἄνθρωποι σωροὺς 30

3 ἐθελοντῶν C M D V

6 ψευσεῖ Cobet : ψεύσει codd.

Porson : σίγματα codd.

θόντες . . . σταύρωμα del. Kurz

4 σίγμα τὰ Helladius : σίγματα codd.

ὑμέ Dind. : ὕμε M : ὕμμε B

8 post αὐτόν lac. statuit Campe

14 στραφέντας B

12 ἐξελ-

20 ἥλοντο B

σίτου, ξύλων, λίθων, τότε θέασαντο σωρούς νεκρῶν. ἀπέ-
 θανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν
 ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσοίκων ἀναβάντες.
 μετὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς 13
 5 νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἔπει δὲ ἡθροίσθησαν, ἔγνω Πραξίτας
 πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὥστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ
 ἱκανὴν εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε τὴν ἐπὶ
 Μέγαρα, καὶ αἰρεῖ προσβαλὼν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδοῦντα, ἔπειτα
 10 δὲ Κρομμῶνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας
 φρουροὺς τοῦμπαλιν ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τειχίσας Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα
 φρούριον εἴη πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε
 τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἀπεχώρει.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρων διεπέπαιντο, 14
 15 φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, αἱ
 δὲ εἰς Σικυῶνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη· μισθοφόρους γε μὴν
 ἑκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.

Ἐνθα δὲ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειοῦντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ 15
 ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὀλίγοις δὲ ληλατῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ
 20 τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσοῦτους ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ
 Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ
 φεύγειν κατάγοιεν, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κο-
 ρίνθου ὥστε μετεπέμψαντό τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν
 25 πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μέντοι
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὅσον
 χρόνον εἶχον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασι
 περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθαρρῆσαι ἐδόκει ἡ
 πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες
 30 οἷανπερ καὶ παρέλαβον. οἱ δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην 16
 πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐληλάτουν τε
 καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τείχη· ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων

12 πρὸ vulg. : πρὸς codd.

29 fort. καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πόλιν

- ὀπλῖται παντάπασιν οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν· οὕτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβητο. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίσαν ὥς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσῆσαν τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἥδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. 5
- 17 καταφρονούντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε, ἐπεκδραμόντες πελτασταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ μὲν 10 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὥς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῦντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαιῶν ὁρμώμενοι σὺν μόρα καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίων φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐστρατεύοντο·
- 18 οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ῥώμην τῶν Λακεδαι- 15 μονίων, μὴ ἐπεὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη τῶν Κορινθίων διήρητο, ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἠγήσαντο κράτιστον εἶναι ἀνατειχίσαι τὰ διηρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεὶ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάννυ καλὸν ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ 20 ἔφω μᾶλλον κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ἐτείχιζον.
- 19 Οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τοὺς Ἀργεῖους τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καρπυμένους, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἠγείτο, καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ 25 Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τείχη. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχων τριῆρεις περὶ δώδεκα· ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὦν

3 ἐδεδίσαν] ὥκνουν ut videtur Priscian. 18. 25 4 τοσούτου]
τούτου B 8 ἐπ' ἐκδραμόντας πελταστὰς Madvig 12 μορμόνας
codd. : corr. Valckenaer 13 τοῖς τῶν C F 14 ἐστρατοπε-
δεύοντο Schneider 19 σικυῶνα F 26 Τενέαν Kōrpen : τέγεαν
codd. (τέγαιαν C) 27 ἀδελφὸς Dind. : ἀδελφὸς codd.

ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ἤρηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τό τε τῶν συμμάχων στράτευμα διήκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

- 5 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων V
ὅτι <οἱ> ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σφάζοντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν
10 ὁ μὲν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίνεταί, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγγανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἀργούς τῆς Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς δ' ἦσθοντο προσιώντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ
15 Κεγχρείας ὁδόν. ὁ μὲντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν καίπερ 2 ὀρών οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτὸς τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθυε καὶ περιέμενε, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησιλάου ἐξ ἀρχῆς
20 πάλιν Ἴσθμια. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἃ τῶν ἄθλων δις ἕκαστος ἐνίκηθη, ἔστι δὲ ἃ δις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ 3 στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως·
25 ὥστε οἱ Κορινθιοὶ δέισαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τινων ἢ πόλιν, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτοὺς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θερμὰ προΐει, μόραν
30 δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ἡ δὲ μόρα

5 ἀκούσαντες C F D V τὰ (τοὺς C F) τῶν codd.
Leonclavius 7 αὐτόθεν Weiske : αὐτόθι codd.
cet. 16 κατασκηνώσας B pr. 29 παρήει C F

6 οἱ add.
11 τῆς C : τοῦ

4 τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
 μικρῷ καιρίῳ δ' ἐνθυμήματι ἠὺδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρα
 φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ
 ὄντος διὰ τε τὸ πᾶν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι
 ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν δὲ 5
 ἔχοντες οἷα δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ῥιγούντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν
 σκοτῷ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
 οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύτραις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλη, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πυρὰ ἐγένετο,
 ἅτε πολλῆς ὕλης παρούσης, πάντες μὲν ἠλείφοντο, πολλοὶ 10
 δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ
 νεῶς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὕφ' ὅτου δ'
 5 ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς οἶδεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ
 τὰ ἄκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο,
 εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἑραιοὺν κατέφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ 15
 δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλείστα. καὶ
 Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν
 ἐπορεύετο· ἡ δὲ μόρα ἅμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων
 Οἰνόην τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον τεῖχος αἰρεῖ, καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα
 ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 20
 πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον. οἱ δ' ἐν
 τῷ Ἑραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῆσαν, ἐπιτρέψοντες Ἀγησιλάῳ
 γινῶναι ὅ τι βούλοιο περὶ σφῶν. ὁ δ' ἔγνω, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν
 σφαγέων ἦσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα
 6 πάντα πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξῆει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑραίου 25
 πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἄλλοθεν τε πολλαὶ
 παρῆσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἦκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες
 εἰρήνης τύχοιεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως
 τούτους μὲν οὐδ' ὀρᾶν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου
 παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι· καθήμενος δ' ἐπὶ 30
 τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει

6 σείρια Dind.

ῥιγόντων Cobet

8 ἐπειδὴ B: ἐπεὶ cet.

12 καίόμενος hic codd.

20 δὲ Simon: δὴ codd.

22 ἐπιτρέψαντες F

26 πολλὰ om. C F

31 τὴν λίμνην] τὸν λιμένα Leonclavius

πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν
 ὅπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν αἰχμα-
 λώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι· οἱ γὰρ
 εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰεί πως ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν
 5 εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἑοικότος ἀγαλλο- 7
 μένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις προσήλανε καὶ μάλα
 ἰσχυρῶς ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος
 ὅ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν
 τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσδραμὼν
 10 αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὢν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας
 πάθος. ὁ δ' ὥς ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεπήδησε
 καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ
 ξεναγοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δὲ συνέδραμον 8
 οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἡριστοποίηντο,
 15 ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὅ τι δύναιντο ἤκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν
 τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι
 τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ μὲν ὑφηγου-
 μένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ
 θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου, προσελάσαντες ἵππεῖς
 20 τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρημένοι εἴησαν. ὁ δ'
 ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ὀλίγον
 χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ
 Ἡραῖον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτώ- 9
 25 μενοι ὅ τι ἤκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμνηντο,
 εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει βούλουντο εἰς ἄστνυ πρὸς τοὺς
 σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐπιγελάσας· Ἀλλ'
 οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι
 30 γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς

7 ἰδρῶντι B : ἰδρῶντι cet. 9 τοῦ om. CF καθαλόμενος C :
 καθαλάμενος M D V F : καθαλλόμενος B 12 πεντηκοστῆρας codd. :
 corr. Dind. 16 δαμοσίαν Morus : δαμασίαν codd. 29 ὑμῶν Morus :
 ὑμεῖς codd.

- ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντες γνώσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ
 10 γεγεννημένον ἐστί. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
 θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν
 τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων
 καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυνεν ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας 5
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων
 μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ ἀνῆκε, κατὰ θάλατταν
 δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἅτε δὲ ἀήτους τοῖς Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις γεγεννημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος
 ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν 10
 ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί· οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ νικη-
 φόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῆσαν.
 11 ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι
 αἰεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, ἐάν
 τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδη- 15
 μοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκ-
 λαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ
 φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς
 παρέταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων 20
 12 τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς παρήγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπείχον ὅσον εἴκοσιν
 ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυῶνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν
 τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὔσιν ὥς ἑξακοσίοις ἀπῆει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ
 Λέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἱππαρμοστὴν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων
 μόρᾳ, ἐπεὶ προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς μέχρι ὀπόσου 25
 αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν
 τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται οὐδὲν ἡγνούουν·
 κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἂν ἐπι-
 13 χειρῆσαι σφίσιν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας
 τε ὁ Ἰππονίκου, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ 30
 Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ

5 κάων Lennep: κλῶν codd.

7 ἀνῆκε Schneider: ἀνῆγε codd.

15 στρατευόμενοι Cobet
δίοις B: στάδια cet.

19 παρέταξε] ἔταξε Schneider

22 στα-

29 ἄστεως] ἄστεος B: τοῦ ἄστεος cet.

οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱππέων,
 ἐνόμισαν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύουιντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς
 τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν διώκειν, ῥαδίως ἂν
 5 ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὀπλίτας.
 γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε 14
 τοὺς ὀπλίτας οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἴφικράτης λαβὼν
 τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ
 ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ἐτέτρωτο, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπεπτώκει,
 10 τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν
 εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν·
 ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἀποδιῶξαι τοὺς
 προειρημένους. ὥς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἦρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου 15
 βολῆς ὀπλῖται ὄντες πελταστὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς
 15 ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώ-
 ρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἅτε διώξαντες ὥς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχεν,
 ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴφικράτην, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου
 πάλιν ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ
 γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόντιζον
 20 ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺν ἤδη θρασύ-
 τερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἔπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν 16
 ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης. ἀναχω-
 ροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεισον. ἤδη δὲ
 τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται
 25 καὶ σὺν τούτοις αὐθις διώξιν ἐποιήσαντο. ὥς δ' ἐνέκλιναν
 οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ
 ἕως ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρό-
 μοις ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες
 δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ αὐθις, αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰεὶ
 30 ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι
 θρασύτεροί τε καὶ αἰεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες 17

11 καὶ οὗτοι Leonclavius: οὗτοι καὶ codd. 12 ἐνεκέλευσε B
 τοὺς προειρημένους del. Bake 22 ἀναχωρούντων V 29 αὐθις
 καὶ αὐθις Herwerden 30 τε om. C F

δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ βραχύν τινα γήλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς
 μὲν θαλάττης ὥς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Λεχαίου ὥς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ
 καὶ δέκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου, εἰσ-
 βάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεον, ἕως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν
 γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἤδη, ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς 5
 καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ
 ὀρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν
 ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες μετὰ
 τῶν ἱππέων εἰς Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς
 μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. 10
 18 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν
 ἔχων ἀπῆει, ἄλλην δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Λεχαίῳ. διῶν δὲ
 ἐπ' οἴκου ὥς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις,
 ὥς δ' ἐδύνατο πρωαίτατα ἐξωρμάτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαντίνειαν 15
 ἕξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος παρήλθεν.
 οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς Μαντινέας
 19 ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ
 μάλα καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπετύχανεν Ἰφικράτης. καθεστηκότων
 γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδούντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶνι ὑπὸ Πραξίτου, 20
 ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ τείχη, ἐν Οἰνότη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησι-
 λάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἐάλω, πάνθ' εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.
 τὸ μέντοι Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμ-
 μαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κοριθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ παριόντες
 ἐκ Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παρα- 25
 πλέοντες καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοι πράγματα εἶχόν τε καὶ
 παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

VI Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ
 παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεπονημένοι τοὺς Καλυ-
 δωνίους, φρουρεῖν ἡναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρνᾶνες 30

2 ἑπτακαίδεκα CV
 13 διῶν] ἀπιῶν Cobet
 παραπλέοντες add. εἰς Λέχαιον
 clavius: αἰτωλία codd.

6 πρὸς τούτοις δὲ B: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις cet.
 18 δὲ F₁: τε B: τε cet. 25 post
 Herwerden 29 Αἰτωλίας Leon-
 30 αὐτῇ] αὐτῶ(ι) codd.

ἐπεστράτευνον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν συμπαρή-
 σάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι οὖν
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαί-
 μονα. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ
 5 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὑμῖν, ὦ 2
 ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συστρατευόμεθα καὶ
 ἐπόμεθα ὅποι ἂν ἡγήσθε· ὑμεῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ
 Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιω-
 τῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὖν δυναίμεθα
 10 ἡμεῖς τούτων οὕτω γιγνομένων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἑάσαντες
 τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολεμή-
 σομεν Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἢ εἰρήνην
 ποιησόμεθα ὅποιαν ἂν τινα δυνώμεθα. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον 3
 ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς
 15 συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ αὐτοῖς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι. τούτων δὲ
 λεγομένων ἔδοξε τοῖς τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον
 εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας.
 καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀγησίλαον, δύο μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν
 συμμάχων τὸ μέρος. οἱ μὲντοι Ἀχαιοὶ πανδημεὶ συνεστρα-
 20 τεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ 4
 τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἄσθη, πάντα δὲ τὰ
 βοσκήματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ ἀλίσκηται ὑπὸ τοῦ
 στρατεύματος. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς
 ὀρίοις τῆς πολεμίας, πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν
 25 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων εἶπεν ὥς, εἰ μὴ πανσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς Βοιω-
 τοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
 αἰρήσονται, δηώσει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παρα-
 λείψει οὐδέν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οὕτως ἐποίει, καὶ 5
 κόπτων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὐ προήει πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας
 30 ἢ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἡγη-

7 ἢ(ἢ C) γείσθε codd.

13-15 ταῦτα . . . ἀντεπικουρήσουσι del.

Kruse 15 ἀντεπικουρήσωσι B

16 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι om. C

26 post τοὺς add. Ἀχαιοὺς Simon

27 δηώσει Dind. : δη(η)ώσοι

codd.

30 μὲν om. B

σάμενοι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος,
 τὰ τε βοσκήματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων καὶ τῆς χώρας
 6 τὰ πλεῖστα εἰργάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
 πάννῃ ἤδη θαρρεῖν, ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ ἢ ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἀφ' ἧς
 εἰσέβαλε, θυσάμενος πρῶν διεπορεύθη πρὸ δείλης ἐξήκοντα 5
 καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἣν τὰ βοσκήματα
 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἔλαβε παμπλήθη καὶ
 βουκόλια καὶ ἵπποφόρβια καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βοσκήματα
 καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-
 7 οὔσαν ἡμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρ- 10
 νάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἦλθον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σκηνοῦντος
 τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βάλλοντες καὶ σφενδονῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἀκρωνυχίας τοῦ ὄρους ἔπασχον μὲν οὐδέν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ
 εἰς τὸ ὁμαλὲς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἤδη περὶ δειπνον παρα-
 σκευαζόμενον. εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπῆλθον, 15
 8 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον. τῇ
 δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ἦν
 μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην λειμῶνός τε καὶ πεδίου
 στενὴ διὰ τὰ κύκλω περιέχοντα ὄρη· καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ
 Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, 20
 καὶ ὑποκαταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὄρων προσέκειντο
 καὶ πράγματα παρείχον, ὥστε οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο τὸ στράτευμα
 9 πορεύεσθαι. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οἷ τε ὀπλῖται
 καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους οὐδέν ἔβλαπτον· ταχὺ
 γὰρ ἦσαν, ὁπότε ἀποχωροῦεν, πρὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς οἱ Ἀκαρ- 25
 νᾶνες. χαλεπὸν δ' ἡγησάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τοῦ
 στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πάσχοντας, ἔγνω διώκειν τοὺς
 ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων προσκειμένους, μάλα πολλοὺς ὄντας·
 εὐβατώτερον γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὀπλῖταις καὶ ἵπποις.
 10 καὶ ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐσφαγιάζετο, μάλα κατείχον βάλλοντες καὶ 30

12-13 ἀπὸ . . . ὄρους huc trans. Köppen : in codd. post στρατόπεδον leguntur 14 παρασκευαζόμενον Paris. A E : παρασκευαζομέν(ω) cet.

24 ἐπιθεμένους B

25 ἦσαν Morus : ἦ(ῆ)σαν codd.

27 πά-

σχοντας vulg. : πάσχοντα codd.

30 prius καὶ om. B.

ἀκοντίζοντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, καὶ ἐγγὺς προσιόντες πολλοὺς
 ἐτίτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης, ἤλαννον δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ
 σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἠκολούθει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες 11
 5 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλιαν καὶ
 ἀπέθνησκον φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἄναυτες· ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ
 ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὀπλίται ἦσαν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι
 καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τά
 τε ἄλλα βέλη ἠφίεσαν καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἐξακοντίζοντες ἱππέας
 10 τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ ἵππους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι
 μικροῦ ἔδεον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι,
 ἐνέκλιαν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ
 τριακοσίους. τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖον 12
 ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν
 15 ἔκοπτε καὶ ἔκαε· πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλ-
 λεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἰλέ γε οὐδε-
 μίαν. ἡνίκα δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπῆει ἐκ τῆς
 χώρας. οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον αὐτόν, 13
 ὅτι πόλιν οὐδεμίαν προσειλήφει οὔτε ἐκοῦσαν οὔτε ἄκουσαν,
 20 ἐδέοντό τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν γε χρόνον καταμεί-
 ναι αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν.
 ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία λέγοιεν τοῦ συμφέροντος.
 ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, στρατεύομαι πάλιν δεῦρο εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ ὄν θέρος·
 οὗτοι δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω σπείρωσι, τοσοῦτ' ἂν μάλλον τῆς εἰρήνης
 25 ἐπιθυμήσουσι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἀπῆει περὶ δι' Αἰτωλίας τοι- 14
 αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἀκόντων
 Αἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι· ἐκεῖνον μὲντοι εἶασαν διελθεῖν· ἤλ-
 πιζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὥστ' ἀπολαβεῖν.
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτῃ διαβὰς οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε·
 30 καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος ἔκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκώλουν τριήρεσιν ὀρμώμενοι ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν.

12 ἐνέκλινον B
24 τοσοῦτο B

15 ἔκαιε B
30 καὶ Leonclavius in marg. : κατὰ codd.

23 στρατεύσομαι Stephanus

- VII Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἡρος πάλιν φρουρὰν ἔφαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείᾳ σφίσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἂν πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν σῖτον φθειρόντων ὥσπερ εἰ 5 περιεστρατοπεδευμένοι πολιορκοῦντο, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποίησαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο.
- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἢ 10 ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύειν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὅπισθεν καταλιπόντας ὄμορον τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίαν καὶ οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἄργος φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι εἷη αὐτῷ ἡγήτεον τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένῳ ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς 15 Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ ὁσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαιεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπονδὰς ἀδίκως 20 ὑποφερομένας. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφούς ἐπήρετο αὖ τὸν Ἀπόλλω εἰ κακέινῳ δοκοίη περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα κατὰ 3 ταῦτά. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκέισε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἕως πρὸς τὰ 25 ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἑστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖεν τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν 30 ἀπορίαν καὶ ἔκπληξιν κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει

6 περιεστρατοπεδευμένοι Dind.: περιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι codd. 11 ἐπὶ om. C 16 καὶ om. C F 17 τὰς om. C 20 εἶναι om. B 26 ἐνέβαλλε B F 27 διακωλύειν M 30 ἐνέβαλλε B M C F

ἐποίησε. διεπνοποιοιμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ 4
 ἐσπέρα, καὶ σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ δεῖπνον ἤδη γιγνομένων,
 ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξάμενων τῶν
 ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ παιᾶνα·
 5 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ᾤοντο ἀπιέναι, ὅτι καὶ Ἁγίς σεισμοῦ
 ποτε γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν ἐξ Ἡλίδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις
 εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσειε, κωλύειν
 ἂν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμβεβληκόςτος, ἐπικελεύειν νομίζου·
 καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἡγεῖτο οὐ 5
 10 πόρρῳ εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἅτε δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου
 ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ Ἄργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποῖ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἦγαγεν ὁ
 Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποῖ τὴν χώραν ἐδήλωσεν, ὥσπερ πέντ-
 αθλος πάντῃ ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπειράτο. καὶ ἤδη 6
 15 μὲν ποτε βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος
 τάφρους πάλιν διέβη· ἦν δ' ὅτε οἰχομένων τῶν πλείστων
 Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὕτως ἐγγὺς πυλῶν προσήλθεν
 ὥστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν
 τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας εἰσελθεῖν βουλομένους, δείσαντες
 20 μὴ συνεισπέσοιεν κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ὥστ'
 ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν
 ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι προσαραρέναι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε
 οἱ Κρήτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν καταδεδραμηκότες, πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ
 ἄνδρες καὶ ἵπποι κατετοξεύθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς 7
 25 εἰρκτὰς στρατοπεδευομένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ
 στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν τιwes πληγέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμ-
 βροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τειχίσαι

2 μετὰ δεῖπνον B : μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον cet. γιγνομένων B : γενομένων
 cet. 4 ἀπὸ δαμοσίας Dind. : ἀποδημίας B M C : περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας
 D, unde περὶ τὴν δημοσίαν Schneider 7-9 εἰπὼν] εἶπεν Dind. :
 καὶ del. Franke 7 σείσειε] σείσειεν B F : ἔσεισε cit. Breitenbach
 8 νομίζου M D C F corr. : νομίζει V (ἐπεὶ . . . ἡγεῖτο om. B) 9 οὐ]
 αὐ Tillmanns 21 ἠναγκάσθησαν Castalio : ἠνάγκασαν codd.
 25 εἰρκτὰς M D V F στρατοπεδευομένου Morus : στρατενομένου codd.
 26 ἐκβροντηθέντες B

φρούριόν τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἄλοβα. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους, ἅτε ἀπροσδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλὼν.

VIII Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν 5
 ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ καὶ τὰς
 πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γενόμενα διηγῆσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων
 τὰς μὲν ἀξιομνημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου
 παρήσω. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ
 ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες 10
 καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τοὺς τε
 Λακωνικοὺς ἄρμοστὰς ἐξήλαυνον καὶ παρεμυθούντο τὰς πό-
 λεις ὥς οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἑάσοιέν τε αὐτονόμους.
 2 οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἡδοντό τε καὶ ἐπῆρουν καὶ ξένια
 προθύμως ἔπεμπον τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν 15
 Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὥς οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ
 πόλεις φίλαι ἔσονται, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερὸς
 ἔσονται, ἔλεγεν ὥς μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανῇ εἴῃ
 παρέχειν καὶ κίνδυνος εἴῃ μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα
 3 αἰσθοῖντο, συσταίεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπέιθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. 20
 ἀποβὰς δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετταράκοντα
 τριῆρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῇ παρήει
 ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ
 πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὢν, ὅτε ἡ
 ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρμοσταί ἐξ- 25
 ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδὸν καὶ διέσφζε φίλην τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἔλεξε
 4 τοιάδε. ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις
 οὔσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
 καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν 30
 θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τις ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων

13 ἐντειχιόιεν Dind.
 V C 23 αὐτοῦ B al.

ἐντειχίσαιεν ἑάσαιεν M D V C
 31 φίλων] φίλοι Cobet: φίλων φίλοι Nauck

17 ἔσονται
 31 φίλων φίλοι Nauck

βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονεύεται.
 ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον <ὡς>, εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν,
 οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔτι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων
 ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ἱκανὴ ἦν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εἰ
 5 φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ ἄλλαι
 πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτ' ὄντως
 ἡ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανείη ἄν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο
 φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐνθάδε
 πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὐπω ναυτικόν
 10 ἔστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς
 θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἑαυτῇ
 ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα 5
 ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπέισθησαν· καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν ἰόντας ἀρμοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετε-
 15 πέμποντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ
 χρήσιμοι ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν,
 καταντικρὺ ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον ὀκτῶ
 σταδίων, ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρο-
 νήσῳ, ἥθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων
 20 ἀρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι οὐδ'
 ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ,
 ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις,
 καὶ Αἰγαιεῖς καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι
 ὄντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν <ἂν> ἰσχυρότερον
 25 Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποῖον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὁ
 καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι.
 τούτους αὖ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι. ὁ δὲ 6
 Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεὶ ἦρε τήν τε Ἀβύδου καὶ τὸν Σηστόν
 οὕτως ἔχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν

2 ὡς add. Weiske : ὅτι V : om. cet. 3 πρόσθε B 6 τοσοῦτω
 C : τοσοῦτον cet. 7 τις . . . φοβεῖται Dind. : τισι . . . φανέται codd.
 8 prius καὶ om. C F 12 καὶ ἐπικουροῦσα B 14 ἰόντας] παρόντας
 Dobree 22 οὐ μεγάλη πόλις del. Nauck 23 αἰγε(αι)εῖς codd. :
 Αἰγαί εἰσι Valckenaer γε] δὲ Simon post χωρία add. & Dind.
 24 ἂν add. Schäfer 26 μέλλει V

τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς
 τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήγῃ τὴν τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν
 χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι,
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐ- 5
 τρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ
 ὅτι πλείστον ναυτικὸν ἁθροισθείη. ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλ-
 θεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ὃ τι δύναιτο.
 7 καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ 10
 ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθω-
 σάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ
 διὰ νήσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακε-
 δαίμονα. καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φαρὰς ἐδήρωσε
 ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παρα- 15
 θαλαττίας ἐκακούργει ὃ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβούμενος δὲ τὴν τε
 ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπα-
 νοσιτίαν, ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὤρμησθη τῆς
 8 Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικῶντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν
 τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοῖεν ἐξέλιπον 20
 τὰ τείχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφήκεν εἰς τὴν Λακω-
 νικὴν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τεῖχος φρουροὺς
 τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναῖον ἄρμοστὴν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις
 κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἴσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας
 καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προ- 25
 θύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ,
 καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα εἶχεν, ὥχετο ἐπ' οἶκον
 9 ἀποπλέων. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος (ὥς) εἰ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν
 ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας
 δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς 30
 Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος, οὗ εἰδέναι ἔφη

14 μὲν B : om. cet.
 corr. Schneider
 Castalio

18 ὤρμηθη B
 Κυθήροις Dind. : κυθηρίοις codd.

23 νικόφημον codd. :
 28 ὥς add.

ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο
οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς
δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλείστα ἐπό-
νησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας
5 ταῦτα ὑπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ
χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν. ὁ δὲ 10
ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὥρθωσε, τά τε αὐτοῦ πληρώ-
ματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς,
καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ
10 τείχους ἂ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις
ἐθελούσiai συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὧν ὁ
Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ
Ἀγαθίνου ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ
περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ
15 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 11
οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένη ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις
αὐτὸν ἐπιστολεὺς ὧν τρωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, Ἑριππίδας ταύτας
ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς
παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς ἐξέλιπε τὸ Ῥίον· Λακε-
20 δαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑριππίδου ναῦς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτῷ τοῦ κόλπου
πάλιν ἐκράτει.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος 12
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοίη καὶ
25 τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς
ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι,
ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδάσκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα
στρατηγόν, ἣ καὶ ἀποστήσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον
ἣ παῦσαί γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γνόντες
30 δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προσ-
τάξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ

2 μὲν om. B ἔσει Dind.: ἔση(ι) codd. 7 αὐτοῦ codd. 16 γενο-
μένη(ι) M al.: γενομένους B 27 ἐνόμιζον DVC 28 ἀποστήσαι
Dind.: ἀποστήναι codd.

- 13 πόλει ποιείσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρακάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο
- 14 ἀπὸ τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀργους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἷασπερ βασιλεὺς ἐπεθύμει. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τὰς τε νήσους ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι. καίτοι, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα ἐθελόντων ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς [οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ] βασιλεὺς πολεμοίῃ ἢ χρήματα δαπανώῃ; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνατόν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν αὐτο-
- 15 νόμων οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων. τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρεσκον οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν. οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους εἶναι τὰς νήσους, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖεν, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθείησαν ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἳ τ' Ἀργεῖοι, οὗ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν τὴν Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὥς Ἀργος ἔχειν τοιούτων συνθηκῶν καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἵκαδε ἕκαστος.
- 16 Ὁ μέντοι Τιρίβαζος τὸ μὲν ἄνευ βασιλέως μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ ἡγείτο εἶναι· λάθρα γέ μέντοι ἔδωκε χρήματα Ἀνταλκίδᾳ, ὅπως ἂν πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέοιτο, καὶ τὸν Κόνωνα ὥς ἀδικοῦντά τε βασιλέα καὶ ἀληθῆ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων

8 πάλαι ἐπεθύμει B
ἐπὶ Leonclavius : οὐδὲ codd.

12 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ del. Morus

13 οὐδ'

16 λόγους Stephanus : λόγοις codd. :
οὐ βουλομένοις Körppen : alii alia

18 εἶναι τὰς νήσους] τὰς πόλεις

καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι C

21 ὥς Leonclavius : ὥστ' CF : ὥς τᾶργος

M : ὥστ' ἄργους B : ὥστ' Ἀργος del. Liebholt

25 αὐτῷ(i) codd.

εἶρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαινε πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων
 ἃ τε λέγοιεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὅτι Κόνωνα συνειληφώς
 εἶη ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων
 ἀπάντων. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν, ὡς Τιρίβαζος ἄνω παρ' αὐτῷ 17
 5 ἦν, Στρούθαν καταπέμπει ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν.
 ὁ μὲντοι Στρούθας ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμ-
 μάχοις τὴν γνώμην προσεῖχε, μεμνημένος ὅσα κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει
 ἢ βασιλέως χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ
 ἑώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικῶς ἔχοντα,
 10 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικῶς, Θίβρωνα πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ
 πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ διαβάς τε καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐξ
 Ἐφέσου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης
 τε καὶ Λευκόφρυνος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τὴν βασι-
 λέως. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας 18
 15 ὅτι Θίβρων βοηθοίη ἐκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς,
 ἔπεμψεν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε
 περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὅ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων
 ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου διασκηνῶν μετὰ Θέρσανδρου τοῦ αὐ-
 λητοῦ. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς ἀγαθός,
 20 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς [ἰσχύος], ἅτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο. ὁ δὲ 19
 Στρούθας, ἰδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς
 πρώτους, ἐπιφαίνεται πολλοὺς τε ἔχων καὶ συντεταγμένους
 ἱππέας. καὶ Θίβρωνα μὲν καὶ Θέρσανδρον πρώτους ἀπ-
 ἔκτειναν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
 25 στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπλήθεις κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ
 καὶ οἱ ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλείους
 διὰ τὸ ὀψὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας. πολλάκις γάρ, καὶ
 τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγείλας τὴν βοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα
 μὲν οὕτως ἐγεγέννητο.

4 αὐτῷ] ἐαυτῷ(ι) codd.

codd. excepto B

δισκεύων Rieker

βαλλον C F

ἀπελείποντο Leonclavius

7 ὅσα B: ὀπόσα cet.

17 περιβαλλομένους M D

20 ἰσχύος del. Leonclavius

26 καὶ οἱ B: οἱ καὶ cet.

καὶ] ὡς καὶ Morus

15 ὁ θί(μ)βρων

18 διασκηνῶν]

25 κατέ-

27 post βοηθείας add.

28 οὐδὲ] οὐ B

- 20 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες Ῥοδίων
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη περιδεῖν Ἀθη-
 ναίους Ῥόδον καταστρεψαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συν-
 θεμένους. γνόντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥς εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος
 κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἅπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσιώ- 5
 τεροι, ἑαυτῶν, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς ὀκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ
 21 Ἐκδικὸν ἐπέστησαν. συνεξέπεμψαν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν
 νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν. ἐκέλευσαν δ' αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν τὰς τε Θίβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασφῆξιν,
 καὶ στράτευμα τὸ περισωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο, εἴ ποθεν 10
 δύναιτο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ
 Διφρίδας ταῦτ' ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπετύγχανε καὶ
 Τιγράνην τὸν τὴν Στρούθα ἔχοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον
 εἰς Σάρδεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ χρημάτων
 πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν· ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἐντεῦθεν εἶχε μισθοδοτεῖν. 15
 22 ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ εὐχαρὶς τε οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ Θίβρωνος,
 μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγχειρητικώτερος στρατηγός.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτοῦ αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί, ἀλλ' αἰ
 πρὸς ᾧ εἶη ἔργῳ, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. ὁ δ' Ἐκδικὸς ἐπεὶ εἰς
 τὴν Κνίδον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ δῆμον 20
 πάντα κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
 θάλατταν [διέπλεον] διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἢ αὐτὸς εἶχεν,
 23 ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ
 ᾗσθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὥστε τοὺς φίλους
 ὠφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν 25
 αἷς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ περιπλεῖν
 πρὸς τὸν Ἐνδικόν, κάκεῖνον μὲν ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν
 τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
 ὅ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο

3 συνθεμένους] προσθεμένους Rinkes 10 στράτευμα δὲ τὸ C :
 στράτευμα δὲ F : στράτευμα V 11 πρὸς τὸν C F 13 τὴν τοῦ C
 16 ἀνὴρ Dind. : ὁ ἀνὴρ C : ἀνὴρ cet. 17 συντεταγμένος Dobree
 ἐγχειρητικώτερος ἀρετῆς Pollux 2. 154 : Priscian 18. 23 22 διέ-
 πλεον B M D V : καὶ διέπλεον C F : πλέον Dind. : διαπλέοντα Aem. Por-
 tus : καὶ δὴ ἐπλεον Morus : del. Breitenbach

εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κνίδον,
 ὁ δ' Ἐκδικος οἴκαδε. αὐτὸς δ' ἔπλει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἥδη 24
 ἔχων ναῦς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι· πλέων δὲ περιτυγχάνει Φιλο-
 κράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου πλέοντι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν
 5 εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ Εὐαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας,
 ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροι ἐαυτοῖς πράττοντες· οἷ
 τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι φίλῳ χρώμενοι βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμ-
 πον Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλέα, ὃ τε Τελευτίας
 Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμούντων βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐπὶ τῷ
 10 ἐκείνου πολέμῳ διέφθειρεν. ἐπαναπλεύσας δ' εἰς Κνίδον
 καὶ διαθέμενος ἅ ἔλαβεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὖ ἀφικόμενος ἐβοήθει
 τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν 25
 δύναμιν κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπουσι
 15 Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν. ὁ δ'
 ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε, νομίζων
 οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ῥαδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος
 συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὗτ' ἂν τοὺς σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς
 20 πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τὰς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους
 ὄντας καὶ μάχῃ κεκρατηκότας· εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον 26
 πλεύσας καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμισε κατα-
 πρᾶξαι ἂν τι τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν
 καταμαθὼν στασιάζοντας Ἀμήδοκόν τε τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα
 25 καὶ Σεύθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄρχοντα ἀλλήλοισ μὲν διήλλαξεν
 αὐτούς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων
 καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Θράκῃ οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων
 ὄντων τούτων μᾶλλον προσέχειν ἂν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν
 νοῦν. ἐχόντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ 27
 30 πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλέα φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας

1 post ναῦς add. ἑπτὰ Hartman 2 ὁ δ' Ἐκδικος om. B M D V
 αὐτὸς δ'] ὁ δὲ τελευτίας C F 5 τῇ B: τοῦ cet. 12 αὐτῶν edd.
 17 τιμωρήσεσθαι B 21 μάχῃ γε C 27 ἑλληνίδας πόλεις B:
 πόλεις ἑλληνίδας cet.

εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου
 πλεόντων. μετέστησε δὲ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρα-
 τεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν
 Βυζαντίων δῆμος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ
 28 πόλει. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους προσποιοῦ- 5
 σάμενος ἀπέπλει ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχῶν δ' ἐν
 τῇ Λέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν Μυτιληναίων λακωνι-
 ζούσαις, ἐπ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἦει, πρὶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας
 τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς
 ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὅσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνῃν κατεπεφεύγεσαν, 10
 καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς ἑρρωμενεστάτους προσ-
 λαβὼν, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑποθεὶς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις, ὥς ἐὰν
 λάβῃ τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πάσης Λέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ
 φυγάσιν, ὥς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων
 ἴωσιν, ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἅπαντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασωθῆναι, 15
 τοῖς δ' αὖ ἐπιβάταις ὥς φίλην Λέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ
 πόλει πολλὴν εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται,
 ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 29 Μήθυμναν. Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, ὃς ἀρμοστής ἐτύγχανεν ὦν
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὥς ἤκουσε τὸν Θρασύβουλον προσιέναι, 20
 τοὺς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ νεῶν λαβὼν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς
 τοὺς Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον
 αὐτόθι, ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν
 Θηρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων
 30 πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν 25
 πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν οὐ προσχωρουσῶν λεηλατῶν χρήματα
 τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι. ὅπως
 <δ> ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὥς ἑρρωμενέστατον τὸ στράτευμα ποιήσαιτο,
 ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἡργυρολόγει καὶ εἰς Ἀσπενδον ἀφικό-
 μενος ὠρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. ἤδη δ' 30
 ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων

2 μετέστησαν B

14 ὥς B : om. cet.

15 ἀνασωθῆναι] ἀπο-

σωθῆναι Cobet

21 αὐτοῦ codd.

23 ἀπήντα C

28 δ' add.

Leonclavius in marg.

29 πόλεων Schneider : πολλῶν codd.

τι ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὀργισθέντες οἱ Ἀσπένδιοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν.

- Καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι 31
οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλόμενοι ἀντ' αὐ-
5 τοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεπραμένη
εἴη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι καὶ
αἱ ἄλλαι Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῖς Φαρνα-
βάζου εὖ ἔχοιεν, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι. τῷ μὲν οὖν 32
10 Δερκυλίδᾳ οὐδὲν ἐμέμφοντο· Ἀναξίβιος μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ
γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο ὥστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῦσαι
ἀρμοστῆς εἰς Ἀβυδὸν. εἰ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμὴν καὶ ναῦς, καὶ
πολεμήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκεί-
νοις καλῶς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς 33
15 τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν
Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας
ξενικὸν τῶν τ' Αἰολίδων πόλεων παρεσπᾶτό τινας τοῦ
Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀβυδὸν ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδῆον τὴν χώραν
20 αὐτῶν· καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς εἶχε συμπληρώσας ἑξ Ἀβύδου
τρεῖς ἄλλας κατήγεν, εἴ τί που λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον
ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 34
καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθαρεῖν σφίσιν ἃ κατεσκευάσεν ἐν τῷ
Ἑλλησπόντῳ Θρασύβουλος, ἀντεκπέμπουσιν Ἴφικράτην ναῦς
25 ὀκτὼ ἔχοντα καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ
πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὧν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦρξεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Κόρινθον Ἀργὸς ἐπεποίηντο, οὐδὲν ἔφασαν
αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν ἀργολιζόντων·
καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθὼν Ἀθήναζε οἴκοι ἔτυχεν ὧν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 35

5 ἀργύριον codd. : corr. Wesseling 7 ἀθηνῶν B M F 8 αὐτοῖς]
αὐταῖς C 18 ἐπιστρατευσάσαις Schneider: ἐπιστρατεύσας B pr.
D pr. : ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας B corr. cet. 19 ἐπεπορεύετο Weiske:
ἐπορεύετο codd. 20 δὲ om. M 22 αἰσθανόμενοι B 23 φθαρεῖν
B: διαφθαρεῖν cet. 25 οἱ πλείστοι δὲ B: οἱ δὲ πλείστοι cet.
29 ἀπελθὼν Brodaeus: ἀπελθόντων codd.

ἀφίκετο εἰς Χερρόνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος καὶ
 Ἰφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν ἀλλήλοις· προϊ-
 όντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἰφικράτης αἰσθόμενος καὶ Ἀναξίβιον
 οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἀντανδρον σὺν τε τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς
 περὶ αὐτὸν Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις ὀπλί- 5
 ταις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἀντανδρον φιλίαν προσειληφῶς
 εἶη, ὑπονοῶν ὅτι καταστήσας αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἀποπορεύ-
 σοιτο πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξοι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἴκαδε, διαβὰς τῆς
 νυκτὸς ἢ ἐρημότατον ἦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς
 τὰ ὄρη ἐνέδραν ἐποιήσατο. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις αἱ διήγαγον 10
 αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον
 τῆς ἄνω, ὅπως δοκοίη, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν
 36 ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύσθη, ἀλλ' ὁ
 Ἀναξίβιος ἀπεπορεύετο, ὡς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν
 γεγεννημένων αὐτῷ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας, ὅτι 15
 διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἤκουε
 τῶν ἀπαντῶντων τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ
 37 Προκουνήσου, ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύετο. ὅμως δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης,
 ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἀναξιβίου ἦν, οὐκ
 ἐξανίστατο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ἤδη ἐν 20
 τῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστὴν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὰ χρύσεια
 αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπόμενον ἐν τῷ κατάντει ἦν,
 ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἄρτι κατέβαινε σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν
 τούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἐξανίστησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ
 38 ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος γνούς μὴ εἶναι ἐλπίδα 25
 σωτηρίας, ὁρῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι
 σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ τοὺς προεληλυθότας, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ
 ἐκπεπληγμένους ἅπαντας, ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς
 τοὺς παρόντας· Ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν· 30

2 Ἰφικράτης F pr. : ὁ Ἰφικράτης F corr. cet.

3 καὶ del. Cobet

4 τοῖς B : σὺν τοῖς cet.

7 τὴν] καὶ Hartman

9 ἐπανελθὼν]

εἶτα ἀπελθὼν Hertlein

12 τῆς] τὴν Leonclavius : τοῖς F

15 αὐτῷ

om. C F

17 τῆς] τ . . s F : τὴν Vulg.

21 χρυσία codd.

ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν συμμείξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν
 σωτηρίαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν 39
 τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐν χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. καὶ τὰ
 παιδικὰ μέντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ
 5 τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἁρμοστήρων ὥς δώδεκα
 μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον. οἱ
 δ' ἐδίωκον μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὥς δια-
 κόσιοι ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ πεντή-
 κοντα. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς
 10 Χερρόνησον.

7 ἄστεος codd.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ε

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλάσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ **I**
 Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὢν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος ἐν
 τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειξία χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν
 Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερώς κατὰ θάλατταν
 5 ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφίησι
 λήζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι 2
 πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ ὀπλίτας
 καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ
 ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα
 10 τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι
 ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον, ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ
 ἐπιτειχισμοῦ, ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν
 ἀπήλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφ- 3
 15 ικνεῖται. κακεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ
 Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἥνίκα γὰρ
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὀρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν,
 ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑστερήσαντες ὅμως καὶ ἀναγομένους
 20 ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ἡῤυχοντο αὐτῷ
 πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ. γινώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε 4
 δαπάνημα οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχανήμα ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲν

8 αἰγινήτας codd.: corr. Wesseling 10 ἐπὶ del. Cobet
 11 ταῦτα] τὰ Büchsenschütz περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ del. Hertlein

διηγοῦμαι· ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία τόδε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἀξιολογώτατον ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστίν.

- 5 Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἰέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν πάλιν ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις δώδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολέα ἁρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε ὑπὸ ψηφίσματος Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ Αἰγίνης πέμπτῃ μηνί 10 τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὖ πράγματα εἶχον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ αἰροῦνται
- 6 Εὐνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς. ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, 15 νομίζοντες καὶ Τιριβάζω τοῦτο ποιοῦντες μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Αἶγιναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἶγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε τὸν ἐπι- 20 στολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔπλει ἐκεῖσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τένεδον ἐδήγῃ τὴν χώραν,
- 7 καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἄθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Τενεδίοις. 25 ὥς δ' ἦσθοντο εἰς Ἀβυδον καταπεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρονήσου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ μέντοι Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περιτυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ· καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς Αἶγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν· 30

4 ἀξιολογώτερον Dind.

6-15 τριήρεις . . . Ῥόδῳ)

τραπόμενος Cobet

Pal. om. 25-§ 8 l. 4 καὶ τῶν . . . ἐπόμεναι)

9 ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ Hertlein (B M D V Pal. om.

16 τοῦτο B : om. cet.

22 παρα-

45 χωρίων Schneider : τὰ χωρία codd. (B M D V

ἐκβιβάσας δ' εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ὁ δ' Εὐνόμος 8
ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλει. νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιγενομένης,
φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφηγέιτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται
αἱ ἐπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει
5 κατὰ τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς εἶη
μῆδ' αἰσθησιν παρέχοι, λίθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν κελευστῶν ἀντὶ
φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῇ τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν 9
αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστήρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς,
ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν
10 τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι ὠρμίζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἔτι κατέπλεον. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης,
τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος
ῥῆχτο ἄγων εἰς Αἴγιναν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.

15 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν 10
Εὐαγόρα, πελταστὰς τ' ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις,
προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὀπλίτας.
αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ
Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστὰς.
20 ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ συνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ὀπλίται, Δημαινέτου αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ
Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα σταδίου, ἐνθα ἡ Τριπυργία
καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθει μετὰ τε 11
τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρ-
25 τιατῶν οἱ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι
ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν· ὥστ' ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὃ τι
ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὄπλον ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι 12
τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς

10 prius καὶ del. Hartman : prius καὶ ἔτι del. Nauck

12 ὁ B :

om. cet. 15 βοηθῶν C F : om. B M Pal. cum lac. : βοηθήσων V : πρὸς
συμμαχίαν D 17 ἀθήνηθεν om. B M D V Pal. cum lac. 18 αὐτὸς δὲ
τῆς] αὐτὸς μὲν τῆς Schneider : om. B M D V Pal. cum lac. (item πορρωτέρω
τοῦ et χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν ἔχων et ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ et ἦκον οἱ τῶν ἀθηναίων
et αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου) 20 ξυνέκειτο codd.

ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον. ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες ὀπλίται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ 5 ἑκατόν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ ἐλάττους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἐτεο- νίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου.

10

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖτ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκπέμπουσιν τ' ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἦκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκα- 14 λέσας εἶπε τοιάδε· ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων ἦκω· ἐὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμπροθυ- 15 μῆσθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὥς πλεῖστα πορίζειν. εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὖχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἦττον ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τά τ' ἐπιτήδεια θανμάσαίτε μὲν ἂν ἴσως, εἰ φαίην βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νῇ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος 20 ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἢ γε μὴν θύρα ἢ ἐμὴ ἀνέφκτο μὲν δῆπου καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεώξεται 15 δὲ καὶ νῦν. ὥστε ὅταν ὑμεῖς πλήρῃ ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἂν δὲ ἀνεχόμενόν με ὀρᾶτε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἷσεσθε 25 καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιάσθε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθόν 16 τι λαμβάνητε. καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται,

4 δὴ] δὲ FV

8 τὴν om. MDV Pal. cum lac.

θάλατταν

om. BMDV Pal. cum lac. (item οἱ ναῦται et ἐπεὶ μισθὸν et λακεδαιμόνιοι et δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν et ὁ δ')

11 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ del. Leonclavius:

post haec v. lac. stat. Riemann

12 ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς om. B

cum lac.: om. MDV sine lac.: ante ἐκπέμπουσιν pon. Pal.: ἐπὶ τὰς

ταύτῃ ναῦς Cobet: ἐπὶ ταχυναύτῃ Simon

18 ἂν om. CF

22 εἰσι-

εἶναι] ἀεὶ Cobet

26 ἔγω B: om. cet.

28 ἔφη om. CF

ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἣ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὰγαθὰ καὶ
 τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ ῥαθυμούσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν
 καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὅποτε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ
 πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι
 5 χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως μὲν συμπονῶμεν,
 ἡδέως δὲ συνευδαιμονῶμεν. τί γὰρ ἥδιον ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων 17
 κολακεύειν μήτε Ἑλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἔνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ'
 ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα
 ὅθενπερ κάλλιστον; ἡ γάρ τοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
 10 ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἅμα τροφήν τε καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν 18
 ὅ τι ἂν δέη, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύγ-
 χανεν· εἶπε δέ· Ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἄπερ καὶ
 15 ὥς ἐμέλλετε· προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον.
 ἔπειτα δὲ ἦκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα, ὅπως πλεύσωμεν
 ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιζόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, 19
 ἐμβιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν
 λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων
 20 ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ κόπαις προσκομιζόμενος. εἰ δέ τις
 ὑπολαμβάνει ὡς ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ
 πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, ἐννοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ.
 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 20
 περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολωλότης· εἰ δὲ
 25 καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὁρμούσαι, ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ' εἴκοσι
 ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὕσας πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ
 ἔξω ἦδει ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἔμελλον οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν δὲ
 Ἀθήνησιν ἐγίνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι οἴκοι καθευδή-
 σοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλη σκηνήσοιεν. ἔπλει μὲν δὴ 21
 30 ταῦτα διανοηθείς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεῖχε πέντε ἢ ἔξ στάδια τοῦ

5 συμπονῶμεν B M C F 6 συνευδαιμονῶμεν codd. 14 ἄπερ καὶ ὥς
 Stephanus : ἄπερ καὶ ὥς codd. : ὥσπερ καὶ Dind. : locum corruptum putat
 Hartman 17 ἐθέλη B V 18 αὐτοὺς B : om. cet. τῆς B :
 om. cet. 21 ὑπολαμβάνοι M 29 δὴ B : om. cet.

- λιμένος, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ ἀνέπαυεν. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέ-
 φαινευ, ἡγείτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύειν μὲν οὐδὲν
 εἶα στρογγύλον πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυσίν·
 εἰ δέ που τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὁρμούσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἅπλουν
 ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ φορτηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους 5
 ἄγειν ἔξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου δύναιτο
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐκπηδή-
 σαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους
 22 συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναὺς εἰσήνεγκαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
 ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν 10
 ἔθεον ἔξω, σκεψόμενοι τίς ἢ κραυγή, οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν οἴκαδε
 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστν ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ'
 Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὀπλῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς, ὥς τοῦ
 23 Πειραιῶς ἐαλωκότος. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς
 Αἴγναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν 15
 ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν,
 ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλιεντικὰ ἔλαβε καὶ
 πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστὰ, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ
 δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν καὶ ὀλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μὲν τινας σίτου,
 24 τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν 20
 εἰς Αἴγναν. καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν
 προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων
 ἐλάμβανεν ὅ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς
 ναὺς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως
 ὑπηρετοῦντας. 25
 25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου δια-
 πεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι
 καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὥς δ'
 ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ
 ὑπὸ Ἴφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, περὶ ὧν ἔλεγετο εἰς Ἀβυδὸν. 30
 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας

1 ἀνέπαυσεν B
 Morus: εἰς vel ἐς codd.
 codd.: corr. Stephanus

2 οὐδὲν] οὐκ C F

5 φορτηγὰ M

6 ἐκ

9 ταῦτα] τοιαῦτα C

11 σκεπτόμενοι

27 συμμαχεῖν C F: σύμμαχον B M V

λόγον ὥς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὀρμισάμενος
 δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ 26
 Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίω-
 κουν αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκουρήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρ-
 5 ἐπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἀβυδὸν ἀφίκετο· ἡκηκόει γὰρ
 ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ
 Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἴκοσιν, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει
 ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμ-
 10 μεῖξαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν 27
 ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτὼ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς
 δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι
 κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν
 ὥς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ
 15 δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς
 ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς
 πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις,
 ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ
 20 ὕστεροι ἀλίσκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ'
 ἀθυμίας καὶ τῶν βραδυτέρων ἡλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἦλωσαν
 ἅπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἱ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες 28
 εἴκοσιν, ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατῆς ἦν
 Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους,
 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρ-
 25 νάβαζος ἤδη ἀνακεκλημένος ὥχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγρημε
 τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομένης ταῖς
 πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης·
 ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν ἐκώλυε
 καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατήγεν. οἱ μὲν 29
 30 οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς,

3 φαινίαν codd.: corr. Stephanus

13 ἐνήδρευσεν DCF

16 ταχύτατα codd.: corr. Dind.

17 αὐτοῦ B: ἑαυτοῦ cet.

20 post καὶ add. πρὸς Cobet: καὶ ὑπὸ Breitenbach

26 δὲ] δὴ

Leonclavius

- φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὥς πρότερον καταπολεμηθείησαν, συμ-
μάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως γεγεννημένου, πολιορκού-
μενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ληστών, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν
ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
φρουροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρα δ' ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ, 5
φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπό-
λοιτο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίσταντο, μὴ ἀποσταῖεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες
καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ
πολέμῳ. οἳ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουρὰν τε πεφασ-
μένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν 10
ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην
30 πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρῆναι
τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην κατα-
πέμποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον,
ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίνωσκε τὰ 15
γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε.
- 31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ
Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ
Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ
μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρου 20
καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων.
ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ
πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων καὶ περὶ καὶ κατὰ
θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.
- 32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις ἀπήγ- 25
γελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἠξίου
ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη
δέξασθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐὰν μὴ ὀμνύωσι, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως
γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην 30
πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ

3 τῶν om. C F
29 δέεσθαι D

5 μὲν om. D

23 ταῦτα] ταῦτὰ Dind.

ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτ' εἶη. Ἦτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ᾤχοντο. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελ- 33
 5 λεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέπεμπε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύσοντας, διέ- πεμπε δὲ καὶ ξιναγούς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρήσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι
 10 ἀφιάσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὖ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. 34
 ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ
 15 ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, τοῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβη- θέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου·
 20 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὤμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμε- 35
 νεῖν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα.
 25 Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη πρώτη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ 36
 πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ'

1 νῦν codd. : corr. d'Orville

7 μὲν τῶν Cobet

12 Βοιω-

τίδας W. Dindorf

17 ἐαυτῆς D C F

20 ἐκόντες] ἄκοντες

Grosser coll. Ages. 2. 21

22 ἐμμένειν codd. : corr. Stephanus

23 ἐν B : om. cet.

24 περὶ V

26 οὕτω Dind. : οὕτως Paris. E :

οὕτω ἢ B : οὕτως ἢ cet.

Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὐπὲρ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἔπανσαν δὲ καὶ 5 Ἀργείους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φρουρὰν φήναντες ἐπ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

- II Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐβούλοντο, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι, τούτους 10 κολάσαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι ὡς μὴ δύναιντο ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τεῖχος περιαρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν 2 ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὡς σῖτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν 15 αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων, καὶ ὡς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὡς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ 20 ἐξεληλυθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν 3 Μαντινείᾳ μάχην τριακονταετείς γενόμεναι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλον καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχη, φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν 25 Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ μάλα Πανσανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν 4 Μαντινείᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδήρυν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω καθήρουν τὰ τεῖχη, 30 τάφρον ὥρυττε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν

I γινόμενοι B M D

12 πρὸς B: ὡς cet.

M V F pr.

9 ἐπέκειντο Schneider: ἐνέκειντο codd.

23 καθαιρεῖν] καθελεῖν C₁ V

26 ὑπηρετήκει

στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ταφρενόν-
των, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ
τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη κύκλῳ τείχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠκοδό-
μησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλὸς ἐνείη,
5 εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπὸν
ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δεήσει πολλὸν χρόνον τρύχειν στρατείαις τὴν τε
πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν
διὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη. ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς
ἀπορροίας ἤρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ
10 ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω
πλίνθων καὶ προδιδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρή-
γνυτο τὸ τείχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν
τινα ξύλα ἀντήρειδον καὶ ἐμηχανῶντο ὥς μὴ πίπτοι ὁ πύργος·
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ
15 κύκλῳ τείχους δοριάλωτοι γένοιτο, ὠμολόγουν περιαιρήσειν.
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ
διοικιοῦντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην
εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν. οἰομένων δὲ ἀπο- 6
θανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν,
20 διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ἀσφάλειαν
αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξήκοντα
οὔσι. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν
πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕστασαν, θεώ-
μενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὁμῶς ἀπείχοντο
25 αὐτῶν ῥῆον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων. καὶ τοῦτο
μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 7
καθηρέθη μὲν τὸ τείχος, διωκίσθη δ' ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ,
καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾠκουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦχθοντο,
ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθαιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ
30 οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύτερον μὲν

1 προκαθημένοις codd. : corr. Budaeus σὺν] ἐν B pr. 4 ὁ del.
Cobet 6 δεήσει C στρατείαις Stephanus: στρατιαῖς codd.
14 τοῦ κύκλῳ τείχους] τοῦ κύκλου B 17 διοικιοῦντο Cobet: διοικιοῦντο
codd. 19 ἀργυρολογιζόντων codd. : corr. Stephanus

ῥκουν τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς κώμας, ἀριστο-
κρατία δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλαγμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων
δημαγωγῶν, ἥδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν
αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ καθ' ἓν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην
ἐκάστην ξεναγόν. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν πολὺν 5
προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ
Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτη
γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

- 8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς Λακε-
δαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ὁποῖοί τινες ἕκαστοι 10
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένητο, καιρὸν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπο-
ρεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς ἔως μὲν σφεῖς
οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετό τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὸ
τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅποι ἡγοῖντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον, ὥς ἔπessθαι μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους 15
δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ δέχοιντο εἴσω τῶν
9 πυλῶν. ἀκούσασιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον ἔδοξεν
ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων
πόλιν ἔλεγον ὥς φίλοι μὲν οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ
πόλει εἶεν, ἀδικοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν 20
μὴ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράξασθαι κατελθεῖν
αὐτούς. ἃ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἔδειςαν μὴ εἰ
στρατεύσαιτο ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν ἔνδοθεν παρείησάν τινες
αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἔνδον
ἦσαν τῶν φευγόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὐμενεῖς, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἐν ταῖς 25
πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων
10 κατὰγειν ἐβούλουντο τὴν φυγὴν. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ φοβη-
θέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνοις
μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων
πριαμένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν· εἰ δέ τι 30
ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκη διακριθῆναι. καὶ

9 αἰσθόμενοι C F 10 τοὺς συμμάχους C 14 ὕπη M C σφᾶς
αὐτοὶ B M : σφᾶς Bisschop 15 οὐδαμοῦ Dind. 22 ἀκούοντες C
29 τοὺς . . . πριαμένους Stephanus : τοῖς . . . πριαμένους codd.

ταῦτα μὲν αὖ περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγισται τῶν 11
περὶ Ὀλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
5 ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἔφοροι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς
πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὴ 12
Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν· ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε
καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἴομεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα μέγα φνό-
μενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη
10 πόλις Ὀλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν
πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ᾧ τε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι
καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσελάβόν
τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας
πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως.
15 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς 13
πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχον-
τας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν
ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ῥιθανόμεθα ἀπο-
χωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη
20 ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ
πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ
παρεσόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν. ἡμεῖς 14
δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις
νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολιῖται εἶναι· εἰ μὲντοι μὴ βοη-
25 θήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίνεσθαι. καίτοι
νῦν γ' ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀπλῖται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους† ὀκτακο-
σίων, πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ τοσοῦτοι· ἱππεῖς γε
μὲντοι, ἔαν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους
ἢ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν 15
30 πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἡκούομεν δὲ ὥς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυν-

8 οἱ σύμμαχοι C

11 πόλεων πολλὰς D

20 ἐκ πάσης B:

ἀπάσης cet.

22 παρεσόμεθα] πορευσόμεθα F

24 αὐτοπολιῖται

Valesius: αὐτοὶ πολῖται codd.

26 γ' ἤδη Wolf: γε δὴ codd.

ὀκτακοσίων] τετρακισχιλίων cit. Büchschütz

θίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἴη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς
 πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσ-
 γενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύϊ, ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη,
 ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκείνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 καὶ Ποτεΐδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὖσαν, 5
 νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι
 αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς
 αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηνται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς
 Ὀλυνθίους ὅμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμ-
 16 πειν διδαξούσας ταῦτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς 10
 ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν εἴη,
 πολὺν δὲ μείζονος ἀθροισζομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι, καὶ
 ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς
 γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπη-
 γήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ 15
 πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία
 17 γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυσιτιάν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές
 γ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θρᾶκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι μὲν
 καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἔσονται,
 πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε 20
 μὴν ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα
 ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὃ τι
 18 οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριόλεκτόν ἐστι. τό γε
 μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις λέγοι; καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως
 ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν 25
 ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ
 σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τὰκέϊ ἔχει· ὑμεῖς δὲ
 βουλευέσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν
 ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὥς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην
 οὖσαν, οὐπω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν 30

7 ὑμῖν om. CF

16 ἐκ om. CF
vous codd.

tis CF

14 γιγνομένης Schneider: γενομένης codd.

18 γ' om. DC

19 ἐκείνοις Cobet: ἐκεῖ-

20 γε μὴν VCF: om. cet.

30 δυσπάλαιστός

πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὐται, ἂν τι ἴδωσιν
 ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ ἀποστήσονται· εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται 19
 ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἅς ἐψη-
 φισμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ γινώσκονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων
 5 ἔπεσθαι κερδαλέον ἐστίν, ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν
 ἴωσι, τά τε αὐτῶν σφάζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσιν,
 ἴσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὖλυτα ἔσται.

Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς 20
 συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλευεῖν ὃ τι γινώσκει
 10 τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ
 τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν,
 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις,
 καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα ἐκάστην
 πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριόν τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἑξεῖναι 21
 15 διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναιῶν
 κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἱππέας τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων ὀπλι-
 τῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἱππεῖ δίδοσθαι· εἰ δέ τις τῶν πόλεων 22
 ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν, ἑξεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιῶν
 στατήρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, 23
 20 ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὥς ταῦτα καλὰ
 μὲν εἴη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περανθῆναι.
 βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ ἀθροί-
 ζοιτο, ὥς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἑξελθεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ
 Λακεδαίμονός τε, ὅση ἂν ταχὺ ἑξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων
 25 πόλεων· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τὰς τε οὐπω προσκεχωρη-
 κυίας πόλεις στήναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας ἦττον ἂν
 συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακε- 24
 δαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμῶδεις τε καὶ τῶν
 περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὥς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι
 30 Εὐδαμίδας ἐξίῳν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τῶν ἐφόρων
 τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα

3 τε B: om. cet.
 λακεδαιμονίοις C F

18 στρατιάν] στρατείας Leonclavius τοῖς
 25 οὐπω] οὕτω M D C F 29 τῶν om. D C

μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτεί-
δαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκούσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη ἐκείνων
οὔσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν
ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.

5

- 25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες
τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὥς δ' ἐγένοντο
ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἕξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ
γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες
μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἴσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ 10
ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἐταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Ἴσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλη-
σίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ. ὁ μὲντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθερά-
26 πνευεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσφκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐξεστὶ σοι,
ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι 15
ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσης ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις,
εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου
νόμιζε τὰς Θήβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν
27 τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μὲν, ὥς ὄρας,
ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρατεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' 20
Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξης, εὐθύς
σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας συμπέμ-
ψομεν· ὥστε πολλῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν
ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὀλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμ-
28 μένος ἔσει Θήβας, πολὺν μείζω πόλιν Ὀλύνθου. ἀκούσας 25
δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν
τι ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἑραστής, οὐ μὲντοι λογι-
στικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠμο-
λόγησε ταῦτα, προορμήσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥσπερ
συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιέναι· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ᾗ καιρός, 30
πρὸς σὲ ἤξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι.
29 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ

τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ
 ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς,
 ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ' ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει
 τε τὸν Φοιβίδα καὶ ἡγείται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
 5 καταστήσας δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 παραδοὺς τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν μη-
 δένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὄντινα μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι,
 εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἶπε τάδε· 30
 "Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατέχουσιν τὴν ἀκρό-
 10 πολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ φασι πολέμιοι ἥκειν,
 ὅστις μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξ-
 εἶναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν,
 λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἴσμηνίαν, ὥς πολεμοποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς
 δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνί-
 15 στασθε, καὶ λαβόντες ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται. οἱ 31
 μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα παρήσαν τε καὶ ἐπέθοντο καὶ
 συναλάμβανον· τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδόντων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς
 περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως,
 δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οἵκαδε πρῶτον ἀπε-
 20 χώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν ᾗσθοντο [οἱ]
 ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας
 οἱ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἴσμηνία μά-
 λιστα τριακόσιοι. ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολεμάρχον 32
 μὲν ἀντὶ Ἴσμηνίου ἄλλον εἵλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς
 25 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ἡῦρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ,
 ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ
 μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερά τῇ Λακεδαί-
 μονι πεπραχὼς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ,
 30 ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν.
 αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ', ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ

4 τε om. DCF
18 ἔφευγον F

16 παρήσαν τε καὶ συναλάμβανον Cobet
20 οἱ del. Leonclavius

26 ἔχοντας] ἔχον B

- 33 κακά ἐστὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα. ἔπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης
 ἔλθων εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι, ὥς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ
 νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἑωρᾶτε γὰρ
 αἰ τοῦτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, 5
 τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν
 ἐν Πειραιεὶ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν
 συστρατεύειν, Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἐώρων,
 34 ἐπεστράτευνον; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς
 πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε 10
 μὲν αἰ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους
 αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε
 πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέ-
 σει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι
 ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς 15
 35 ἡμῶν ἐπιμελήσθε. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
 ἔδοξε τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατείληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ
 Ἰσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς
 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἓνα ἀφ'
 ἐκάστης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκαθί- 20
 ζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ
 ὥς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὥς ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος γεγεννημένος εἶη καὶ ὥς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως
 χρημάτων μετειληφὼς εἶη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχῆς
 36 πάσης ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ 25
 ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ
 μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κατοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ
 ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεον-
 τιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι
 37 πλείω ὑπέρετουν ἢ προσετάρτετο αὐτοῖς. τούτων δὲ πεπρα- 30
 γμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν

5 φιλικῶς B: φιλίως cet. 8 ὑμᾶς] ὑμῖν Cobet 15 οὕτως B
 22 βαρβαρίζει C₁ 26 ταῦτα B: om. cet. 30 δὴ] δὲ C F
 31 πολὺ M: πολὺ δὴ B F D: πολὺ ἔτι δὴ C εἰς Ὀλυνθον C

*Ολυνθον στρατιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευ-
 τίαν μὲν ἄρμωστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοί
 τε ἅπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις
 σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύοντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίᾳ κατὰ
 5 τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ οἳ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ
 Τελευτίᾳ ὑπηρέτουν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει εἶναι
 τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ πόλις, ἅτε καὶ
 Ἀγηςιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ, προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ
 ὀπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας. ὁ δὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μάλα ἐπορεύετο, 38
 10 ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι
 καὶ τοῦ ὥς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε δὲ καὶ
 πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἡξίου αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους μισθοῦσθαι καὶ
 τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεῦσι χρήματα διδόναι, ὥς συμμάχους
 εἶναι, εἴπερ βούλοιτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ
 15 πρὸς Δέρδαν τὸν Ἑλιμίας ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὀλύν-
 θιοι κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας εἶεν, καὶ
 οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς
 ὕβρεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν 39
 ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν
 20 Ποτειδαίαν, ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν.
 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὐτ' ἔκαεν οὐτ' ἔκοπτε, νομίζων,
 εἴ τι ποιήσῃε τούτων, ἐμποδῶν ἂν αὐτῷ πάντα γίνεσθαι
 καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναχωροίῃ ἀπὸ τῆς
 πόλεως, τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδῶν κατα-
 25 βάλλειν, εἴ τις ὀπισθεν ἐπίοι. ὥς δὲ ἀπείχετο ἀπὸ τῆς 40
 πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν
 αὐτὸς ἔχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας
 ἵεναι ἢ ἐξῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ δ' ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων
 ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν. καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν
 30 Λάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρή-

3 ἅπαντας Weiske: ἅπαντες codd.

συνέπεμψε B: συνέπεμπε cet.

Schneider: ἐμπόδιον codd.

Laves

8 αὐτῷ B: om. cet.

17 παύση B

22 ἐμποδῶν

ταῦτα πάντα B

24 ἐμποδῶν seclus.

- σαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἱππέας ὥς εἰς τετρακοσίους διὰ τε τὸ ἀγασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, 41 ὥς ἡδόμενος παρείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλθόντες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συσπειραθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ 5 ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς. καὶ Πολύχαρμόν τε τὸν Λακεδαίμονιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατέτρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἱππικόν. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ 10 ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δ' ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡττηθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἤλασεν. ἐπῆρι δὲ καὶ 42 ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθοντο οἱ Ὀλυνθιοὶ ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν τῶν 15 πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελαύνοντας παμπόλλους ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἅτε ἐγγὺς 43 τοῦ τείχους ὄντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἐστάθη καὶ ἡ νίκη 20 αὕτη τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπιὼν δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ὀλυνθιοὶ καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτίννουν. 25
- III** Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλυνθιοὶ ἱππεῖς ὄντες ὥς ἑξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεσπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν· ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὥς δ' εἶδε 30

1 αὐτω(ι) codd.

2 ἄγεσθαι codd.: corr. Stephanus

4 παρείη

V pr. CF: παρή(ι)ει cet.

11 δ' om. DCF: γ' V

12 ἑαυ-

τὸν B: αὐτὸν cet.

16 ἀνεχώρουν CF

17 ἱππέας del.

Dind.

τὴν καταδρομήν, ἡσυχίαν [τε] εἶχε, τοὺς θ' ἵππους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἤλαυνον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων
 5 ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὥς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὥς 2
 ἀπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτινύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχήρεις τε
 10 μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου 3
 ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν, ὥς εἴ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἴη ἢ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίοις, φθείροι, ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ἡσυχῇ πορευόμενοι διέβησαν
 15 τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στρατεύμα. ὥς δ' εἶδεν ὁ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι ὥς εἶδον προθέοντας τοὺς πελταστας, ἀνα- 4
 20 στρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν ἡσυχῇ, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως, καὶ ὥς φεύγουσι διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, ἡνίκα ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἀπέκτειναν
 25 τὸν Τλημονίδα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ 5
 Τελευτίας ὥς εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελταστας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καιροῦ ἐγγυτέρω τείχους διώξαντες

1 τε del. Bothe εἶχε] ἦγε C pr. ἐνεσκευασμένους Cobet
 2 ἀμβάτας Dind.: ἀλαβάτας B: ἀναβάτας cet. 3 προάστιον B:
 προάστειον cet. 6 διώκων] διώκειν M 10 ὀλίγην Wytttenbach:
 ὀλίγην γῆν C: ὀλίγην τι (τί) B F M: ὀλίγον τι D 15 ἡσυχῇ del.
 Schneider 22 διώξοντες Leonclavius: διώξαντες B al.: διώκοντες F

- κακῶς ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλλοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἡναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως καὶ 6 προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐβοήθουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένη 5 τῇ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἴστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτῶλον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθου, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλείστοι δὲ εἰς Ποτεΐδαιαν. ὥς δ' 10 ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλοσε διώκοντες παμπλήθεις ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅτιπερ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.
- 7 Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν [ὥς] ἐγὼ φημι ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν <ὥς> οὐδ' οἰκέτας χρῆ 15 ὀργῇ κολάζειν· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπόται ὀργιζόμενοι μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποίησαν· ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλους τὸ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ γνώμη προσφέρεισθαι ὅλον ἁμάρτημα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργῇ ἀπρονόητον, ἡ δὲ γνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἡττον μὴ τι πάθῃ ἢ ὅπως βλάβῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους. 20
- 8 Τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τό τε φρόνημα τῶν νενικηκότων κατασβεσθείη καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεποιημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ 25 ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν.
- 9 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἐθελονταὶ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων 30 πόλεων ἐθελονταί, καὶ Θετταλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ

3 δὴ] δὲ C F

del. Cobet : ὥς add. Stephanus

σιλάω(ι) M D C F : cum compend. B : corr. Leonclavius

14 ὥς om. Stephanus : fort. genuinum

24 πεπονημένα V

15 οὖν

26 ἀγῆ-

Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον.

Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ 10
 5 Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν ἔδοσαν, νομίζουσα δ' ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἂν ἐξελεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποιοῦν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 10 δὴ φυγάδες ἤξιουν τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἴσῳ δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἠνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων καὶ τίς αὕτη δίκη εἴη ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζοιεν, οὐδὲν εἰσήκουον. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι 11
 ἔρχονται εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσυντες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν συνηκολούθουν, λέγοντες 15
 ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῖεν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτοις τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐξημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαί-
 20 μονα. οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οἴκαδε μὲν ὥκνουν ἀπιέναι, μένοντες 12
 20 δ' ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὔτοι μὲν εἶησαν οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οἵπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὔτοι δὲ οἱ πριάμενοί τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδόναι, οὔτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιωθῆναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεὶς τολμῶῃ ἰέναι
 25 δηλώσων τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνόμενα. τῷ δ' ὄντι ὑβρίζειν 13
 δοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔφοροι. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθομένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχιδάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάμενον, καὶ τότε τῶν κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν· αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα
 30 τὸν Ἴππονίκου. ὥς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομένων οὐκ 14
 ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο, πολλὰ πρεσβεῖαι ἀπήντων καὶ

6 στρατεῖαν Leonclavius
 ἡκουν codd. : corr. Hertlein
 29 αὐτῷ C F : ἐαυτῷ(ι) cet.

12 post τίς add. ἂν Cobet
 20 μὲν] μὴν B

13 οὐδένας
 27 οὐ] οὐδὲ Cobet

- χρήματα ἐδίδουσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο
 ὅτι οὐχ ἵνα ἀδικοίη στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις
 15 βοηθήσειεν. οἱ δὲ τελευτώντες πάντα ἔφασκον ποιήσειν,
 ἐδέοντό τε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν
 πιστεύσειε λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, 5
 ἀλλ' ἔργου τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν ἔφη. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί
 τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο. Ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἔφη,
 ποιήσαντες οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡδίκηθητε. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὴν
 16 ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλέ τε [καὶ] εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ περιτειχίσας 10
 ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς. πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων
 ὡς ὀλίγων ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώπων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιντο πλεόν
 πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ' ἐνδηλον εἴη,
 οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἔξω ἐκκλησιάζον· ὁ μέντοι
 17 Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμηχανήσατο. ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξίλειεν 15
 ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε
 συσσίτιά τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἱκανὸν
 διδόναι, ὁπόσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιν· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν
 ἅπασι τούτοις διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα
 δανείζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους 20
 χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐτάκτους δὲ
 καὶ εὖσπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτώντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔλεγον
 ὡς τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν.
 18 Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις
 εὐθύς [τε] ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιῶν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει 25
 τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆει αὐτῷ, τότε
 τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδήου καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας
 ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σίτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ προσβαλὼν
 19 εἶλε κατὰ κράτος. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν
 καῦμα περιφλεγὲς λαμβάνει αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ πρόσθεν ἑορακότα 30
 τὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρωσ αὐτὸν τότε ἔσχε τῶν

10 καὶ om. Castalio

14 ἐξεκλησιάζον M D C F

17 αὐτῶν

B al. καὶ ὅσον εἰς Leonclavius

ἱκανὸν] Ἰσα Laves

25 τε del.

Leonclavius

30 πυριφλεγὲς vulg.

πρόσθεν] πρώην C F

τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων.
ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκείσε ἔτι ζῶν, ὅμως μέντοι ἐβδομαῖος ἀφ'
οὗ ἔκαμεν ἕξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν
μέλιτι τεθείς καὶ κομισθεὶς οἴκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς
5 ταφῆς.

Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ἢ τις ἂν ᾤετο ἐφήσθη 20
ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν.
συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἴκοι
ᾧσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ
10 ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἵππικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων
μετέχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπηδεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ,
ὥσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ'
ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἄρμοστήν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον ἐκπέμ-
πουσιν.

15 'Ο δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσου 21
ἐλέγετο ἐν [τῇ] Φλειοῦντι σῖτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια
γαστρὸς διαφέρει ὥστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἥμισυν ψηφισάμενοι
σῖτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν, καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο τὸν διπλάσιον
τοῦ εἰκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι διήρκεσαν. καὶ τόλμα 22
20 δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὥστε Δελφίων τις,
λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας
Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους εἰρήνην
ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἷς ἠπίσται εἵρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο
δὲ εἷς τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι καὶ τούτους
25 ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὧν εἶχε
περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκθέων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ τοῦ
περιτετελιχισμένου κύκλου. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὗτοι 23
πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ ἡῤῥισκον σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ
τούτου δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέοντο σπεί-

1 σκηνημάτων M F

7 ἀλλὰ καὶ B : ἀλλὰ cet.

15 ὑπερέ-

βαλλε B C F

16 τῇ del. Keller

17 post γαστρὸς add. ἀκρα-

τείας Nauck

συψηφισάμενοι codd. : corr. Dind.

21 αὐτὸν

Dind. : αὐτὸν C F : αὐτοὺς cet.

26 αὐτὸν B F

28 ἐπιζη-

τοῦντες C

σασθαι πρεσβείαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰούσιν· δεδόχθαι γὰρ
 σφίσιν ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 24 χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὃ τι βούλονται. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι
 ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους
 διεπράξατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπέε- 5
 σατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρα ἢ πρότερον
 ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίῃ. ὅμως
 μέντοι ὃ γε Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃς
 πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ.
 25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ 10
 πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως
 αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν
 ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρῖναι ὄντινά τε ζῇν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὄντινα
 ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἶη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς 15
 πολιτεύουσιντο· ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ
 μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας
 τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὖ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὀκτῶ
 μηνσὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.

20

26 Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασιν κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ
 τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους, διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε
 κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγεσθαι σῖτον αὐτοῖς, ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις
 αὐτοκράτορες συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν 25
 καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν
 ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ταῦτα ἐμμενεῖν
 οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε.

27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε Θηβαίους
 μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, 30
 Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀργείους δὲ τετα-

I πρεσβεία . . . ἰούση Portus 10 ἦκον οἱ cit. Breitenbach
 II ἐπιτρέπει C 21 δὲ δὴ B : δὲ cet. : δὲ ἤδη Simon 27 ταῦτα]
 ταῦται Stephanus ἐμμένειν codd. : corr. Schneider

πεινώσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἡρημῶσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ συμμάχων κεκολασμένων οἱ δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἢ ἀρχὴν ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

5 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ Ἑλλη- IV
νικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὥς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιοούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θήβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐ-
10 τῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν πρῶτον οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς τε τῶν πολι-
τῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουλευθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὰ μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν κατα-
15 λῦσαι. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγῆσομαι.

Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν 2
πολεμάρχοις, καὶ τὰλλα ὑπηρετεῖ, ὥς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα. τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώ-
ριμος ὢν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγότων Θηβαίων συγ-
20 γίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνούς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο ὥς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 3
προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἐξ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόν-
25 των ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκαπερ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ
30 Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν. ὁ μὲν 4
οὖν Φιλλίδας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὥς

1-2 διὰ . . . ὑποφοράν del. Breitenbach
Wolf 17 πολεμάρχοις del. Hartman
B : τὴν cet. 22 αὐτοῦ codd.

10 πρῶτον] πρότερον
18 πρόσθε B 20 τὰ
25 ξιφείδια B

Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖ-
 κας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ
 καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ, ἦσαν
 5 γὰρ τοιοῦτοι, μάλα ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμε- 5
 θύσθησιν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐξελθὼν
 ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας,
 6 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας. κἀκείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν
 εἰς τὸ προταμιεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπε
 τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες, 10
 εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέ-
 λευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας δούς οἶνον εἰς ἐνὸς τῶν
 διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς
 ἐταίρας δῆ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἐκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ
 7 καθίζουσιν, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω 15
 λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελ-
 θόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμάρχους.
 λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλλίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ
 Λεοντιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν
 πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαί τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν 20
 χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα
 παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδα πριστὸν νομίζων
 εἰσιέναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τὴν
 δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξιόντες δὲ εἶπον
 τὴν θύραν κεκλείσθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεφγμένην, ἡπεῖ- 25
 8 λησαν ἀποκτείνειν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα
 ἐπέπρακτο, λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς
 τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ
 πολεμάρχων ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἀνέφξε, τοῦτον μὲν
 εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους 30

9 ταμιεῖον Stephanus πολεμάρχου V corr. ex πολεμαρχεῖν
 14 ἐταιρίδας C F₂ δὲ] γὰρ C F 15 οὕτως B 23 ἀποκτείναντες] ἀπέκτειναν Cobet 28 ἀνάκειον Dind.: ἀναγκαῖον codd.
 29 ante πολεμάρχων add. τῶν Dind.

μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὄπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν, καὶ
 ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὅπλα. 9
 δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι πάντας Θηβαίους, ἱππέας
 τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ δὲ πολῖται,
 5 ἕως μὲν νύξ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα
 τ' ἦν καὶ φανερόν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλί-
 ται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ'
 ἱππέας οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις Ἀθη-
 ναίων [τοὺς] δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα
 10 ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπεστάλκεσαν . . . ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀρμοστῆς 10
 ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς
 Πλαταιᾶς καὶ Θεσπιάς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλα-
 ταιᾶς αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαν-
 τήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλεον ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον
 15 ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἤδη παρήσαν,
 προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ 11
 ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τὴν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσιόντων
 ἀπάντων ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων
 τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι
 20 ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπιοῦσι
 διδοῖεν. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἤτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι
 καὶ ὅρκους ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων 12
 μέντοι, ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνον-
 τες ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν
 25 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώθη-
 σαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀποθανόντων,
 ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν 13
 ἀρμοστὴν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀνα-
 30 μέιναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαίνουσιν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ
 τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἧβης εἴη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς

- τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἶη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἕξω στρατεύεσθαι,
 οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεύσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε.
 κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι
 τούτου γ' ἔνεκεν κατέμεινεν, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγολίη,
 λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσειε τοῖς 5
 τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς
 14 βουλευέσθαι ὁποῖόν τι βούλονται περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι
 διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπε-
 πτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε ἡγούμενον,
 μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν 10
 Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ
 Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν εἰς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν.
 προϊόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ
 φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν
 καὶ πεντήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μή τις 15
 ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς
 15 τὰς Πλαταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς
 ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς οὔσας Θηβαίων
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ ἐκεῖ περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα ἡμέρας
 ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς. κἀκεῖ μὲν ἄρμοστήν κατέ- 20
 λιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος
 ἐκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν
 16 οἴκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦσθαι. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγεν
 ἐπ' οἶκον τὴν διὰ Κρεῦσιος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ 25
 μάλα ἀποροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ
 εἰρήνη εἶη· ἥγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στρά-
 17 τευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας. ἀπι-
 ὄντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν καὶ οἰωνίζοντό
 τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ 30

5 λέξιαν codd. (λέξοι . . F pr. ut vid.) : corr. Dobree 2 δὴ D C :
 δὲ cet. 7 βούλεσθαι C F βουλεύονται codd. 10 οὖν B :
 om. cet. : καὶ τὴν μὲν C 14 ἀναγκαῖον C F : per compend. B : M
 lacunam exhibet : corr. Dind. 19 ἐκεῖ B : om. cet. 23 ἐκέ-
 λευε B 25 κράσιος codd. : corr. Leonclavius ἑαυτοῦ C F

ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ
 τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθήκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος
 πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατεκρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα
 δὲ ὄπλα ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος 18
 5 δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πορεύεσθαι, ἔνθεν
 καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας
 τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγιοσθένει
 ἐδείπνησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο
 τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἵκαδε ἤδη ἕκαστοι ἀπῆσαν· ἀφῆκε
 10 γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 19
 ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη
 παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας
 ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τῷ δύο στρατηγῷ,
 15 οἱ συνηπιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Λεοντι-
 ἀδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸν δ',
 ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδυσαν.

Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ μηδένες 20
 ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοιόνδε
 20 εὐρίσκουσι μηχανήματα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἄρ-
 μοστὴν Σφοδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὥς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν
 εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κακεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιη-
 σάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν,
 25 ἦγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρῶν δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας,
 φάσκων πρὸ ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Θριᾶσι 21
 δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησεν ὥστε
 λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ
 οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύ-
 30 γοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστρ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στρά-
 τευμα πάμπολυ προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλίσάμενοι καὶ

4 ἐξέπεσεν vulg. : ἐξέπλευσεν codd. opt. : ἐξέπνευσεν Dind. 22 ἐκ-
 πολεμήσει(ν) codd. : corr. Dind. 27 οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν Dind. : οὐδὲ
 ταῦτα codd. : οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' Voigtländer 28 ἀπετέτραπτο C F

- 22 ἱππεῖς καὶ ὀπλίται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες
 παρὰ Καλλία τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος
 καὶ Ὡκυλλος· οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγγέλθη,
 συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὥς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. 5
 οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο
 ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὥς εἰ ἥδεσαν καταλαμ-
 βανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς
 παρείχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὐ τάχιστ' ἂν ἠύρε-
 23 θησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὥς εὐδῆλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο 10
 ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφο-
 δρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσονται ὑπὸ
 τῆς πόλεως. κακεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι ἀφεί-
 24 θησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ
 ὑπήγον θανάτου. ἐκείνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· 15
 ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὐχ ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ
 πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὕτη διὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι <ἡ> δίκη
 κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον.
- 25 Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος, ἡλικίαν τε ἔχων τὴν
 ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων, καὶ ἅμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος 20
 τῶν ἡλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ
 Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἅτε
 ἐταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δέ
 γε Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς
 26 διὰ μέσου δέ· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ 25
 ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὦ
 υἱέ, σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, δεσθέντι Ἀρχιδάμου εὐμενῇ Ἀγησί-
 λαον ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν παρασχέω. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλ-
 μησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο σωτήρα αὐτῷ
 27 τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν 30

8 αὐτοὺς BF

15 ἀπῆγον codd. : corr. Pierson

17 ἐν

λακεδαιμονίοις ἀδικώτατα CF

ἡ add. Dind.

18 τὸ om. M

19 κλεώνυμος B : cet. κλεώνυμος ὄνομα exhibent post παίδων

23 τῷ

σφοδρία B : om. cet.

29 αὐτῷ B : αὐτὸν cet.

Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ
 δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ', ὦ Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ
 τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἄν τι βού-
 λωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ
 5 πατρὸς δέομαι· ὅμως δ', ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσάν με
 προθυμίαν ἔξειν ταῦτά σοι πραχθῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἐκ 28
 τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνεπαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου
 ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἐξελθών. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν
 10 παρῆν, παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις
 ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχόρει.
 τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπιὼν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἰσῆλθεν
 οἴκαδε, ἀπιὼν ὥχετο οὐδὲ προσελθών. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ
 ταῦτά ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ὦν 29
 15 ἔνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἠρώτα, ἀλλ' εἶα αὐτόν. ὁ δ'
 αὖ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁρᾶν τὸν Κλεώ-
 νυμον· ὅπως μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ
 πατρὶ περὶ ὦν ἐκείνος ἐδεήθη οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν
 Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὀρώντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ
 20 θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λελοιδωρημένος ὑπὸ Ἀγησι-
 λάου εἶη. τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν 30
 καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ πάτερ, Κλεώνυμός με κελεύει σου δεηθῆναι
 σῶσαί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτά σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν.
 ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην ἔχω·
 25 αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως (ἂν) συγγνώμης τύχοιμι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως
 ἄνδρα μὴ καταγιγνώσκων ἀδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρημάτισατο ἐπὶ κακῷ
 τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ὀρώ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν 31
 εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἢ
 αὐτὸς νοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶπεν ἐλθών· Ἄλλ' ὅτι
 30 μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μὴδὲν ἡδίκηκε Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν

6 συνέξιν C
 λάθη cet.

7 φιλιτίου Leonclavius in marg.

8 λάθοι B :

20 ὑπὸ ἀγησιλάου ἀπεληλαμένος B

23 ταῦτα M C F

25 ἂν add. Schäfer

26 ἄνδρα] ἀνδρὸς Cobet

ἐχρήσατο B

- οἶδα· νῦν δέ, εἰ ἡδίκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ
 σου τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἂν μέλλῃ καλὰ ταῦθ'
 ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας μάλα
 32 δύσελπις ὦν ἀπήει. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρίας φίλων τις διαλε-
 γόμενος Ἑτυμοκλεῖ εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, πάντες 5
 οἱ Ἀγησιλάου φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ
 Ἑτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταῦτ', ἔφη, ποιήσομεν Ἀγη-
 σιλάῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας ὅσοις διείλεκται ταῦτα
 λέγει, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὅστις μέντοι
 παῖς τε ὦν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν 10
 διετέλεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτινύναι· τὴν
 33 γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν. ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας
 ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὁ δ' ἡσθεὶς, εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῇ ἤδη
 ἴσμεν· εὖ δ' ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα 15
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυρθῆς.
 καὶ οὐκ ἔψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ
 Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Λεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν
 Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρεῖς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν
 μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ ἠνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα 20
 τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὥς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήσχυεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 ἐκόσμησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπέφυγε.
 34 Τῶν μὲντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν
 δῆμον ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθή- 25
 ναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ,
 ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ
 35 ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φρουρὰν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον
 ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγείσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν 30

1 post εἰ add. καὶ Cobet

2 οὐκοῦν B : om. cet.

3 ἔσται]

ἔστω C F

7 ταῦτ(α) codd. : corr. Leoncl.

ἔφη B : om. cet.

8 ταῦτα codd. : corr. Dind.

9 εἶναι B : ἔφη εἶναι cet.

15 post

ἐπίστω add. & Cobet

21 τὸν M : om. cet.

τὴν στρατιάν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὅ τι τῇ πόλει
δοκοίῃ ἀντειπεῖν παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. γινώσκων 36
δ' ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ῥᾷδιον
ἔσται εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς
5 Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινο-
λογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως <προσ>γένοιτο τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ
τι δεηθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν 37
ἐν Τεγέα αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς
Κλητορίοις ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δοὺς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προκατα-
10 λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχομενίοις εἶπεν,
ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις
στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη
πρῶτον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ 38
ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐλθὼν εἰς Θεσπιάς ἐκεῖθεν
15 ὁρμηθεὶς ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὐρὼν δὲ ἀπο-
τεταφρευμένον τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδίον καὶ
τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδεύόμενος ἄλλοτ'
ἄλλη καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων ἐδήλου τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς
ἐαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι,
20 ὅπου ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρήσαν αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ
χαρακώματος ὥς ἀμυνόμενοι. καί ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος 39
αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς
τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἐξαίφνης διὰ τῶν ὁδοποιημένων τοῦ
χαρακώματος ἐξόδῳ ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἶα δὴ ἀπιόντων πρὸς
25 δειπνῶν καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων
τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύ-
νουσι· καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν
ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν περιοί-

1 ὅτι del. Dind. 2 τι B : δ cet. 2 post δοκοίῃ add. ἔχοι Hartman
6 προσγένοιτο Rinkes : γένοιτο codd. 8 αὐτὸς Morus : αὐτοὺς
codd. 9 ἐκέλευσε C 10 εἶπε τέως BMD 11 στρατιὰ codd.:
corr. Leoncl. 20 ὅποι M D 23 ὁδοποιουμένων B 26 ἔτι]
ἄρτι Courier : post δ' transp. Laves. qui pro ἀναβαινόντων legit κατα-
ἀπελαύνουσι B 27 prius τῶν BV : τῶν τε cet. κατέβαλλον CF
28 Ἐπικυδίδαν Schneider : ἐπιλυτίδαν codd.

- κων ἕνα, Εὐδίκον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὰς φυγάδας, οὕτω
 40 ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους. ὥς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν
 τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἳ τε ἱππεῖς ἤλαννον
 ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μὲντοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐώκεσαν 5
 ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς
 ἐπελαύνουσιν ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνουῦντο δ' οὐ.
 41 ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν δώδεκα. ὥς
 δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι αἰὲ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέ-
 μιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦγεν ὥς οἶόν τε 10
 τάχιστα, καὶ παρήλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων.
 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως.
 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς,
 ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλιπεν
 ἄρμοστήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς 15
 μὲν συμμάχους διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ' οἴκου
 ἀπήγαγεν.
 42 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπων μὲν ληστήρια ἔφερε
 καὶ ἦγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει
 τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι 20
 στρατεύουσι πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ
 δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖς προσ-
 κείμενος οὐδαμοῦ εἶα αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τῆς φάλαγ-
 γος· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῇ ἐμβολῇ θάπτονα
 τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεοκόμοι δὲ ἀπορρι- 25
 πτοῦντες ὃν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαννον οἴκαδε· οὕτω δεινὸς
 43 φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέπεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως
 ἐπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ'
 ὀπλιτικὸν ἐν τάξει ἔπρεσθαι κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο
 τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως 30

1 Θηβαίων Dind. : ἀθηναίων codd. 6 ὑπο(πε)πτωκόσι codd. : corr.
 Camerarius 11 εἴσω C F 14 ἐτείχιζε C F 21 τῶν B : om. cet.
 23 οὐδαμοῖ Cobet 24 τῆς ἐμβολῆς Jacob 27 τῷ στρατεύματι B :
 τοῖς στρατεύμασι cet. 30 τροπὴν Leoncl. : πρὸς τὴν codd.

ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύετο,
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιῶν ὀπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. ὥς 44
 δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπη ἀδιαβάτω
 ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἡθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνέστρεφον
 5 διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διαβαίειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι
 ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὖ
 τοῦτο ὥς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι
 αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ 45
 μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου
 10 πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς
 ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κἀκείνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρο-
 νοῦντες μὴ ὑπεῖξιν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάννυ
 διωκόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡδὴ ὀψέ. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ
 πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θεσπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν
 15 τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῶν Θη- 46
 βαίων ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰς Θεσπιᾶς καὶ εἰς
 τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος ἐξ
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει· ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι
 δυναστεῖαι καθειστήκεισαν, ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ
 20 ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας
 ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν
 καὶ μόραν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες τὰς
 Θεσπιᾶς ἐφύλαττον.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι 47
 25 εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ἥπερ τὸ πρόσθεν,
 ἐδέοντο ἡγεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταῦτ' ἀγινώσκων,
 πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσ-
 πιαῖς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ
 τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον καὶ φυλάττειν, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς
 30 ἔλθῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο, 48
 πάλιν προσεποιήσατο εἰς τὰς Θεσπιᾶς πρῶτον ἵέναι, καὶ

5 ὅπῃ B: ὅποι cet.
κίδας del. Hartman

16 ἐς θεσπιᾶς B 17 τὰς ante περιοι-
26 ταῦτ'α Castalio: ταῦτα codd.

πέμπων ἀγοράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς πρε-
 σβείας ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν πρὸς
 49 Θεσπιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ ὑστε-
 ραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς·
 καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας 5
 ἐφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν
 τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρόσθεν
 εἰσῆλθε. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἔω τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων
 πόλεως ἐδῆον μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν
 Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαι- 10
 μονίων, εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆει ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων
 50 τὸ τεῖχος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετάξαντο ἐπὶ
 Γραὸς στήθει, ὅπισθεν ἔχοντες τὴν τε τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύ-
 ρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ
 γὰρ στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ 15
 δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἐπι-
 51 σιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἦει. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι δέισαντες
 περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἦν, ἀπολιπόντες ἔνθα παρατετα-
 γμένοι ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἔθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνιαῖς
 ὁδόν· ἦν γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν 20
 γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι πόρρω ἀπαγαγὼν
 ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅμως
 μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέ-
 52 δραμον σὺν ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων
 τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος, εἷς 25
 τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ
 τούτου τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· ὥστε ἀναβάντες
 οἱ Σκιρίται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους
 53 τῶν Θηβαίων παρελάνοντας <εἰς> τὴν πόλιν. ὡς μέντοι
 ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· οἱ 30
 δὲ Σκιρίται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θᾶπτον ἢ βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ

3 θεσπιέας C

5 ὡς στρατεύματι del. Dind.

8 εἰσῆλθεν B F

23 ἐπιπαραθέοντας codd. : corr. Stephanus

25 τὰ om. C F

29 εἰς

add. Stephanus

ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδείς αὐτῶν· ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖόν
 [τε] ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. ὁ μέντοι 54
 Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐνθα-
 περ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία
 5 ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθούντων
 τῶν πελταστῶν, οἳ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν
 Χαβρίαν ἀνακαλούντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες
 οἱ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς, ἥδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους συνε-
 στρατεύοντο, ἐδίωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ ἠκο-
 10 λούθουν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα πολλούς· ταχὺ γὰρ
 πρὸς ἄναντες εὐήλατον ἀλίσκονται πεζοὶ ὑφ' ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ 55
 δ' ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὐρὼν στασιάζ-
 οντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακω-
 νίζειν ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὧν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο
 15 μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅρκους
 ὁμόσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ
 Κιθαιρώνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκείθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμά-
 χους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.

Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ 56
 20 δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ
 δυοῖν τριήροις ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα
 δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὠρεόν, ἐν
 ᾧ ἐκείνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεινωοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριή-
 ρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο
 25 ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς
 τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τρια-
 κοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἶρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς
 ἐσκήνου. ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ τινος τῶν Ὠρειτῶν παιδός, 57
 ὥς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε καγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς
 30 ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμά-
 λωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ

2 τε del. Stephanus 15 οὖν om. D 17 ἐκεῖθε B 27 οἱ περ B
 31 ἀμέλειαν] ἐπιμέλειαν B

ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται· ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.

58 Ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετιῆς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφρο- 5
δισίου εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ῥήγνυται ὁποία δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἔρρῡη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιός τις ἱατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἅπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ 10
πάντα ποιῶντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα πρὶν ἐλιποψύχῃσιν· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἡρώσκει τό τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

59 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουράν 15
τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὥς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἶων αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, 20
ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἀπῆγέ τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι 25
ἐγίνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βούλονται, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ 30

61 δὲ βούλονται, ἐπὶ Κρεύσιος. ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἐξήκοντα

1 ἀπόρως B 6 posterius τὸ om. C F 10 τε om. B 11 ἔσχειν
Cobet ἐλει(vel ἐλυ)ποψύχῃσιν codd. : corr. Dind. 26 ἀπὸ τῶν
συμμάχων del. Nauck

μὲν τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ' αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο.
 καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν οἱ ταῦτα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ἐπολιορκούντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ
 μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ' οὐκέτι ἤθελε παρα-
 5 πλεῖν, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τε Αἴγινα
 καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἀνάγκην,
 ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς
 τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγουμένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν σῆτος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. παρα- 62
 10 σκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίσαντες εἰ τοῦτο
 γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἅμα μὲν
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ
 15 χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν
 ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτούς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέντοι ὀργιζόμενοι 63
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέ-
 πεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἐξήκοντα πληρώ-
 σαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἐλόμενοι. ἅτε δὲ
 20 εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὗτ' ἐν
 ᾧ Κλεόμβροτος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὗτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος
 περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς
 περιοικίδας πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον. ὁ μέντοι 64
 Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ἰφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιή-
 25 σατο· οὐ μέντοι ἡνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν
 οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν· ἐξ ᾧ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις
 πάσας εὐμενεστέρας ἔσχεν. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακε- 65
 δαιμόνιοι ναυτικόν, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν
 ἄνδρα, ἐξέπεμψαν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς,
 30 οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ ἐξ νεῶν αὐτῷ ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακι-
 ωτίδων, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἐξήκοντα

9 τοῖς B : om. cet.

13 ἔσεσθαι Büchschütz : ἔσοιτο codd.

21 ἔτει Schäfer : ἔτι codd.

οὔσαις ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν
 66 ἡττήθη, καὶ τροπαῖον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ. ὁ δὲ
 ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζομένων,
 ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἕξ τριήρεις, ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ἀλύζειαν ἔπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὥς δὲ οὐκ 5
 ἀντανήγε, τροπαῖον αὖ κακείνος ἐστήσατο ἐν ταῖς ἐγγυτάτω
 νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἄς τε εἶχεν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ
 Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν
 πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα, πολὺ δὲ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ χρή-
 ματα μέντοι μετεπέμπετο Ἀθήνηθεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο, 10
 ἅτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. **Ι**
οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις,
ἐστράτευσον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὥς δ' αὖ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς
ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοη-
5 θήσοιεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τού-
του οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας
Κλεόμβροτον τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.

Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας **2**
10 ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας
Φαρσάλιος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα
ἠυδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλὸς τε
καγαθὸς εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρα-
κατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν
15 λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἷς τε τὰ ἱερὰ
ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κακεῖνος μέντοι **3**
ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τὴν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσωφεν
αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ
ὁπότε μὲν ἐνδεήσεις, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὁπότε δὲ περι-
20 γένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως
φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον.
οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιαῦτα.

4 βοηθήσοιεν B : βοηθήσαιεν cet.
19 ἐνδεήσεις Dind. : ἐνδεής εἷη codd.

5 δυνήσονται DV pr. C
post δὲ add. τι Cobet

- 4 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ
 εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὢν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, ἔάν τέ
 τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵεναι, ἔάν τέ τι χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ
 Θετταλίᾳ συνιστῇται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν οὖν εὖ οἷδ'
 ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσονος ὄνομα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει 5
 μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ σπονδὰς ποιησά-
 5 μενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Πολυδάμα,
 καὶ ἄκουσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν [Φάρσαλον] δυναίμην ἂν
 παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστί σοι ἐκ τῶνδε λογίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ,
 ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις 10
 συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ
 ἐναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευομένων. καὶ μὴν οἶσθά γε ὅτι ξένους
 ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐ-
 δεμία πόλις δύναιτ' ἂν ῥαδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ,
 ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλθοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ 15
 τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς
 ἡλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὐπω ἀκμάζοντας· σωμασκοῦσί γε μὴν
 μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει· παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς
 6 μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐμοὶ ἴσα πονεῖν. αὐτὸς
 δ' ἐστί, λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τάληθῇ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα 20
 μάλα εὖρωστος καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπονος. καὶ τοίνυν τῶν παρ'
 αὐτῷ πείραν λαμβάνει καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· ἡγεῖται γὰρ σὺν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πῃ στρατεύηται.
 καὶ οὓς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει,
 οὓς δ' ἂν ὀρᾷ φιλοπόνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς 25
 τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ τοὺς μὲν διμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίαις,
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίαις, καὶ ἄλλοις δώροισι, καὶ νόσων γε
 θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ· ὥστε πάντες ἴσασιν οἱ
 παρ' ἐκείνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ ἐντιμώτατόν
 7 τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται. ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι 30
 εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ

1 ἐγὼ μὲν C F
 23 ποι M D F

8 Φάρσαλον del. Schäfer
 27 primum καὶ om. M D

22 αὐτῷ Stephanus
 γε om. M

Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ ὑπαρχος· ὥστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ
 φοβούμενος οὐ ῥαδίως ἂν ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψασθαι;
 τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις ἐμοῦ ἄπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις
 καὶ οὐκ ἤδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νῆ Δία
 5 τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ
 ἄκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι. βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν
 βουλεύοισθε ὃ τι δύναισθε κακὸν ἐμοί, ἐγὼ τ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ὡς
 ἀσθενεστάτους βουλοίμην εἶναι· εἰ δὲ πεισθέντες μετ' ἐμοῦ
 γένοισθε, δῆλον ὅτι αὖξοιμεν ἂν ὃ τι δυναίμεθα ἀλλήλους.
 10 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι ἡ σὴ πατὴρ εἰς σέ 8
 ἀποβλέπει· ἔαν δέ μοι φιλικῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσης,
 ὑπισχνούμαί σοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μέγιστόν σε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 μετ' ἐμὲ καταστήσειν. οἷων δὲ πραγμάτων τὰ δευτέρᾳ σοι
 δίδωμι ἄκουε, καὶ μηδὲν πίστευέ μοι ὃ τι ἂν μὴ λογιζομένῳ
 15 σοι ἀληθὲς φαίνεται. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν εὐδῆλον ἡμῖν, ὅτι
 Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἡρτημένων πόλεων
 εὐπετῶς ἂν ἐγὼ ταγὸς Θετταλῶν ἀπάντων κατασταίην· ὡς
 γε μὴν, ὅταν ταγεύηται Θετταλία, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους μὲν οἱ
 ἱππεύοντες γίνονται, ὀπλῖται δὲ πλείους ἢ μύριοι καθίστανται.
 20 ὦν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὁρῶν οἶμαι ἂν 9
 αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος ὁποῖόν ἂν
 ἀξιώσαιεν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί. πλατυτάτης γε μὴν γῆς
 οὔσης Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη ὑπήκοα μὲν ἔστιν,
 ὅταν ταγὸς ἐνθάδε καταστήῃ· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτη
 25 ἀκοντισταὶ εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ πελταστικῷ εἰκὸς ὑπερέχειν τὴν
 ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. καὶ μὴν Βοιωτοὶ γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες 10
 ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσιν μοι σύμμαχοι·
 καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖνυν ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαι-
 μονίων ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντα
 30 ποιήσαιεν ἂν ὥστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ
 ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ

2 καταστρέψεσθαι B C F

7 δύναισθε Castalio : δύνασθε codd.

10 γιγνώσκω μὲν] γιγνώσκομεν B
οἱ Cobet

26 ὑμετέραν B M V F

27 ὅσοι]

- ἔτι ῥᾶον τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν παραλα-
 11 βεῖν ἂν. εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα.
 ἔχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα
 ἄγονται, πολὺ δὴπου πλείους ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς
 ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἀθη- 5
 ναίους ἢ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιού-
 τους ἔχοντας πενέστας; τοὺς γε μὴν ναύτας τρέφειν πότερον
 ἡμᾶς ἱκανωτέρους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἄλλοσε
 σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς μὴδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν
 12 ἔχοντας, ἂν μὴ πρίωνται; καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δὴπου ἡμᾶς 10
 ἀφθονωτέροις χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ'
 ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη καρπουμένους. πάντα γὰρ δὴπου τὰ κύκλω
 φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θερταλίαν. οἶσθα δὲ
 δὴπου ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νήσους ἀλλ' ἡπειρον
 καρπούμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· ὃν ἐγὼ ὑπὴ- 15
 κοον ποιήσασθαι ἔτι εὐκατεργαστότερον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἢ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἑνὸς
 μᾶλλον δουλείαν ἢ ἀλκὴν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ ὑφ' οἷας
 δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσεως καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγη-
 13 σιλάου εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο βασιλεὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος 20
 αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει,
 τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους ἀποστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναν-
 τίους, μὴδὲν ἔχοντας ἐγκαλεῖν, τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἀπορόν μοι
 δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας με καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκτέον
 μου εἴη, ὅτι τοιοῦτος εἴην, ἀφῆκέ μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς 25
 λέγειν τἀληθῆ, ὅτι διανοοῖτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίους, εἰ
 μὴ πεισοίμεθα. αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειαν παρ' ὑμῶν.
 καὶ ἔαν μὲν σοι, ἔφη, διδῶσιν ὥστε σε πείθειν ἱκανὴν πέμ-
 πειν συμμαχίαν ὥς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄγ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ
 χρώμεθα ὅ τι ἂν ἀποβαίνη ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου· ἂν δέ σοι μὴ 30
 δοκῶσιν ἱκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἤδη ἀνέγκλητος ἂν δικαίως

8 εἶναι Schäfer : ἐστι(ι) codd.

16 εἶναι om. C

24 ἐκτέον μου

vel ἐατέον μοι codd.

25 ἀφῆκε] ἐφῆκε Cobet

28 σοι] θεοί

Cobet σε om. VC

εἷς εἰ τῇ πατρίδι ἢ σε τιμᾷ καὶ σὺ πράττοισ τὰ κράτιστα;
 περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἦκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγω πάντα ὅσα 14
 ἐκεῖ αὐτός τε ὁρῶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκήκοα. καὶ νομίζω οὕτως
 ἔχειν, ὧ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς εἰ μὲν πέμψετε ἐκείσε
 5 δύνάμιν μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θετταλοῖς
 ἱκανὴν ἡδοκεῖν εἶναι† πρὸς Ἰάσονα πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται
 αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πᾶσαι γὰρ φοβοῦνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβή-
 σεται ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις· εἰ δὲ νεοδαμῶδεις καὶ ἄνδρα
 ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν, συμβουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. εὖ 15
 10 γὰρ ἴστε, πρὸς τε μεγάλην ἔσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς
 ἄνδρα ὃς φρόνιμος μὲν οὕτω στρατηγός ἐστιν ὥς ὅσα τε
 λανθάνειν καὶ ὅσα φθάνειν καὶ ὅσα βιάζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ
 μάλα ἀφαρμαρτάνει. ἱκανὸς γάρ ἐστι καὶ νυκτὶ ὅσαπερ
 ἡμέρᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν σπεύδῃ, ἄριστον καὶ δεῖπνον ποιη-
 15 σάμενος ἅμα πονεῖσθαι. οἴεται δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρῆναι,
 ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἐνθ' ἂν ὠρμημένος ᾖ καὶ διαπράξῃται ἂν δεῖ·
 καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ταῦτα εἴθικεν. ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ
 ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες ἀγαθὸν τι πράξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκ-
 πληῆσαι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασιν
 20 πάντες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ
 γίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα 16
 τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἀσχολίαν
 ἔχει τὸ μὴ [εἰς τὸ] πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ δεόμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν
 σκεψάμενοι εἶπατε πρὸς ἐμέ, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν προσήκει, ὅποια
 25 δυνήσεσθέ τε καὶ μέλλετε ποιήσειν.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε μὲν ἀνε- 17
 βάλουντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ λογι-
 σάμενοι τὰς τε ἕξω μόρας ὅσαι αὐτοῖς εἶεν καὶ τὰς περὶ

1 εἰ Madvig : ἐν codd. σὺ] σοὶ Dind. : οὐ Keller πράττεις
 VC Keller 4 ὥς ante μὴ transponit Keller 6 δοκεῖν] δοκοῦσαν
 Stephanus 10 ἴστε B : ἴστε ὅτι cet. 13 νυκτὶ ὅσαπερ Dind. :
 νυκτὶ ἄπερ V : νυκτὸς ἄπερ cet. 15 ποιεῖσθαι B M D V F₁, unde
 πορευόμενος pro ποιησάμενος Pantazides 17 μεθ' αὐτοῦ B : μετ'
 αὐτοῦ cet. 23 εἰς τὸ del. Dind. 26 ἀνεβάλλοντο B C F

Λακεδαιμόνα πρὸς τὰς [ἔξω] τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις καὶ τὸν
 πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι ἐπικουρίαν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπιόντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἄριστα τὰ
 18 τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ κεῖνος μέντοι ἐπαινέσας 5
 τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν
 τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ἰάσονος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν
 παραδοῦναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασώζῃ· τοὺς δὲ
 ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἔδωκεν ὁμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τε
 πόλιν πείσας ἐκοῦσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσῃ καὶ ταγὸν συγ- 10
 καταστήσῃ αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις,
 εὐθὺς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἦγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων
 19 ὁμολογουμένως ταγὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν καθειστήκει. ἐπεὶ γε
 μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν ἱππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ
 ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὀπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἱππεῖς μὲν 15
 σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείους ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὀπλῖται δὲ
 ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, πελταστικόν γε μὴν
 ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ
 ἐκείνων γε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμῆσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς
 περιοίοις πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος 20
 ἦν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν
 ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην.

II Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο
 εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν
 ἑαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολάς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, αὖξανο- 25
 μένους μὲν ὁρῶντες διὰ σφᾶς τοὺς Θηβαίους, χρήματά τε
 οὐ συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκναιόμενοι
 καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ ληστεiais ἐξ Αἰγίνης καὶ φυλα-
 καῖς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ
 πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο. 30

I ἔξω del. Breitenbach : ἐξήκοντα Pluygers 7 ἐδέετο codd. :
 corr. Weiske 9 ἑαυτοῦ CF : αὐτοῦ MD : αὐτοῦ B 19 δὲ
 καὶ CM 20 ὥσπερ] ὅσπερ MDV 25 ἑαυτῶν C : αὐτῶν cet.
 26 τε om. B

Εὐθὺς δ' ἐκείθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβων πλεύσαντες κατὰ 2
 δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ὡς
 εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὁ δ' ἅμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων
 φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ 3
 5 τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
 ἔλεγον οἷα πεπονθότες εἶεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθὺς οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι ἀδικεῖν τε ἡγοῦντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν
 πάλιν κατεσκεύαζον καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ'
 αὐτῆς τε τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ
 10 Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Ἡλίδος καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἐπι-
 δαύρου καὶ Τροιζῆνος καὶ Ἑρμιόνης καὶ Ἀλιῶν. ἐπιστή- 4
 σαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε ἄλλων
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν
 ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες
 15 ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖν' ὀφειλόμενον εἶη τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις
 εἶναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ 5
 ναυτικόν, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ μισθο-
 φόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένοις
 οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, 6
 20 ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδήλου ἐξειργασμένην μὲν παγκάλως
 καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκίσεις καὶ
 οἰνῶνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν· ὥστ' ἔφασαν
 τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν
 πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας εἶη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα
 25 ἀάμπολλα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατο- 7
 πεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως ὡς
 πέντε στάδια, πρὸ τῆς χώρας ὄντι, ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῦθεν,
 εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐξίοι· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν
 εἰς τὰ πρὸ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἔνθεν ᾤετ'
 30 ἂν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ διακωλύειν.
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι, ὅποτε μὴ χειμῶν κωλύει,

18 στρατευομένους C
 χώραν del. Hartman

26 μὲν B: om. cet.
 30 prius καὶ om. C

28 ἐπὶ τὴν

- 8 ἐφώρμει. ἐπολιόρκει μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ
 Κερκυραῖοι ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι
 κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσῆγετο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ
 9 ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν· καὶ πέμποντες πρὸς
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε ἐδέοντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς μέγα 5
 μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀποβάλοιεν ἄν, εἰ Κερκύρας στερηθεῖεν, τοῖς δὲ
 πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν· ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ
 πόλεως πλήν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε ναῦς οὔτε χρήματα πλείω ἂν
 γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ κεῖσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ
 Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ ἐπὶ τούτον καθή- 10
 κουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν χώραν βλάπτειν, ἐν
 καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέρας Ἡπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελο-
 10 πόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, καὶ στρα-
 τηγὸν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα εἰς ἑξακοσίους ἔχοντα πελταστάς, 15
 11 Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν συνδιαβιβᾶσαι τούτους. καὶ οὗτοι
 μὲν νυκτὸς διακομισθέντες πρὸς τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῦς πληροῦν,
 12 Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν. ὁ δ' οὐ δυνά-
 μενος αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς πληρῶσαι, ἐπὶ νήσων πλεύσας 20
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐπειράτο συμπληροῦν, οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ
 13 συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι
 νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸν περίπλου
 χρόνον, συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ παύσαντες αὐτὸν
 14 τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτην ἀνθαιροῦνται. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατέστη 25
 στρατηγός, μάλα ὀξέως τὰς ναῦς ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριη-
 ράρχους ἠνάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 εἴ ποῦ τις ναῦς περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔπλει καὶ τὴν Πάραλον
 καὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, λέγων ὥς ἔαν τὰκεῖ καλῶς γένηται,
 πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς ἀποπέμψοι. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ 30

3 γῆν C : γῆν καὶ cet. δὲ om. M 5 τε om. C F 8 Ἀθη-
 νῶν Dind. : ἀθηναίων codd. 12 τε om. M ἀντιπέρας B : ἀντι-
 πέραν cet. 14 στρατηγὸν Breitenbach : ταγὴν B : ταγὸν cet. : κατὰ
 γῆν Nitzsche 15 Κτησικλέα Cobet : νησικλέα C pr. : στησικλέα cet.

ἅπασαι περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ 15
 Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 αὐτομολούντων ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπράσθαι ὅστις αὐτο-
 μολοίη. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἠὲτομόλουν, τελευτῶν καὶ
 5 μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπε. οἱ μέντοι ἔνδοθεν τοὺς γε δούλους
 οὐκ ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω ἀπέ-
 θνησκον. ὁ δ' αὖ Μνάσιππος ὀρών ταῦτα, ἐνόμιζέ τε ὅσον 16
 οὐκ ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκαι-
 νούργει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθους ἐπεποιήκει,
 10 τοῖς δὲ (μέν)ουσι καὶ δυοῖν ἤδη μηνοῖν ὥφειλε τὸν μισθόν,
 οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ
 πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεμπον, ἅτε καὶ
 διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης. κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν 17
 πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς τε φυλακὰς χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν
 15 φυλαττομένους ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
 πους, ἐπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, τοὺς
 δὲ κατέκοψαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Μνάσιππος, αὐτός τε 18
 ἔξωπλίζετο καὶ ὅσους εἶχεν ὀπλίτας ἅπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ
 τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς
 20 μισθοφόρους. ἀποκριναμένων δέ τινων λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ 19
 ῥᾷδιον εἴη μὴ διδόντας τὰπιτήδεια πειθομένους παρέχειν,
 τὸν μὲν τινα βακτηρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω
 μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεξήλθον
 πάντες· ὅπερ ἤκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ παρε- 20
 25 τάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεψά-
 μενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τεύχους ἐγένοντο,
 ἀνεστρέφοντό τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μνημάτων ἔβαλλον καὶ
 ἠκόντιζον· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκδραμόντες καθ' ἑτέρας πύλας ἐπιτί-
 θενται ἀθρόοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀκτὼ τεταγμένοι, 21
 30 ἀσθενὲς νομίσαντες τὸ ἄκρον τῆς φάλαγγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρέ-

3 πεπράσθαι Cobet 5 γε C : τε cet. 10 μένουσι Breiten-
 bach : τισι Büchschütz : οἷσι codd. τὸν om. B 19 alterum
 τοὺς om. M D 21 διδόντα C 25 τὰς om. M 26 ἐπεδίωκεν
 Stephanus : ἀπεδίωκεν codd. 27 ἀνέστρεφόν V C fort. recte

- φειν ἐπειρῶντο. ὥς δ' ἤρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὥς φεύγουσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανεστρεψαν· καὶ οἱ
 22 ἐχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμων. ὁ δὲ Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκειμένους, ἀεὶ δ' ἐλείπετο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. 5
 τέλος δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἥδη μάλα ὀλίγοις οὔσι. καὶ οἱ πολῖται
 23 ὀρώντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξῆσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδίωκον ἥδη ἅπαντες. ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλεῖν σὺν τῷ χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραῖόν 10
 τε ὄχλον ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνδρα-
 24 πόδων, οἰηθέντες ὅφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀπεστρέφοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἵστασαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγέννητο, οἱ δ' ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ ἀθυμίᾳ 15
 ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἴφικράτης τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη
 25 παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ναὺς ἐπλήρουν. Ὑπερμένης δέ, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστολιαφόρος τῷ Μνασίππῳ ὢν, τό τε ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε, καὶ περι-
 πλεύσας πρὸς τὸ χαρακῶμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα γεμίσας τῶν τε 20
 ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστελλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 26 διεφύλαττε τὸ χαρακῶμα· τέλος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μάλα τεταραγ-
 μένοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀπέπλεον, πολλὸν μὲν σίτον, πολλὸν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρα- 25
 τιώτας καταλιπόντες· δεινῶς γὰρ ἐπεφόβηντο μὴ καταληφ-
 θεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐκείνοι μὲν εἰς Λευκάδα ἀπεσώθησαν.
 27 Ὁ δὲ Ἴφικράτης ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου, ἅμα μὲν ἔπλει, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο· 30

2 ἀνέστρεψαν Cobet 6 γινόμενοι B πάντες om. C 7 πολῖ-
 ται Dind. : ὀπλῖται codd. 10 οἱ om. C F 11 ἰδόντες om. C
 13 ἵστασαν] ἔστησαν C F 20 τε ἀνδραπόδων] τετραπόδων B
 30 ἔπλει Dind. : ἔπλεεν codd.

εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥς ἐπὶ
 ναυμαχίαν πλέων· καὶ τοῖς ἀκατίοις δέ, καὶ εἰ φορὸν πνεῦμα
 εἶη, ὀλίγα ἐχρήτο· τῇ δὲ κώπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ἄμεινόν
 τε τὰ σώματα ἔχειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἄμεινον τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν
 5 ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅπῃ μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ 28
 στράτευμα ἢ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἂν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ
 τῆς γῆς κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἂν καὶ
 ἀντιπρόρους καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ σημείου ἀφίει
 ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα δὴ νικητήριον ἦν τὸ πρῶ-
 10 τος καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ εἰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐδέοντο, καὶ πρώτους
 ἀριστῆσαι· τοῖς δ' ὑστάτοις ἀφικομένοις μεγάλη ζημία ἦν
 τό τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι ἅμα ἔδει,
 ἐπεὶ σημήνεια· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις ἀφικνου-
 μένοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἅπαντα ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευταίοις διὰ
 15 σπουδῆς. φυλακάς γε μήν, εἰ τύχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀριστο- 29
 ποιούμενος, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥσπερ προσήκει, καθίστη,
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰρόμενος αὖ τοὺς ἰστούς ἀπὸ τούτων
 ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολὺ οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον οὔτοι καθεώρων ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ
 ὁμαλοῦ, ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες. ὅπου δὲ δειπνοποιοῖτο
 20 καὶ καθεύδοι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νύκτωρ πῦρ οὐκ ἔκαε,
 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδεὶς λάθῃ
 προσιών. πολλάκις δέ, εἰ εὐδία εἶη, εὐθὺς δειπνήσας ἀνή-
 γετο· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὔρα φέροι, θέοντες ἅμα ἀνεπαύοντο· εἰ δὲ
 ἐλαύνειν δέοι, κατὰ μέρος τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπαινον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς 30
 25 μεθ' ἡμέραν πλοῖς ἀπὸ σημείων τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγε, τοτὲ
 δ' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· ὥστε ἅμα μὲν ἔπλεον, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα
 εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἡσκηκότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν (ὑπὸ)
 τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ᾤοντο, κατεχομένην θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦντο.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἡρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνουν·

2 ἀκατέιοις cit. Sauppe 5 ὅποι B V C F : ὅπου Cobet 6 ἐπανή-
 γεν Schneider 7 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπειτ' Bothe 8 ἐν] αὖ Rehdantz : del.
 Breitenbach 8 ἀφείη Hartman 13 σημήνεια Leoncl. : σημή-
 νειαν codd. 18 ἐσκοπεῖτο. Dind. : ἐσκόπει. τὸ codd. 19 ἀφ'
 . . . καθορῶντες del. Hartman 23 αὔρα codd. 26 ὅσα om. M
 27 ὑπὸ add. Stephanus

- διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰναγκαῖα μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς βοηθείας
 31 ἔφθανεν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέβαινε. περὶ δὲ τὸν
 Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς
 Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας
 τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθὺν καλούμενον ὠρμίσατο. 5
 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω
 καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὥς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα
 ὅσα χρή παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠκηκόει, ὑπώπτευε δὲ μὴ
 ἀπάτης ἕνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο 10
 εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέβανε
 τὸ στράτευμα.
- 32 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχήσειν
 ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκέϊται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ,
 ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσειν 15
 ᾤετο, ἤυρετο ὅπως μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι
 τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὰ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι
 ἀφικέσθαι.
- 33 Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις
 ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι 20
 προσπλέοιεν δέκα τριήρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσουσαι τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς χώρας
 ὅθεν τοὺς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν καὶ τοὺς σημαί-
 νοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι, ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε
- 34 τοὺς σκοπούς. κακείνοις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε 25
 καὶ ὁρμούντων ὥς δέοι σημαίνειν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων
 προσέταξεν εἴκοσιν, οὓς δεήσοι, ἐπεὶ κηρύξειεν, ἀκολουθεῖν·
 εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσοι, προεῖπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσημάνθησαν προσπλεύουσαι καὶ ἐκηρύχθη, ἀξία
 ἐγένετο θεᾶς ἢ σπουδῇ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ δρόμῳ τῶν 30
- 35 μελλόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναῦς. πλεύσας δὲ ἔνθα

4 σφαγίας codd.: corr. Stephanus
 B: ἕνεκεν cet. 14 ἄνθρωποι F pr.
 ὡς Morus

5 ἰχθὺν codd. 10 ἕνεκα
 16 ὅπως] ὅμως Grosser:

ἦσαν αἱ πολέμιαί τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν
 ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελά-
 νιππος μέντοι ὁ Ῥόδιος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος τὴν ναῦν ἐξέπλει. ἐκείνος
 5 μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀπαντῶν ταῖς Ἰφικράτους ναυσὶν ὅμως ἀπ-
 ἐφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν νῆες ἅπασαι ἐάλωσαν αὐτοῖς
 ἀνδράσιν. ὁ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρω- 36
 τηριασάμενος ἔλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων
 λιμένα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν συνέβη ἐκάστῳ τακτὸν ἀργύριον
 10 ἀποτεῖσαι, πλὴν Κρινίππου τοῦ ἄρχοντος· τοῦτον δ' ἐφύ-
 λαττεν, ὥς ἢ πραξόμενος πάμπολλα χρήματα ἢ ὥς πωλήσων.
 καὶ ἐκείνος μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαιρέτῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκει, τοὺς
 δ' ἄλλους ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀφήκε, Κερκυραίους ἐγγυητὰς δεξά-
 μενος τῶν χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας 37
 15 τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ πλεῖστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς
 καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας ἔχων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν
 Ἀκαρνανίαν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλίαις πόλεσιν ἐπεκούρει,
 εἴ τίς τι δέοιτο, Θυριεῦσι δέ, μάλα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις
 καὶ χωρίον καρτερόν ἔχουσιν, ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας 38
 20 ναυτικὸν προσλαβὼν, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐννεήκοντα ναῦς, πρῶτον
 μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν
 παρ' ἐκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀκόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο
 τὴν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὐσῶν τὰς μὲν
 25 ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.
 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἰφικράτους οὐχ 39
 ἥκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ προσελέσθαι κελεῦσαι ἑαυτῷ
 Καλλίστρατόν τε τὸν δημηγόρον, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα,
 καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον. εἴτε γὰρ φρονί-
 30 μους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο,
 σὺ φρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε ἀντιπάλους νομίζων,

8 τῶν om. M C F 9 ἑκάστον van den Es 10 κνίππου codd. :
 corr. Wesseling 11 posterius ὥς del. Pluygers 18 τι om. B
 fort. recte θυριεῦσι codd. : corr. Portus 20 ναῦς] ναυσί Hartman

οὕτω θρασέως μήτε καταραθυμῶν μήτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μεγαλοφρονούντος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. κακείνος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν.

- III Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὄρωντες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς, φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφευγότας 5 πρὸς αὐτούς, ἱκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιάς μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπήνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἡσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ 10 φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλουντο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ 15 εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἰρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἴππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος, 3 Μελάνωπος, Λύκαιθος. [ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους·] <καὶ> 20 Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἴφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησί τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν 25 Καλλίας ὁ δαδοῦχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οἷος μηδὲν ἡττον ἥδεσθαι ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἥρξατο ὧδέ πως.

1 οὕτω θρασέως] οὕτως ἔδρασεν ὡς Hertlein : οὕτω θρασέως ἔπραττεν ὡς Keller καταραθυμῶν B : καταρραθυμῶν cet. μηδὲν] μὴ δὴ B 2 μεγάλα φρονούντος BMDV : μέγα φρονούντος Cobet 6 αὐτοὺς spir. eras. F : αὐτοὺς cet. 14 ποιεῖσθαι B : ποιήσασθαι cet. 17 Στρομβιχίδου Leoncl. : Στρομβιχίδης codd. 19-20 ἐπεὶ . . . συμμάχους del. Cobet 20 τοὺς συμμάχους B : τῶν συμμάχων cet. καὶ add. Körppen 22 ἀφείει B 27 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ B δὴ] δ' Simon

ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ 4
 ἐγὼ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ πατρώων ἔχων παρεδίδου
 τῷ γένει. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι, ὥς ἔχουσα
 ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκεῖνη γάρ, ὅταν μὲν πόλε-
 5 μος ᾖ, στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς αἰρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυ-
 μήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιούς ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει. καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν δις ἡδὴ
 ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς
 πρεσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ
 τρίτον ἤκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν διαλλαγῆς
 10 τυχεῖν. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν, ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δο- 5
 κοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν
 καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γιγ-
 νώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ
 σωφρόνων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἴη
 15 πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῦμεν, οὐκ ἂν
 πάννυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἴη μὴ εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιον μὲν 6
 οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὄπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται
 μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ
 Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ
 20 ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν τοῖν ὑμετέρων πολιταῖν,
 καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον
 σπέρμα δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ' ὧν
 ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δηλώσον-
 25 τας, ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὥς πλείστην
 τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πε-
 πρωμένον ἐστὶ πολέμου· ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ
 χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὥς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται,
 καταλύεσθαι ἢ δυνατόν τάχιστα.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλήης, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι 7
 30 ῥήτωρ, ὧδε ἡγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν ἂ

2 post ἐγὼ add. ἔχω Keller

6 ἡμᾶς om. B ἤδη om. M D

ῥεῖσθαι] αἰρεσθαι Cobet

Kurz 19 πρῶτοις Gramm: πρῶτος codd.

4 γὰρ ὅταν μὲν B: μὲν γὰρ ὅταν cet.

11 (πλαταιέων) τὲ C

15 ἀναι-

26 δὲ] δὴ Stephanus

- μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ ἀγνοῶ·
 ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οἵτινες βούλονται, ἦν ἂν ποιήσωνται φιλίαν,
 ταύτην ὡς πλείστον χρόνον διαμένειν, διδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλή-
 λους τὰ αἷτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν φατε· αὐτο-
 νόμους τὰς πόλεις χρῆ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἔστέ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν 5
 τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας
 πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγήσθε.
 8 καίτοι τί τοῦτο αὐτονομία προσήκει; ποιείσθε δὲ πολεμίους
 οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἡγείσθε·
 ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται στρα- 10
 τεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ πάντων
 ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας,
 ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμε-
 λείσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βία
 κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὥστ' εἰκόκατε τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἢ 15
 9 πολιτείαις ἡδόμενοι. καὶ ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταπτεν
 αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, μάλα γινώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε
 ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐάσοιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν
 τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιή-
 σουσι κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε 20
 τὴν Καδμείαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτο-
 νόμους εἶναι. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι
 οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν,
 αὐτοὺς δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλείστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας
 φαίνεσθαι. 25
- 10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπὴν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἡδο-
 μένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐποίησε.
 μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὦ
 ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἁμαρτήματα καὶ ἀφ'
 ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν· 30
 οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γινώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν οὐδέποτε

4 φατε ὡς C

ἡγείσθε cet.

cet.

5 χρῆ εἶναι] χρῆναι M

16 ἡδόμενοι Cobet

21 αὐτοῖς] αὐ τοῖς C

7 ἡγήσθε M D corr.:

18 ἐάσοιεν BV pr.: ἐάσαιεν

ἐπετρέπετε F₂: ἐπιτρέπετε cet.

ἔτι χρηστέον· ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον
 διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι ἐνίοτε γίγ-
 νεσθαι ἄνθρωποι ἁμαρτάνοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν κολασ-
 θῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὥς ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγωγε 11
 5 ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πραχθέντα ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα
 γιγνόμενα· ὦν ἦν καὶ ἡ καταληφθεῖσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία·
 νῦν γοῦν, †ὥς ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις γενέσθαι,
 πᾶσαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδικήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γε-
 γνήνται. ὥστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὥς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν
 10 ἀκερδὲς ἔστι νῦν ἐλπίζω πάλιν μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους φιλίᾳ ἔσεσθαι. ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοί τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν 12
 εἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὥς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ
 φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως
 χρήματα, διὰ τοῦθ' ἤκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὥς φλυαροῦσι.
 15 βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δῆπου ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ λέγοντές τε
 καὶ πράττοντες τί ἂν φοβοίμεθα βασιλέα; ἢ τοῦτο οἴεται
 τις, ὥς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται χρήματα ἀναλώσας ἄλλους μεγά-
 λους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι,
 20 ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ πεπρᾶχθαι; εἶεν. τί μὴν ἤκομεν; ὅτι μὲν 13
 οὖν οὐκ ἀποροῦντες, γνοίητε ἂν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ
 κατὰ θάλατταν ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν
 τῷ παρόντι. †τί μὴν ἔστιν; εὐδὴλον ὅτι εἰ τῶν συμμάχων
 τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά.† ἴσως δὲ
 25 καὶ βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ὦν ἕνεκα περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὀρθῶς
 ἔγνωμεν ὑμῖν ἐπιδειξαι. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι 14
 ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δῆπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τὰ
 ὑμέτερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει
 οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν ἡμεῖς φίλοι
 30 γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπὸν τι προσδοκήσαιμεν;

3 ἄνθρωποι B : ἄνθρωποι cet. 7 ὥς] οἷς Keller : ἄς Breitenbach,
 delete τὰς : ἐν ᾧ conicio 18 βούλεται B : om. cet. 21 οὖν
 om. C F 23 locus corruptus : exciderunt nonnulla εἰ del.
 multi 25 ἃ . . . ἔγνωμεν] ὥς . . . ἔγνωτε Hartman

- καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς ἂν ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἱκανὸς
 γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆσαι; κατὰ θάλατταν γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς
 15 βλάψαι τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι
 μὲν πόλεμοι αἰεὶ ποτε γίνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύονται πάντες
 ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθις ποτε 5
 εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἀνα-
 μένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν ἀπέλωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ
 οὐχ ὥς τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην
 16 ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ οὔτινες
 ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν 10
 ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονεικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται,
 πρὶν ἂν ἡττηθέντες τὴν ἀσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν
 κυβευτῶν οὔτινες αὖ ἔαν ἔν τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων
 κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς πλείους ἀπό-
 17 ρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους. ἂ χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας 15
 εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέποτε καταστήναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα
 λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ' ἀποβαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυ-
 χοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν
 δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα
 χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα. 20
- 18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τε ἀρμοστὰς
 ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τά τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ
 ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικὰ, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἔαν. εἰ
 δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν ταῖς 25
 ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον
 19 συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὥμοσαν Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ
 οἱ σύμμαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραφάμενοι δ' ἐν

1 post ὑμῶν add. ἡμῖν Hirschig

11 οὕτως B

φιλονεικοῦ-

σιν C 13 ἐπιτύχωσι Leoncl. marg.: ἀποτύχωσι codd.

16 ὥστ'

ἢ Hirschig: ὥστε codd.

24 πεζικά] πεζά Cobet

26 ἔνορκον

Stephanus: εὐορκον codd.

27 ὥμοσαν λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν B: ὥμοσαν

μὲν λακεδαιμόνιοι cet.

ταῖς ὁμωμοκύναις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες
 πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μεταγράφειν
 ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς ὁμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος
 ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν τὸ πρῶτον ὥμοσάν
 5 τε καὶ ἀπεγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλονται ἐν ταῖς σπον-
 δαῖς εἶναι, ἐξαλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύοιεν. οὕτω δὲ 20
 εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ Θηβαίους μόνους
 ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως εἶχον τὴν γνώμην
 ὥς νῦν Θηβαίους τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπίς εἴη,
 10 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι παντελῶς ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν IV
 πόλεων ἀπῆγον καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμποντο,
 καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαί-
 μוני γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι. Λακεδαι- 2
 15 μόνιοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τοὺς τε ἄρμοστὰς
 καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπῆγαγον, Κλεόμβροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν
 Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρὴ
 ποιεῖν, Προθόου λέξαντος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ
 στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι
 20 συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁπόσον βούλοιτο
 ἐκάστη πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μή τις ἐφῇ αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις
 εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας, ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βού-
 λονται βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω γὰρ
 ἂν ἔφη οἴεσθαι τοὺς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι καὶ τὰς
 25 πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα 3
 ἐκείνους μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἠγῆσατο· ἥδη γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ δαι-
 μόνιον ἦγεν· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ
 στράτευμα, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ
 αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις. [ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ἐπειδὴ
 30 ἐπύθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγεννημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφό-
 ρους ἡρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεύειν

6 δὴ] δὲ B
 τε(ἐ) codd.
 Pirckheimer

9 δὴ Curerius: καὶ C: μὴ cet.
 13 ἔλαβε vulg.: ἔλαβον codd.

10 δὲ Morus:
 29 inclusa del.

ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίοιεν τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐ-
 τονόμους.] ἐπεὶ οὖν ᾗσθητο οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφίεντας,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαλύοντας, [ὡς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς
 αὐτούς], οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ
 ἥ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσ- 5
 εδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ
 Οισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται
 εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἰρεῖ, καὶ τριήρεις τῶν Θηβαίων
 4 δώδεκα λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς
 θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. 10
 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ
 οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες, οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ' ἢ
 τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι
 5 προσιόντες ἔλεγον· ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θη-
 βαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἔσχατα 15
 παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς
 ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδῆσας, καὶ ὅτε
 ὕστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου
 αἰεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος. εἶπερ οὖν ἢ σαυτοῦ
 κήδη ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ 20
 μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δὴ, ἔφασαν,
 δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ
 6 λέγεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύνετο
 πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες
 ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀποστήσονται μὲν αἱ περιου- 25
 κίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσονται· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι
 ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τὰπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις
 αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἄτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν
 πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνή-

3 ὡς . . . αὐτοὺς del. Dind. ἀντιτάττοντο . . . αὐτόν Brodaeus
 5 ἐμβαλεῖν Stephanus : ἐμβάλειν F : ἐμβάλλειν cet. 11 ἐπαντικρὺ
 M : ἐπ' ἀντικρὺ B 17 ὅτε Schäfer : ὅτι codd. 21 τοιαῦτ' F
 23 λέγεται] λέγει Nauck ταῦτα] τοιαῦτα C F 25 μαχοῖντο
 Dind. : μάχονται codd. 27 ὅτι fort. spurium κινδυνεύσει C F₁
 28 δὲ Stephanus : δὴ codd.

σκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν 7
 τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακε-
 δαιμονίους ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνῆμα,
 αἱ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τιῶν
 5 ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ
 Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 αὐτοῖς ὡς οἷ τε νεφὲ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεφύγοντο, αἱ τε
 ἱέρειαι λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρα-
 κλείου καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους
 10 εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσιν ὡς
 ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων. εἰς δ' οὖν 8
 τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐναντία ἐγίγνετο,
 τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρθοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
 μετ' ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ ἡ τελευταία βουλή περὶ τῆς
 15 μάχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον
 παροξύναι τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι 9
 καὶ πρόδηλον ἦδη ἦν ὅτι μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπιέναι
 ὠρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν
 παρεσκευακότων καὶ σκευοφόρων τιῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλο-
 20 μένων μάχεσθαι, περιούντες κύκλῳ οἷ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος
 μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
 Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἐπέ-
 στρεψάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον
 τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν· ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μείζον τε καὶ
 25 ἄθροώτερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα. ἔπειτα 10
 δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξύ, προετάξαντο μὲν τῆς
 ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀντετάξαντο
 δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν
 Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διὰ τε τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους
 30 πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις
 κατ' ἐκείνουν τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν. ἔτρεφον 11

6 καὶ om. C F
 μάχη C F

12 ἐναντία Madvig: τὰναντία codd.
 18 βοιωτοῦ B: βοιωτείου cet.

17 ἡ

- μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φαν-
 θεῖη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον
 καὶ ὅπλα ὅποια δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα ἂν ἐστρα-
 τεύετο· τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι
 12 καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. τοιοῦτον μὲν 5
 οὖν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τοὺς μὲν
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἄγειν· τοῦτο
 δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ
 δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνε-
 στραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν 10
 13 βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν εὐχέρως ἔσοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξατο
 ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν
 καὶ αἰσθῆσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἡγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ
 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἤττηντο οἱ τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων· φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν 15
 ὀπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὅμως
 δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ
 μάχῃ σαφεῖ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἂν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο
 αὐτὸν ἀνελῆσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπενεγκεῖν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 14 μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι 20
 ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ
 δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄμὲν ἵπποι καὶ
 οἱ συμφορεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἳ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ
 τοῦ ὄχλου ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἑώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέκλιαν· 25
 ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἠττημένοι ἐπεὶ διέβησαν τὴν
 τάφρον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὔσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο
 τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ χώραν ἐνθεν ὥρμηντο. ἦν μέντοι οὐ πᾶν ἐν
 ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλον τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ

3 δοθείη Dobree : δόιη codd. 13 αἰσθεσθαι B καὶ δὴ καὶ]
 καὶ δὴ C F 15 ἀνεπεπτώκεσαν B 17 τὸ om. D C F
 18 τούτῳ] τοῦτο B C pr. τεκμήριον C pr. 22 δαμοσίαν Dind. :
 δημοσίαν codd. μένιπποι Madvig : μὲν ἱππεῖς Stephanus 23 συμ-
 φορεῖς F

δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον
 τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι
 κωλύειν ἰστάσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑπο-
 σπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ 15
 5 πολέμαρχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων
 τεθνεώτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν,
 ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακο-
 σίους, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως
 ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὓς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους
 10 τῷ γεγεννημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύ-
 οντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσι ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς
 νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπονδῶν.
 οἱ μὲντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ
 τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν.

15 Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀγγελῶν 16
 τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαιδῶν τε οὔσης τῆς τελευταίας
 καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος· οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι ἐπεὶ
 ἤκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μὲν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη·
 τὸν μὲντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἶων.
 20 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων
 ἀπέδωσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ
 σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἦν ὁρᾶν, ὧν μὲν
 ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδρὸν ἐν τῷ
 φανερῷ ἀναστρεφόμενους, ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἡγγελμένοι ἦσαν,
 25 ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς
 περιόοντας.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπο- 17
 λοιποῖν μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης· ἐξέπεμ-
 πον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας·
 30 τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ

6 αὐτῶν C F: αὖ τῶν cet.

7 τῶν ante ἐκεῖ del. Hartman

15 ἀγγέλλων Cobet

16 γυμνοπαιδῶν B

οὔσης Gesner: οὐσῶν

codd.

21 προεῖπον Cobet

27 τοῖν Cobet

29 ante ἀπὸ

add. τοὺς Tillmanns

τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἧβης ἐστρατεύοντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ
 18 τότε καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγη-
 σίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὐπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι. προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνε-
 στρατεύοντο Τεγεᾶται· ἔτι γὰρ ἔζων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, 5
 λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει.
 ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύ-
 οντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ
 καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως
 ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. 10
 ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
 Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικωνίων συμπληροῦν, ἐφ'
 19 ὧν διενεοῦντο τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ
 Ἀρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς 15
 Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ
 μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν
 ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμω-
 20 ρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκρο-
 πόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν 20
 σφόδρα ἠνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια
 τὸν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο.
 καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κήρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι
 Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κελεύ-
 οντες βοηθεῖν, διαλογιζόμενοι πῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. 25
 21 ὁ δ' εὐθὺς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρουν, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατ-
 ταν, συλλαβὼν δὲ τό τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέας,
 καίπερ ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεζῇ
 διεπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρό-
 τερον ὀφθεῖς ἢ ἀγγελθεῖς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν συλ- 30

1 ἐστράτευντο Dind.

4 ante αὐτοῦ add. ἀντ' Grosser : αὐτοῦ ἐκέ-
 λευεν F

12 καὶ ante ἐδέοντο om. B M D

13 τὸ B : om. cet.

δη om. V C F

15 μὲν om. C F

18 αὐτοὺς B : αὐτοῖς cet.

27 αὐτὸν B C F

30 γοῦν] οὖν C

λέγεσθαί τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρῳ γιγνόμενος, δῆλον
 ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται
 τὰ δέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων 22
 τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἴη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις,
 5 ἄνωθεν μὲν ἐκείνουν σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους,
 ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου
 γεγενημένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἶη διακινδυνεύσαι, ὥστε ἡ ἔτι
 μείζω καταπρᾶξαι ἢ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης.
 οὐχ ὁράτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, 23
 10 ἐκρατήσατε; οὔεσθαι οὖν χρὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ
 ἀναγκάζωιτο ἔκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχε-
 σθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν
 μικροὺς μεγάλους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς μὲν 24
 οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ διακινδυνεύειν·
 15 τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν οἶον μὲν εἶη ἡττημένον
 στράτευμα, οἶον δὲ νενικηκός. εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθῆσθαι, ἔφη,
 βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσαντας
 καὶ ἀναπαυσαμένους καὶ μείζους γεγενημένους τοῖς ἀηττήτοις
 οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. νῦν δέ, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν
 20 συμμάχων ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ διαλέγονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις· ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πειρᾶσθε σπονδὰς λαβεῖν.
 ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος
 διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν
 ὑμῶν. ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἴσως ὅπως διὰ 25
 25 φοροὶ καὶ οὔτοι ἀλλήλοισι ὄντες ἀμφότεροι ἐκείνου δέοιντο.
 οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ
 τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι εἶσαν αἱ
 σπονδαί, παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι δειπνήσαντας συνε-
 σκευάσθαι πάντας, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευσομένους, ὅπως ἅμα

11 post ἀναγκάζωιτο distinguunt Dobree, Madvig: ἐκγενέσθαι del.
 Madvig: ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν del. Dind.: ἐνεκά γε τοῦ ζῆν conicio:
 τὸ ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντας cit. Dobree 16 ἐπαναθέσθαι Tucker: ἐπανά-
 γεσθαι Liebhold 23 τοῦ om. B 25 καὶ οὔτοι] καὶ οὕτως Dobree:
 ἐκάτεροι Dind.

- τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἀναβαίνοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδεί-
 πνησαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγείλαντες ἀκολουθεῖν, ἡγοῦντο
 εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρεῦσιος, τῷ λαθεῖν πιστεύοντες
 26 μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς σπονδαῖς. μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι,
 οἷα δὴ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ ἐν φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδόν, 5
 εἰς ΑἰγόσθENA τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνοῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περι-
 τυγχάνουσι τῷ μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὴ
 ἀναμείνας, ἕως καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε
 πᾶν ὁμοῦ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκείθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν
 συμμαχοὺς ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἵκαδε ἀπήγαγεν. 10
- 27 Ὁ μέντοι Ἰάσων ἀπιὼν διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος Ὑαμπολιτῶν
 μὲν τό τε προάστιον εἶλε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ
 ἀπέκτεινε πολλούς· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Φωκίδα διήλθεν ἀπραγ-
 μόνως. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρα-
 κλεωτῶν τεῖχος, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος, μή τινας 15
 ἀναπεπταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμούμενος μή τινας τὴν
 Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὔσαν καταλαβόντες εἵργοιεν αὐτόν,
- 28 εἴ ποι βούλοιο τῆς Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε
 πάλιν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ νόμῳ 20
 Θετταλῶν ταγὸς καθεστάναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς
 τρέφειν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας, καὶ τούτους ἐκπε-
 πουνημένους ὥς ἂν κράτιστοι εἶεν· ἔτι δὲ μείζων καὶ διὰ τὸ
 συμμαχοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἤδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι
 βούλεσθαι γίνεσθαι. μέγιστος δ' ἦν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν τῷ μηδ' 25
 29 ὕφ' ἐνὸς εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι. ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγ-
 γειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῦς καὶ οἰς καὶ αἶγας καὶ ὕς παρα-
 σκευάζεσθαι ὥς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν· καὶ ἔφασαν πάννυ μετρίως
 ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπαγγελιομένῳ γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους
 χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκῆρξε δὲ 30

7 δὴ] δὲ F 9 μὲν om. B 12 προάστιον B: προάστειον cet.
 14 κατέλαβε B 16 πορεύονται Madvig 19 ποι D: που cet.
 20 τῷ del. Cobet 22 αὐτὸν BC 27 οὓς τρέφειν C ὕς καὶ C
 29 ἐπαγγελιομένων Schneider μὲν om. C

καὶ νικητήριον χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔσσεσθαι, ἥτις τῶν πόλεων
βοῦν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε. παρήγγειλε δὲ 30
καὶ ὡς στρατευσομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον Θετ-
ταλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι· διανοεῖτο γάρ, ὡς ἔφασαν, καὶ τὴν
5 πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ
μέντοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν διανοεῖτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ἄδηλον· λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν,
ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν
θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. ὁ δ' οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικούτος ὢν καὶ 31
10 τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διανοοῦμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκῶς καὶ
δοκιμασίαν τοῦ Φεραίων ἱππικοῦ, καὶ ἤδη καθήμενος καὶ ἀπο-
κρινόμενος, εἴ τις δεόμενός του προσίοι, ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἑπτὰ
προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων τι ἀλλήλοις ἀποσφάττεται
καὶ κατακόπτεται. βοηθησάντων δὲ ἔρρωμένως τῶν παρα- 32
15 γενομένων δορυφόρων εἰς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ
πληγεῖς ἀποθνήσκει· ἕτερος δὲ ἀναβαλὼν ἐφ' ἵππον ἐγκατα-
ληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἵππους ἀπέφυγον·
ὅποι δὲ ἀφίκοντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις
20 ἐτιμῶντο. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς ἔδεισαν οἱ
Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.

Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ 33
καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύδωρος,
πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Λάρισαν, νύκτωρ καθεύδων ἀπο-
25 θνήσκει ὑπὸ Πολύφρονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκει· ὁ γὰρ
θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναιῖός τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανεράν πρό-
φασιν ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' αὖ Πολύφρων ἥρξε μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, κατε- 34
σκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι ὁμοίαν. ἐν τε γὰρ
Φαρσάλῳ τὸν Πολυδάμαντα καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὀκτῶ
30 τοὺς κρατίστους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐκ τε Λαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας
ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ οὗτος ἀποθνήσκει ὑπ' Ἀλεξ- 35

1 ἥτις Weiske: εἴ τις codd.

12 προσήει B

2 θρέψειεν B

28 τάγειαν B

11 ἀποκρινάμενος B

ἄνδρου, ὥς τιμωροῦντος τῷ Πολυδώρῳ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα
 καταλύοντος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, χαλε-
 πὸς μὲν Θετταλοῖς ταγὸς ἐγένετο, χαλεπὸς δὲ Θηβαίοις καὶ
 Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος, ἄδικος δὲ ληστής καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
 κατὰ θάλατταν. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς αὖ ἀποθνήσκει, 5
 αὐτοχειρία μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῇ δὲ
 36 ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς ἐξήγγειλεν ὥς ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔκρυνεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον
 ὄντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ δεξαμένη μεθύοντα τὸν Ἀλέξ-
 ανδρον ἐπεὶ κατεκοίμισεν, ὁ μὲν λύχνος ἐκάετο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος 10
 αὐτοῦ ἐξήνεγκεν. ὥς δ' ᾗσθητο ὀκνοῦντας εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἀδελφούς, εἶπεν ὥς εἰ μὴ ἤδη πράξοιεν,
 ἐξεγερεῖ αὐτόν. ὥς δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐπισπάσασα τὴν θύραν
 37 εἶχετο τοῦ ρόπτρου, ἕως ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα
 λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μὲν τινων ὥς 15
 ἐπεὶ ἔδῃσε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικὰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, νεανίσκον ὄντα
 καλόν, δεηθείσης αὐτῆς λῦσαι ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν·
 οἱ δέ τινες ὥς ἐπεὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ ταύτης, ὅτι
 πέμπων εἰς Θήβας ἐμνήστειν τὴν Ἰάσονος γυναικα [ἀνα]λα-
 βεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν αἷτια τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς 20
 οὕτω λέγεται· τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πραξάντων ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος
 ἐγράφετο Τισίφονος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν
 ἀρχὴν εἶχε.

V Καὶ τὰ μὲν Θετταλικά, ὅσα περὶ Ἰάσονα ἐπράχθη καὶ
 μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τισιφόνου ἀρχῆς, δεδή- 25
 λωται· νῦν δ' ἐπάνειμι ἔνθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐξέβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
 Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Λεῦκτρα βοηθείας ἀπήγαγε τὸ στρά-
 τευμα, ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔτι
 οἴονται χρῆναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ οὐπω διακέοιντο οἱ Λακεδαι-

5 αὖ B: om. cet.

8 ἐπιβουλεύει F

12 πράξοιεν B: πρά-

ξαιεν cet.

14 ρόπτρου F₂: ροπάλου cet.

15 αὐτῇ B C F

18 ὅτι del. Cobet

19 ἐς B

ἀναλαβεῖν del. Cobet: λαβεῖν

Stephanus

21 ἄχρι B: ἄχρις cet.

25 τῆς τοῦ C F

29 οὐπω]

οὕτω C F

μόνιοι ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν, μεταπέμπονται τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βούλονται τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἢν βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τῶν 2 κοινωνεῖν βουλομένων ὁμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον. Ἐμμενῶ 5 ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἅς βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐὰν δέ τις στρατεύῃ ἐπὶ τινα πόλιν τῶν ὁμοσασῶν τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον, βοηθήσω παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιρον τῷ ὅρκῳ. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ δέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν οὔτε 10 Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους· σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 3 ψηφισάμενοι, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι ὁμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀρκωτάς, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ μέγιστα τέλη ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει 15 ὀρκῶσαι. καὶ ὥμοσαν πάντες πλὴν Ἡλείων.

Ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς, ὥς ἤδη αὐτόνομοι παντά- πασι ὄντες, συνήλθόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποιεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' 4 αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγοῦντο, εἰ τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς σφετέρας γνώ- 20 μης ἔσοιτο, χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἀγησίλαον πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὅτι ἐδόκει πατρικὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τῶν Μαντινέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἤθελον συλλέξαι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον λέγειν ὅτου δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο 25 αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν νῦν ἐπίσχωσι τῆς τειχίσεως, ποιήσῃν ὥστε μετὰ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τειχισθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἶη ἐπισχεῖν, 5 δόγματος γεγεννημένου πάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἤδη τειχίζειν, ἐκ τού- του ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπῆει ὀργιζόμενος· στρατεύειν γε 30 μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ' αὐτονομία τῆς εἰρήνης γεγεννημένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεμπον μὲν καὶ

2 βούλονται B: βούλονται cet. 6 τοῖς B: τῶν cet. 18 πόλιν] πάλιν Madvig 20 πέμπουσι γοῦν C

- τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν πόλεων τινες συντειχιοῦντας, οἱ δὲ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν.
- 6 Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον ἐνῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ συνιέναι τε πᾶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, καὶ ὅτι νικῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἔαν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν
- 7 πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι. ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον ἐν τοῖς θεαροῖς, νομίσαντες, εἰ συνέλθοι ὁ δῆμος, πολὺ ἂν τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, 10 ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὄπλα. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὥρμησαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ ἄλλους ὀλίγους μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδίωκον· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ Στά- 15 σιππος ἦν οἷος μὴ βούλεσθαι πολλοὺς ἀποκτινύναι τῶν
- 8 πολιτῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακεχωρηκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς Μαντινείας τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχείρουν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἡθροισμένοι. καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόμφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας βοηθεῖν κελεύ- 20 οντες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς προσιόντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ βοῶντες σπεύδειν διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ
- 9 ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ὥς 25 ἦσθοντο τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλάντιον φερούσας πύλας, καὶ φθάνουσι πρὶν καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν καταφυγόντες, καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδιώξαντες ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν 30

2 συνεβάλλοντο B C F

4 δὲ B : δέ γε cet.

5 ἐνῆγον F₂ :

συνῆγον cet.

τε om. M C F

9 θεάτροις codd. : corr. Dobree

12 οὐκ del. Dobree

18 μαντινείας B : μαντίνειαν cet.

28 νεῶν

B C : ναὺν cet.

καταφεύγοντας B

διελόντες ἔπαιον ταῖς κεραμίσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἀνάγκην, παύεσθαι τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ἐξιέναι ἔφασαν. οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι ὡς ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον αὐτούς, δήσαντες καὶ ἀναβαλόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν ἀπήγαγον εἰς Τεγέαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ 5 μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καταγνόντες ἀπέκτειναν.

Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔφυγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν περὶ 10 Στάσιππον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδόκει βοηθητέον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς τεθνεώσι τε τῶν Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι· καὶ οὕτω στρα- 10 τεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους σὺν ὅπλοις ἐληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας. καὶ φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐκέλευεν ἢ πόλις ἡγεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνε- 11 λέγοντο. Ὀρχομενίων δὲ οὐκ ἐθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ 15 Ἀρκαδικοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδεγμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνειλεγμένον ξενικόν, οὗ Πολύτροπος ἦρχεν, ἔμενον οἴκοι οἱ Μαντινεῖς τούτων ἐπιμελόμενοι. Ἑραεῖς δὲ καὶ Λεπρεᾶται συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, 12 20 ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὁμορον οὔσαν Εὐταίαν, καὶ εὐρὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε 25 τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἶα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ὠνούμενοι ἐλάβανον ὅσων δέοιντο· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἠρπάσθη, ὅτε εἰσῆι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρὼν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐφκδοδοίμει δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο, ἕως περ αὐτοῦ διέτριβεν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μισθοφόρους.

1 κεραμίσι F

2 ἐκέλευσαν C

3 ἀναβαλόντες Dind.: ἀνα-

λαβόντες codd.

4 ἐς B

8 εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην C

9 οὕ-

τως B

12 ἐκέλευεν D: ἐκέλευον cet.

18 ἐπιμελούμενοι C F

21 Εὐταίαν Stephanus: εὐγαίαν codd.

23 τῇ στρατευσίμῳ del.

Cobet

27 τὸ om. C F

- 13 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχο-
μενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον,
καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες ἐν τῇ
Ἑλυμῖα ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι ὀπλῖται οὐκ ἐτι
ἡκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύτροπον ἐπέκειντο καὶ μάλα 5
θρασέως, ἐνταῦθα γνόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὥς εἰ μὴ ἀποκρού-
σονται αὐτοὺς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν κατακουτισθήσονται, ὑπο-
14 σρέψαντες ὁμόσε ἐχώρησαν τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Πολύτροπος μαχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
φευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἂν ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι 10
ἱππεῖς παραγενόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν περιελάσαντες
τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς διώξεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν
Μαντινεῖς ταῦτα πράξαντες οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον.
- 15 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἂν ἔτι
συμμεῖξαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόρους, οὕτω 15
προῆι. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐν τῇ Τεγεάτιδι χώρα ἐδειπνο-
ποιήσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Μαντινικὴν, καὶ
ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ὑπὸ τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρεσι τῆς Μαντι-
νείας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἅμα ἐδήου τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπόρθει τοὺς
ἀγρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ συλλεγέντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσέᾳ 20
16 νυκτὸς παρήλθον εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν
Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινείας ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες, ἐχόμενοι τῶν
μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὄρων, παρήσαν μάλα πολλοὶ
ὀπλῖται, συμμεῖξαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ 25
Ἀργεῖοι οὐ πανδημεὶ ἡκολούθουν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἦσαν μὲν τινες
οἱ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔπειθον χωρὶς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ
φοβούμενος μὴ ἐν ὅσῳ πρὸς ἐκείνους πορεύοιτο, ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐξελθόντες κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
ὀπισθεν ἐπιπέσοιεν αὐτῷ, ἔγνω κράτιστον εἶναι ἑᾶσαι συνελ- 30
θεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἰ βούλονται μάχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ

7 ὅτι del. Cobet

11 τὸ B: τὰ cet.

12 μὲν om. BV

25 μάλα βουλόμενοι F₁ M V

29 τοῦ B: τῶν cet.

φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὁμοῦ
 ἤδη ἐγεγέννητο. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ 17
 τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διεξελθόντες
 παρὰ τὴν Μαντίνειαν θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πρὸ τοῦ στρατο-
 5 πέδου ἐπιφαίνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν
 ἄλλους εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐπαναχωρήσαι
 πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐγνώσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες,
 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλλιέρητο, ἐξ ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στρά-
 τευμα. ἐσπέρας δ' ἐπιγιγνομένης ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος
 10 εἰς τὸν ὀπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς, μάλα σύνεγγυς καὶ
 κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθύετο 18
 μὲν πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλληγομένους ἐκ τῆς
 τῶν Μαντινέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐράς
 τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἔγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην
 15 ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ
 τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐπίθωιντο οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ
 ὄπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐκέλευε
 τοὺς ἀπ' οὐράς εἰς δόρυ ὀπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγείσθαι
 πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἅμα ἔκ τε τοῦ στενοῦ ἐξῆγε καὶ
 20 ἰσχυροτέραν αἰὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδί- 19
 πλωτο ἡ φάλαγξ, οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ προελθὼν εἰς
 τὸ πεδῖον ἐξέτεινε πάλιν ἐπ' ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα
 ἀσπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινεῖς οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ
 Ἥλείοι συστρατευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἔπειθον μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην,
 25 πρὶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παραγένοιτο· εὖ δὲ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι
 παρέσοιντο· καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα δεδανείσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ
 σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκού- 20
 σαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος καὶ
 μάλα βουλόμενος ἀπάγειν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος
 30 χειμῶν, ὅμως ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχων
 τῆς Μαντινέων πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοίη φοβούμενος σπεύδειν

1 τὴν om. B δὴ om. C F

16 ἐπίθωιντο M C F

9 ἐπιγενομένης C F

22 τὸ στράτευμα del. Cobet

10 ὀπισθε B

31 μαντι-

νέων B : τῶν μαντινέων cet.

τὴν ἄφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρὸς ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν
ὥς στρατοπεδευσόμενος ἔνθαπερ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐταίας
21 ἐξώρητο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἤγε τὴν
ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Εὐταίαν, καίπερ μάλα ὀψίζων, βουλόμενος
ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων 5
ιδεῖν, ἵνα μή τις εἴποι ὥς φεύγων ἀπαγάγοι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς
πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας ἐδόκει τι ἀνειληφέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι καὶ
ἐνεβεβλήκει εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ δηρὸν τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς
ἠθελήκει μάχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ἐγένετο, τοὺς
μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε, τοὺς δὲ περιόικους ἀφήκεν 10
ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις.

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ
ἦσθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡθροί-
σμενοι ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραῖας, ὅτι τε οὐκ
ἠθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν 15
εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δ'
ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρῆναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς
τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας καὶ
23 συμμιγνύουσι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν 20
Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν
μὲν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἐώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι
παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι
ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὥς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν,
ἐπιδεικνύοντες μὲν τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερπαινοῦντες δὲ τὸ 25
τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνά-
ζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις
νίκῃ· ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγενημένοι
καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι

1 ἄφοδον C F : ἔφοδον cet. 3 ἐξώρητο Dind. : ἐξωρμήσατο
codd. 4 εὐγαίαν vel εὐγαίαν M D V C F 6 εἴπη(ι) M V F
8 ἐνεβεβλήκει Dind. : ἐμβεβλήκει D pr. V : ἐμβεβλήκει cet. 15 συν-
εισεβεβλήκεσαν codd. 17 ἐνεπίμπρασεν Cobet 27 περὶ C F :
παρὰ cet. ἀγγελλόμενοι B

καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς· ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἰκέτευον μηδαμῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακε-
 5 δαιμονίων χώραν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντε- 24
 λογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσοδω-
 τάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῷ τῆς Σκιριτίδος, ἔχων νεοδαμῶδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων
 10 τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακε-
 δαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν. ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς
 15 ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἵεναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤκου 25
 ἔκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἂν τι ἑξαπατῶντες φαίνωνται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρήσαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐπι-
 καλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείησαν
 20 εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὥς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ περίοικοι
 ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ Οἶον
 τῆς Σκιριτίδος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ 26
 25 Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἂν ταύτῃ γ' ἔφασαν ἀναβῆναι·
 νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπλήθεις Ἀρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπε-
 κράτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

1 Μηλιεῖς Bothe: μαλιεῖς codd. 2 δὴ B: om. cet. 3 συνι-
 δόμενοι Dind.: συνιδόμενοι V: συνηδόμενοι cet. 7 καθεστάναι
 Schäfer: καθεστᾶναι V: καθιστᾶναι F: καθιστάναι cet. 10 Λεύκτρῳ
 Wolf: λεύκτρων codd. 11 τοῦτο] ἄλλο C 17 ἡγήσασθαι B C
 corr. 23 ἐνέβαλλον C F 24 προελθὼν] προῖων C

οἰκῶν ἀναβαίνοντες ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον αὐτούς, ἐνταῦθα ὅ
 τε Ἰσχόλαος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τις
 27 ἀμφιγνοηθεὶς διέφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀρκάδες
 ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ
 Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤσθοντο τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, 5
 πολὺ δὴ θρασύτερον κατέβαινον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν
 εὐθὺς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν
 τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ
 δ' ὕστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπε-
 χείρουν διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας 10
 ἱερῷ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὀπλίται· ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν
 Εὐρώταν παρῆσαν κάοντες καὶ πορθοῦντες πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν
 28 μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ
 τὸν καπνὸν ὀρώσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολε-
 μίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιάται ἀτείχιστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος 15
 ἄλλη διαταχθεὶς, μάλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύ-
 λαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἰλωσιν,
 εἴ τις βούλοιο ὅπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ
 πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολε-
 29 μήσαιεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλεόν ἢ 20
 ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὖ οὔτοι παρέιχον συντεταγμένοι
 καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔμενον μὲν οἱ ἐξ
 Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
 Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαῦριοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς
 καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἥδη καὶ τοὺς ἀπογεγραμ- 25
 30 μένους ἦττον ὠρρώδουν. ὥς δὲ προῖον τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο
 κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταύτῃ διέβαινον τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν
 Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπεδεύοντο, εὐθὺς ὦν ἔκοπτον δένδρων
 κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως
 ἐφυλάττοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, κατα- 30

6 δὴ om. C F 7 ἔκαιον hic codd. 8 ἀπόλλωνος cod. Paris. A :
 ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῶ(ι) cet. (ἱερὸν C pr.) 16 διαταχθέντες C 17 προει-
 πεῖν B 25 δέ] δὴ B M D V 25 προῖον Leoncl. : προσιδὸν B M D V :
 προσιῶν C F 30 τε] γε Francke καταλιπόντες D

λειπόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐτρέποντο.
 ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἡμέρα τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς
 τὸν ἵπποδρομον εἰς Γαϊαόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι
 πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλείοι καὶ ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ
 5 Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρήσαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἱππεῖς, 31
 μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινόμενοι, ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐν-
 ἔδραν δὲ ποιήσαντες ὀπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων
 ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς
 ἥλαννον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν.
 10 ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν.
 ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἳ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων
 στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. καὶ τὸ 32
 μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλεῖν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἤδη τι
 ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπᾶραν τὸ στρά-
 15 τευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν
 ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπύμπρασαν, Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα
 τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς
 ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν περιόικων οἳ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ
 συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.
 20 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅτι 33
 χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν
 κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακε-
 δαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν
 δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀρακος καὶ Ὡκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ
 25 Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον.
 ἀνεμίννησκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς αἰεὶ ποτε ἀλλήλοις
 ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε
 γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ Ἀθη-
 ναίους, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως
 30 βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅς' ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφό- 34

1 ἐτρέποντο B 2 προσῆλθον CF 3 γαιολόχου codd. : corr.
 Stephanus 8 τῇ] τῷ B 14 ἀπᾶραν BCF 15 ἔλος τε καὶ C
 23 ὅθεν] ἔνθα cit. Breitenbach 24 Ἀρακος Leoncl. marg. : ἀρατος codd.
 30 ὅς' Stephanus : ὥς codd. κοινῶς B : κοινῇ cet. (κοινῇ F pr.)

- τεροι ἔπραττον, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες μὲν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον
 κοινῇ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοί τε
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ
 τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα
 συμβουλομένων, αὐτοί τε κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως ὑφ' 5
 ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείησαν, συμβουλο-
 35 μένων αὖ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ᾧδὲ πως
 εἶπεν· Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ᾧ ἄνδρες, ὁμονοήσωμεν,
 νῦν ἐλπὶς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ
 μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πᾶν ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θροῦς τις τοιοῦτος 10
 διήλθεν ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπραττον, ἐπέκειντο
 ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
 ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων
 βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, †σφίσιν ἐμ-
 36 ποδῶν γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ πλείστος ἦν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς 15
 ὅρκους βοηθεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρα-
 τεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις,
 ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντιεῖς παρὰ
 τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ
 τούτους τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ 20
 δικαίως τοὺς Μαντιεῖς ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον
 ἀποθανούσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι
 ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.
- 37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη
 Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ᾧ 25
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες
 ἀδικεῖν· ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι
 ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων
 ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδηλώσαμεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ
 Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκό- 30

I ὑπομιμνήσκοντες] ἀναμιμνήσκοντες Schwidop 5 συμβουλο-
 μένων D: συμβουλευομένων cet. 6 συμβουλομένων Dind.: συμ-
 βουλευομένων codd. 14 σφίσιν] σφῖσιν B: σφεῖς Dobree 18 τοῖς
 om. C 26 τίνες . . . ἀδικεῖν del. Cobet

φασι καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα
 διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήτε οὕτω περιφανῶς
 ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ ταῦτα
 ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὅρκων ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἡμεῖς
 5 ὁμόσαιμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν ὥς
 ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ 38
 ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδὼν γένοιτο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρώτους
 ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον
 10 εἶναι· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴονται ἐμποδὼν
 γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ' οὕτως 39
 ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι
 στρατεύσαντας βοηθήσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυσ-
 μενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκούντας ἡγεμόνας
 15 γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν
 φανῆναι ἢ ὁπότε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἶχετε. συμφορώ-
 τερόν γε μεντὰν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι εἰσὶν οἱ
 συμμαχοῦντες ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε
 διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦνται 40
 20 μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα
 παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ οὖς ἂν εἴ ἀλλ' οὖς ἂν
 κακῶς τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν.
 ἐνθυμείσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ
 ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἔρρωμενέστατοι ᾧσιν,
 25 ἵνα ἔχωσιν, ἐὰν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν τῶν
 προπεπονημένων. ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καιρὸς παρα- 41
 γεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτή-
 σασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους.
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εἴ
 30 παθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα

4 ἡμεῖς om. B 14 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν B 17 οἱ συμμαχοῦντες ἂν Dind. :
 οἱ σύμμαχοι ἂν codd. : οἱ σύμμαχοι εἶεν ἂν marg. Leoncl. : ἐν ᾧ σφ
 ἔτι εἰσὶν οἱ σύμμαχοι ἢ Cobet 18 εἰ om. F 25 ποτ' ἀδύνατοι
 Leoncl. : ποτε δυνατοὶ codd.

- ὀρώντες καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς αἰί, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα
 οἷ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες
 42 Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὥστε
 εἰ κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος εἰς
 αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρὴ ὥς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς μᾶλλον 5
 ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ γάρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι
 δοκοῦσι διατετελεκέναι ἐπαίνου μὲν ὀρεγόμενοι, αἰσχυρῶν δὲ
 43 ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε.
 εἴ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων,
 τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον πιστεύσαιτε ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις; τίνας δὲ ἂν 10
 παραστάτας ἥδιον τούτων ποιήσασθε, ὧν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες
 ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἅπαντες εἴλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλ-
 λον ἢ ζῶντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι; πῶς
 οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὧν τε ἕνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ μεθ'
 ὑμῶν καὶ ὧν ἐλπίς καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς 15
 44 αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι; ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν
 παρόντων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι.
 εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι οἵπερ τούτοις πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς
 συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμῖν αἰσχύνοιντ' ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες
 χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου 20
 μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσai, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἂν ἡ ὑμετέρα
 πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἱ βοηθοῦ-
 45 σαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν
 ἀκούων ἐζήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδι-
 κουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπι- 25
 κουρίας ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀκούω, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς
 ἡδὴ παρὼν ὁρῶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ
 μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε
 46 ἤκοντας καὶ δεομένους αὖ ὑμῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ

3 οὐδενὶ Dobree : οὐδὲν codd. 5 ὥς del. Cobet 10 πισ-
 τεύσaiτε Schneider : πιστεύσητε B : πιστεύοιτε cet. 13 ἐπεισφρέ-
 σθαι Cobet : ἐπεισφέρεσθαι codd. (συνεπεισφέρεσθαι C, ἐπεισφέρεσθαι F)
 15 καὶ ante αὐθις om. C F 17 αὐτοῖς del. Nauck : ante προθυμίαν
 pon. vulg. ἕνεκεν C F 20 εἶναι om. C 25 ἐπικουρίας
 δεομένους C

Θηβαίους, οἱ τότε οὐκ ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἑξανδραποδί-
 σασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν [μὴ] περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους
 τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν
 λέγεται, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ
 5 εἶασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο,
 εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε ὑβρισθῆναι μήτε
 ἀπολέσθαι ἑάσαίτε. καλοῦ γε μὴν κακείνου ὄντος, ὅτε 47
 σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ὕβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους
 παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου τόδε κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς
 10 ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσαίτε; πάντων
 δὲ κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὑμεῖς σὺν ὅπλοις τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων
 ἐπικουρήσετε αὐτοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ 48
 συναγορεύοντες βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἢ που ὑμῖν γε
 15 τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα φανείη, εἰ
 πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις
 μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧν εὖ ἐπάθετε μνησθείητε καὶ
 χάρις ἀποδοίητε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
 20 ἐγένοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν 49
 ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ βοη-
 θεῖν πανδημί, καὶ Ἴφικράτην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖ-
 25 σθαι, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἴφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν.
 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἡγείτο μὲν ὁ Ἴφικράτης, οἱ δ' ἡκολούθουν,
 νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι ἔργον ἡγήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικό-
 μενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ
 ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὥς δ' ἐξήγαγέ
 30 ποτε, προθύμως μὲν ἡκολούθουν ὅποι ἡγοῖτο, προθύμως δ',

2 μὴ del. F₂
 corr. Schneider

4 ὅτε] ὅτι M

7 ἑάσητε B : ἑάσοιτε cet. :

9 οὐ καὶ] οὐκ B pr. (ut vid.) F 13 οἱ del.
 Hertlein : et hoc et βοηθῆσαι del. Cobet 18 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν G F D pr.

24 ἐγένετο B : ἐγένοντο cet.

29 πρῶτον del. Nauck

50 εἰ πρὸς τεῖχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ
 Λακεδαιμόνι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι
 πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε ὅμοροι οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες
 οἱ δὲ φέροντες ὅ τι ἤρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλουντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι 5
 ἑώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ
 δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνῆλωτο,
 τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς
 δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν, ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι ἐβούλουντο.
 51 ὥς δ' ἐκείνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ 10
 ὁ Ἴφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπήγευ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς
 Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ
 ψέγω· ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἃ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε, πάντα
 εὐρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα
 αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀνείῳ, 15
 ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε, παρέλιπεν
 52 ἀφύλακτον τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχρεῖας πάροδον. μαθεῖν
 δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἶεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὀνειον
 ἔπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Κοριν-
 θίων ἅπαντας. καίτοι ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ὀλίγοι τῶν 20
 πολλῶν ἱκανοί· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥᾶον τοῖς ὀλί-
 γοις ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὁδοῦ εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν
 ἀποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλοὺς τε προσάγειν καὶ ἦττονας τῶν
 ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἅτε ἐπὶ πολὺν
 παραταξάμενοι χωρίον οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ 25
 ἔδει ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο·
 ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπώλουντο εἴκοσιν ἱππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν
 οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλουντο ἀπῆλθον.

1 τεῖχος B : τὸ τεῖχος cet.

3 ἀπεληλύθεσαν Dobree : ἀπε-
 ληλύθεισαν D corr. : ἐπεληλύθησαν vel ἐπεληλύθεισαν cet. (ἐπεληλύθε-
 σαν V) 14 καὶ om. M 16 δύνωνται VC 27 ἐλάττους B :
 ἐλαττον cet.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ζ

Τῷ δ' ὑστέρω ἔτει Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων **I**
 πρέσβεις ἦλθον αὐτοκράτορες Ἀθήναζε, βουλευσόμενοι καθ'
 ὃ τι ἡ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο.
 λεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ξένων, πολλῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων,
 5 ὥς δέοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις τὴν συμμαχίαν εἶναι,
 Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος εἶπε τόνδε τὸν λόγον.

Ἐπείπερ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν εἶναι **2**
 Λακεδαιμονίους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι τοῦτο
 σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἡ φιλία ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον συμμενεῖ. ἔαν
 10 οὖν ἡ ἑκατέροις μάλιστα συννοίσει, ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας
 ποιησώμεθα, οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα συμμένοιμεν
 ἂν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδὸν τι συνωμολόγηται, περὶ δὲ
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβού-
 λευται ὑμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων
 15 δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνθρω-
 πίνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ θείᾳ φύσει τε καὶ τύχῃ διωρίσθαι. πρῶτον **3**
 μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἔχετε κάλλιστα πεφυκότα πρὸς τοῦτο· πλεί-
 σται γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δεομένων τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τὴν ὑμε-
 τέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, καὶ αὗται πᾶσαι ἀσθενέστεραι τῆς
 20 ὑμετέρας. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ λιμένας ἔχετε, ὧν ἄνευ οὐχ οἶόν
 τε ναυτικῇ δυνάμει χρῆσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τριήρεις κέκτησθε
 πολλὰς, καὶ πάτριον ὑμῖν ἔστι ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι. ἀλλὰ **4**

7 ὑμῖν C : ἡμῖν cet. 11 συμμένοιμεν ἂν] ἂν συμμένοιεν Cobet
 15 ἐμοὶ δὲ] ἐμοὶ H 16 post μᾶλλον add. γνώμῃ Pluygers φύσει]
 κρίσει Nauck 18 τῆς om. C F περὶ] πρὸς H post ras. 19 οἰ-
 κούσιν H

μὴν τὰς γε τέχνας τὰς περὶ ταῦτα πάσας οἰκείας ἔχετε.
καὶ μὴν ἐμπειρία γε πολὺν προέχετε τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τὰ
ναυτικά· ὁ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης·
ὥστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελόμενοι ἅμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν
ἀγώνων ἐμπειροὶ γίγνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε· οὐδαμόθεν ἂν 5
τριήρεις πλείους ἄθροαι ἐκπλεύσειαν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν. ἔστι δὲ
τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον
5 ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον ἥδιστα πάντες συλλέγονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ
ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν δέδοται ὑμῖν εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τούτῳ· πλείστους
γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἀγῶνας ἡγωνισμένοι κατὰ θάλατταν ἐλά- 10
χιστα μὲν ἀποτετυχήκατε, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς
οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεθ' ὑμῶν ἂν ἥδιστα τούτου τοῦ
6 κινδύνου μετέχειν. ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ προσήκουσα
ὑμῖν αὕτη ἢ ἐπιμέλεια ἐκ τῶνδε ἐνθυμήθητε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ὑμῖν ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἔτη, καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας 15
οὐδὲν προύκοπτον εἰς τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεὸς
ἔδωκέ ποτε αὐτοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικρατῆσαι, εὐθὺς ὑπ'
ἐκείνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὐδηλον ἐν τούτοις
ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἅπανα ὑμῖν ἥρτηται σωτηρία.
7 οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων πῶς ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ὑμῖν Λακεδαι- 20
μονίοις ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεῖσθαι, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν
καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου
εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς
κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
τριήρεσι μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ 25
8 γυναικῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως; τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα οὕτως
ἔχει· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ· ὥστε τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντες
καὶ εἰ θαλάττης εἰργοιντο, δύναιτ' ἂν καλῶς διαζῆν. ἐγνω-
κότες οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ 30

II κατωρθώκατε B : κατο(ω)ρθώσατε cet. 17 ποτε] τότε Krüger
19 ὑμῖν om. H ante σωτηρία add. ἡ Schneider 25 μόνον C Pal.
ante corr. : μόνων cet. 26 καὶ τὰ μὲν Pal. H 27 δὴ om.
C F₂ marg. 28 μεσογαία] μεσογεία B corr. ut vid., eadem manu

γῆν πόλεμον τὴν ἄσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλείστον δὲ
 ἄξιον, τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὗτοι μὲν κράτιστοι κατὰ
 γῆν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἔπειτα δὲ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ναυ- 9
 τικῶ, οὕτως αὖ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ γῆν πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν
 5 ἐξέλθοιεν· ὥστε πρὸς τούτους αὖ εἰκὸς τοὺς συμμάχους
 εὐθαρσεστάτους προσιέναι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν,
 ὥσπερ ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχεῖν, οὕτως ἐκείνοις κατὰ
 γῆν· πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὗτοι ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡγωνισμένοι
 ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσὶ, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες.
 10 ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα οὐδὲν ἦττον τούτοις ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἐπι- 10
 μέλεια ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔξεστι γι-
 γνώσκειν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ τούτοις πολλὰ ἔτη πολεμοῦντες καὶ
 πολλάκις καταναυμαχοῦντες οὐδὲν προὔργου ἐποιεῖτε πρὸς
 τὸ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἡττήθησαν ἐν τῇ
 15 γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ ὅλης
 τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. πῶς οὖν οὐ τούτοις 11
 αὖ δεινὸν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς
 δὲ ἄριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ
 τῇ βουλῇ προβεβούλευται, ταῦτα εἴρηκά τε καὶ συμφω-
 20 ρώτα ἡγοῦμαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτυχοῖτε τὰ κράτιστα
 πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βουλευσάμενοι.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ τῶν 12
 Λακεδαιμονίων παρόντες ἐπήνεσαν ἀμφότεροι ἰσχυρῶς τὸν
 λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ παρελθὼν· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 25 ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε ἐξαπατῶμενοι; ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀκούσητέ μου,
 ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἀντίκα μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ἤδη γὰρ ἡγήσεσθε κατὰ
 θάλατταν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐὰν συμμαχώσι, δῆλον ὅτι
 πέμψουσι τοὺς μὲν τριηράρχους Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἴσως
 τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, οἱ δὲ ναῦται δῆλον ὅτι ἔσονται ἢ Εἰλωτες ἢ
 30 μισθοφόροι. οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἡγήσεσθε. οἱ δὲ 13

1 δὲ om. M 5 τούτοις codd. : corr. Leoncl. ante εἰκὸς add. κατὰ
 γῆν Hartman 6 εὐθαρσεστάτα Cobet αὐτοῖς om. C 9 εἰσὶν H
 16 ὁ κίνδυνος C 17 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς F pr. : αὐτοῖς cet. 18 οὖν om. H
 25 post ἐξαπατῶμενοι semicolon ponit H 29 δῆλον ὅτι del. Nauck

- Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅταν παραγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψετε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἵππείας. οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἐκείνοι μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γίνονται ἡγεμόνες, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων. ἀποκρίναι δέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιέ Τιμόκρατες, οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες ὥς 5 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις ἥκοις τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιούμενος;
- 14 Εἶπον ταῦτα. Ἔστιν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κηφισόδοτος, ἰσαίτερον ἢ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἐκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε, εἴ τι ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῇ, τούτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ 10 γῆν; ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπέσθησαν, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ πενθήμερον ἐκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι.
- 15 Στρατευομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Κόρινθον ἔδοξε κοινῇ φυλάττειν τὸ Ὀνειον. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, παραταξάμενοι ἐφύ- 15 λαττον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπεὶ ἀπείχον τῶν φυλαττόντων τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἡνίκ' ἂν ῥοντο ὀρμηθέντες καθανύσαι ἅμα κνέφα, πρὸς τὴν 20 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φυλακὴν ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ὥρας, ἀλλ' ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεῦσιν ἡνίκα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι προσπεσόντες ἔπαιον παρεσκευασμένοι 25 ἀπαρασκευάστους καὶ συντεταγμένοι ἀσυντάκτους. ὥς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγύτατα λόφον, ἐξὸν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ πολεμάρχῳ λαβόντι ὀπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὀπλίτας, ὀπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξῆν ἀσφαλῶς 30 ἐκ Κεγχρειῶν κομίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα

4 ἐλαχίστων H 6 ἦκεις D pr. VC 14 κοινῇ B : κοινῶς cet.
 16 ἄλλοι ἄλλοθι Halbertsma 21 τῶν om. H 22 ἐμπίπτουσι C F
 24 ὅποι Schneider : ὅπου codd. 26 ἀπαρασκευούς Dind.

ἀπορούντων τῶν Θηβαίων πῶς χρὴ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυῶνα βλέποντος καταβῆναι ἢ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, ὥς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκει, πρὸς Θηβαίων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν.

5 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείξαντες 18 τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἥλείοις, εὐθὺς μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυῶνα καὶ Πελλήνην· στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκείθεν μάλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς 10 τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως, δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι, ὥς εἰ ἀνεφυγμένοι τύχοιεν, εἰσπεσοῦμενοι. ἐκβοηθήσαντες 19 δέ τινες ψιλοὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι τῶν Θηβαίων τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους· καὶ 15 ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα χωρία, βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλα συχνούς, καὶ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον ὥς τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐλκύσαντες καὶ ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες τροπαῖον 20 ἔστησαν. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.

Ἄμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων καταπλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις 20 ἢ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριήρεις πλέον ἢ ἑκοσιν· ἦγον δὲ Κελτούς τε καὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ ἱππέας ὥς πεντήκοντα. τῇ 25 δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι διαταξάμενοι καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες τὸ πεδῖον μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως γηλόφων ἐφθειρον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων ἱππεῖς οὐ μάλα ἐπλησίαζον τῷ στρατεύματι, 30 ὁρῶντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ πολλὰ τἀντίπαλα· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ 21

4 μεθ' αὐτοῦ vulg. : μετ' αὐτοῦ codd. 5 καὶ συμμείξαντες om.
B Pal. 6 τοῖς ἑαυτῶν C : τοῖς τε αὐ(ἐαυ-)(αὐ-)τῶν cet. 7 προσ-
έβαλλον F 10 τοῦ B : τοῦ τῶν cet. 11 ἰόντι del. Bake 20 μὲν
δὴ C 22 τε] δὲ V 28 οἱ τῶν om. F

Διονυσίου ἱππεῖς, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν, οὗτοι διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος
 ἄλλῃ παραθέοντες ἠκόντιζόν τε προσελαύνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ
 ὥρμων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες
 ἠκόντιζον. καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἵππων καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο. εἰ δὲ καταβεβηκόσιν ἐπελαύνοιέν 5
 τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδῶντες ἀνεχώρουν. εἰ δ' αὖ τινες
 διώξειαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τούτους, ὅποτε
 ἀποχωροῖεν, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ εἰργάζοντο,
 καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἠνάγκαζον ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ προΐεναι
 22 καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι μέιναντες 10
 οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἕκαστος
 οἴκαδε. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς
 Σικυῶνα, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ,
 καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ
 κράτος αἰροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου πρώτη βοήθεια 15
 ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας. Θηβαῖοι δὲ
 καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μέχρι μὲν
 τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔστρα-
 23 τεύοντο ἡγουμένων Θηβαίων. ἐγγενόμενος δέ τις Λυκομήδης
 Μαντινεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῆς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ 20
 ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας,
 λέγων ὥς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἴη, μόνοι
 γὰρ αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλείστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
 φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι.
 καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια παρεχό- 25
 μενος ὥς ἐπικούρων ὅποτε δεηθεῖεν τινες, οὐδένας ἡρῶντο
 ἀντ' Ἀρκάδων. ἔτι δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους πώποτε ἄνευ
 σφῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔτε νῦν Θηβαίους ἐλθεῖν
 24 ἄνευ Ἀρκάδων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. ἔαν οὖν σωφρονῇτε, τοῦ

I ὅσοι παρήσαν Cobet διεσκεδασμένοι C : διεσκευασμένοι BM HDV :
 διεσκανμένοι F ante corr. 3 ὁρμήν Hartman 8— § 31
 ἀκοντίζοντες . . . ἔπιπτον] post ἀκοντίζοντες in B excidit folium
 16 ταῦτα] τοιαῦτα C 17 μὲν οὖν H 19 τῶν θηβαίων CF
 20 ἐνδεής: fort. ἐνδεέστερος 23 ἐν om. H 24 φύλον Pal. :
 φύλον C : φύλων M HDV

ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν τις παρακαλῇ φείσεσθε· ὥς πρότερόν τε
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐκείνους ἠξήσατε, νῦν δὲ ἂν
 Θηβαίοις εἰκῇ ἀκολουθήτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεῖσθαι
 ἀξιῶτε, ἴσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους εὐρήσετε.
 5 οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀνεφυσῶντό τε καὶ
 ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο· ὥστε
 ἄρχοντας ἔταπτον οὕστινας ἐκείνος κελεύει. καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργων ἐμεγαλύνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες· ἐμβα- 25
 λόντων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τῶν Ἀργείων, καὶ ἀπο-
 10 κλεισθέντων τῆς ἐξόδου ὑπὸ τε τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου ξένων
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα πολιορκου-
 μένους ἐξελεύσαντο τοὺς Ἀργείους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμίοις χρώμενοι· στρατευσάμενοι
 δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίην τῆς Λακαίνης ἐνίκησάν τε τὴν τῶν
 15 Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν καὶ τὸν Γεράνορα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην
 πολέμαρχον γεγεννημένον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ προάστιον τῶν
 Ἀσιναίων ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπου δὲ βουλευθείεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ
 νύξ, οὐ χεῖμων, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυεν
 αὐτούς· ὥστε ἔν γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολὺ ᾤοντο κράτιστοι
 20 εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνως καὶ οὐκέτι 26
 φιλικῶς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. οἳ γε μὴν Ἥλείοι ἐπεὶ
 ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἃς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
 ἀφηρέθησαν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῶν λόγους ἐν
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 25 τοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους, ὅτι
 Ἀρκάδες ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὖ καὶ οἱ Ἥλείοι δυσμενῶς
 εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς.

Οὕτω δ' ἐκάστων μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων τῶν 27
 συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδηνὸς παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους

1 φείσεσθε] ἀφήσεσθε Cobet τε om. F : γε Grosser 2 δὲ
 ἂν] δ' ἔαν Keller 7 ἐκείνος] κακείνος C F 14 καὶ om. M
 15 prius τὸν del. Grosser Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον Dind. : πολέμαρ-
 χον σπαρτιάτην codd. 16 προά(ᾗ)στιον codd. 17 ἀσιναίων
 C : ἀσινάνων Pal. H M V : ἀσιάνων F : ἀσινάρων D 19 γε om. D F

χρήματα ἔχων πολλά. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς συνήγαγε περὶ εἰρήνης Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν ἀνεκοινώσαντο ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐβουλευόντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνεχώρουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ Λακεδαι- 5 μονίοις εἶναι, ξενικὸν πολὺ συνέλεγεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, ὅπως πολεμοίῃ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

- 28 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὥς χρεῶν εἴη αὐτοὺς ἰέναι εἰς Θετταλίαν τὰναντία Θηβαίοις, Λακεδαι- 10 μονίων δὲ ὥς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέπλευσαν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς Ἀρχίδαμος μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐστρατεύετο. καὶ Καρύας μὲν ἐξαιρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὅσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν· ἐκείθεν δ' εὐθὺς στρατευσάμενος 15 εἰς Παρρασίους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας μετ' αὐτῶν ἐδήου τὴν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐβοήθησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὃς εἰρημένος ἦν 20 παραμένειν. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπῆει τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης.
- 29 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπορευόμενον ὑπετέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐπὶ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε· καὶ κεῖνος μέντοι ἐβοήθει. ὥς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῇ, οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι 25 προσέβαινον εἰς τὴν Λάκαιαν, καὶ οὗτοι ὥς ἀποκλείουσιν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ. ὁ δέ, οὐπὲρ ἐστι χωρίου ἐπίπεδον ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς τε ἐπ' Εὐτρησιῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Μηλέας 30 ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα ἐκβὰς παρετάξατο ὥς μαχούμενος. ἔφασαν δ'

3 ἀνεκοινώσαντο F corr. : ἐκοινώσαντο C : ἐνεκοινώσαντο Pal. H M DV
 9 μὲν ὥς χρεῶν εἴη] ὥς χρεῶν μὲν εἴη D V C 10 ἰέναι om. C F 13 ὁ
 ἀρχίδαμος C F 16 Παρρασίους Clinton : παρουσίας codd. (fort. παρ-
 ρουσίας Pal.) 18 ὑπὲρ Dind. : ὑπὸ codd. 18 et 29 Μηλέας E.
 Curtius : μηδέας codd. 20 ἐξήκοιτο H 23 στενῷ Dind.
 27 οὐπὲρ Leoncl. : ὑπὲρ, ὁπὲρ, ὑπὲρ codd.

αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόχων παριόντα τοιαύδε παρακελεύσασθαι·
 "Ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς
 ὄμμασιν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἶαν περ
 παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν· παυσώμεθα αἰσχυρόμενοι
 5 καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν οἷς
 πρόσθεν γε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι ἤμεν.
 τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπὰς τε καὶ βροντὰς 31
 λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῆναι· συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους [οὗ δὴ καὶ
 10 ἀπόγονος λέγεται] εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων πάντων οὕτω
 πολὺ μένος καὶ θάρρος τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν
 ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνείργειν τοὺς στρατιώτας
 ὠθουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἡγεῖτο ὁ Ἀρχί-
 δαμος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυ αὐτοὺς
 15 ἀπέθανον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ
 ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν. ὥς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς 32
 μάχης τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο, εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν οἴκαδε ἀγγελοῦντα
 Δημοτέλη τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε νίκης τὸ μέγεθος <καὶ> ὅτι
 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς τεθναίῃ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμ-
 20 πλήθεις. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν ἀκούσαντας ἀρξα-
 μένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων
 πάντας κλαίειν· οὕτω κοινόν τι ἄρα χαρὰ καὶ λύπη δάκρυνά
 ἐστιν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τύχῃ οὐ πολὺ τι ἦττον
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἥσθησαν Θηβαῖοί τε καὶ Ἡλεῖοι· οὕτως ἤδη
 25 ἤχθοντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονήματι αὐτῶν.

Συνεχῶς δὲ βουλευόμενοι Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἂν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν 33
 λάβοιεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν
 Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεονεκτῆσαι ἂν τι ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ ἐκ
 τούτου παρακαλέσαντες ἤδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ προφάσει
 30 ὅτι καὶ Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἶη παρὰ βασιλεῖ, ἀναβαί-
 νουσι Θηβαίων μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Ἀντίλοχος ὁ

6 τῶν om. H 9 τε] τι D 9, 10 οὗ . . . λέγεται del. Cobet
 15 πολλοί] hic redit B 18 καὶ add. Stephanus 24 et 26 οἱ
 θηβαῖοι C F 28 ἐν om. C F : παρ' Morus

- παγκρατιαστής, Ἡλείων δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖος. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν
- 34 Τιμαγόραν τε καὶ Λέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ συνεμάχοντο 5 ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον οὐδεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θῦσαι ἐάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔνθαπερ ὅτε Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπλει θύσας εἴλε Τροίαν. 10
- 35 μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνενικήκεσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάχῃ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὅτι πεπορθηκότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφαίνοντο. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες μάχῃ ἡττημένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ παρεγένοντο. 15 συνεμαρτύρει δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα πάντα ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγοι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
- 36 Τιμαγόρας, καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐρώτῳμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελοπίδας τί βούλοιο ἐαυτῷ γραφῆναι εἶπεν ὅτι Μεσσήνην τε αὐτόνομον εἶναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναῦς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα 20 μὴ πείθωιτο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἴ τις δὲ πόλις μὴ
- 37 ἐθέλοι ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην πρῶτον ἰέναι. γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, εἶπεν ὁ Λέων ἀκούοντος τοῦ βασιλέως· Νῆ Δία, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥρα γε ὑμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄλλον τινα φίλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. 25 ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεὺς ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, πάλιν ἐξήνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα· εἰ δέ τι δικαιότερον τούτων γινώσκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἰόντας πρὸς βασιλείᾳ διδάσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις οἷκαδε ἕκαστοι, τὸν μὲν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λέοντος 30

2 ἀθηναῖοι δὲ C F ἀντέπεμψαν C F 10 Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτε
Cobet τροίαν B: τὴν τροίαν cet. 14 οἱ ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἀρκάδες
C: οἱ ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀρκάδες V: ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀρκάδες cet. 16 λέγει
F 22 πρῶτην V

ὥς οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα
 βουλευόιτο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβων ὁ μὲν Ἑλίου Ἀρχί-
 δαμος, ὅτι προυτίμησε τὴν Ἥλιν πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπῆνει
 τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτι ἡλαττοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν,
 5 οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξατο ἀπήγγειλέ τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὡς
 βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὀψοποιούς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ
 θυρωροὺς πεμπλήθεις ἔχοι, ἄνδρας δὲ οἱ μάχονται ἂν Ἑλλησι
 πάνν ζητῶν οὐκ [ἂν] ἔφη δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ
 τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλήθος ἀλαζονείαν οἱ γε δοκεῖν ἔφη εἶναι,
 10 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσὴν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν
 ἔφη εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν.
 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν 39
 ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης
 ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγίδα ἀνέγνω
 15 τὰ γεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι ὁμνῦναι ταῦτα ἐκέλευον
 βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ
 ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ὁμοῦμενοι ἀλλ' ἀκουσό-
 μενοι πεμφθείησαν· εἰ δέ τι ὅρκων δέοιτο, πρὸς τὰς πόλεις
 πέμπειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρκὰς Λυκομήδης καὶ τοῦτο
 20 ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν σύλλογον ἐν Θήβαις δέοι εἶναι, ἀλλ'
 ἔνθα ἂν ᾗ ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπαινόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Θηβαίων
 καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ
 συνέδριον ἤθελε καθίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπὼν ᾤχετο, καὶ μετ' αὐ-
 τοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις. ὡς δ' ἐν Θήβαις 40
 25 οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ συνελθόντες ὁμόσαι, ἔπεμπον οἱ Θηβαῖοι
 πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὁμνῦναι κελεύοντες ποιήσειν κατὰ
 τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα, νομίζοντες ὀκνήσειν μίαν ἐκάστην
 τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ
 μέντοι εἰς Κόρωνθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένων ὑπέστησαν
 30 οἱ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα

I πελοπίδα C F

Dind. 10 ἂν del. Cobet

ἂν C: cet. om. ἂν

26 ποιῆσαι C F

4 ὁ δὲ] hic prorsus desinit B

21 ἔνθα ἂν ᾗ

22 διαφέρει M

27 τὰ om. F₁

8 ἂν del.

21 ἔνθα ἂν ᾗ Stephanus: ἔνθα ᾗ

25 συνελθούσας C F

κοινῶν ὄρκων, ἐπηκολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀποκρινόμεναι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβολὴ οὕτω διελύθη.

- 41 Αὐθις δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουλευθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προσα-
γαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 5
σύμμαχοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀχαΐαν. Πεισίαν οὖν τὸν Ἀργεῖον στρατηγοῦντα ἐν
τῷ Ἀργεὶ πείθει προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ Ὀνειον. καὶ ὁ Πεισίας
μέντοι καταμαθὼν ἀμελουμένην τὴν τοῦ Ὀνείου φυλακὴν
ὑπὸ τε Ναυκλέους, ὃς ἦρχε τοῦ ξενικοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, 10
καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμομάχου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, καταλαμβάνει νύκτωρ
μετὰ δισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρειῶν λόφον, ἔχων
42 ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις
ἐλθόντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβαίνουνσι τὸ Ὀνειον, καὶ στρα-
τεύουσι πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπ' Ἀχαΐαν, ἡγουμένου Ἐπα- 15
μεινώνδου. προσπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς
Ἀχαΐας, ἐνδυναστεύει ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὥστε μὴ φυγαδεῦσαι
τοὺς κρατίστους μηδὲ πολιτείαν μεταστήσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ
λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ μὴν συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ
ἀκουλουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν 20
43 οἴκαδε. κατηγοροῦντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν
ἀντιστασιωτῶν ὥς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατεσκευακὼς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν
ἀπέλθοι, ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις πέμψαι ἄρμοστὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀχαΐδας
πόλεις. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους σὺν τῷ πλήθει
ἐξέβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ κατέστησαν. οἱ 25
μέντοι ἐκπεσόντες συστάντες ταχύ, ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν
πόλεων πορευόμενοι, ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, κατῆλθόν τε καὶ
κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσενον,
ἀλλὰ προθύμως συνεμάχουν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιέζοντο

1 κοινῶν] καινῶν Hertlein ἄλλαι πολλαὶ C F ταῦτα]
ταντὰ V: ταῦτα cet. 6 ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον Hertlein: ἔγνωκε
στρατευτέον codd. 11 τοῦ τιμομάχου H 13 τὰ om. C 18 μηδὲ
Dind.: μὴ τε vel μήτε codd. 21 αὐτοῦ D (supersc. eadem manu)
V: αὐτῶν cet. 25 ἐξέβαλλον Pal. C F 26 συστάντες om. in fine
versus H

οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἔνθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔνθεν δὲ ὑπὸ
 Ἀχαιῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Σικυῶνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τούτου κατὰ τοὺς 44
 ἀρχαίους νόμους ἢ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος ὁ
 Εὐφρων, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μέγιστος ἦν τῶν
 5 πολιτῶν, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν πρωτεύειν,
 λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὡς εἰ μὲν οἱ
 πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἔσονται τοῦ Σικυῶνος, σαφῶς, ὅταν
 τύχη, πάλιν λακωνιεῖ ἢ πόλις· ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γένηται,
 εὖ ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι διαμενεῖ ὑμῖν ἢ πόλις. ἐὰν οὖν μοι
 10 παραγέννησθε, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὁ συγκαλῶν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἅμα
 ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ταύτην πίστιν ἐμαντοῦ δώσω καὶ τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον
 ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ πράττω εὖ
 ἴστε ὅτι πάλαι μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, τὸ
 φρόνημα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν τὴν δουλείαν
 15 ἀποφνυγών. οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἠδέως ταῦτ' 45
 ἀκούσαντες παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
 παρόντων τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν
 δῆμον, ὡς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, στρατηγούς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλέσθαι οὐστίας
 20 αὐτοῖς δοκοίη· οἱ δ' αἰροῦνται αὐτόν τε τὸν Εὐφρονα καὶ
 Ἴππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Ἀκρίσιον καὶ Λύσανδρον. ὡς
 δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καθίστησιν Ἀδέαν
 τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, Λυσιμένην τὸν πρόσθεν ἄρχοντα ἀποστήσας.
 καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τούτων τῶν ξένων ὁ Εὐφρων πιστούς τινας 46
 25 εὖ ποιῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἄλλους προσελάμβανεν, οὔτε τῶν
 δημοσίων οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος. καὶ ὅσους
 δ' ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς τούτων χρήμασιν
 ἐχρήτο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινε,
 τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν· ὥστε πάντα ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο καὶ
 30 σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ

I οἱ F: μὲν γὰρ οἱ C: γὰρ οἱ cet.

την τὴν C F

15 ταῦτα D C

Weiske: ἐν codd.

21 κλ'ανδρον H

27 ἐξέβαλλεν C F

29 ἐξέβαλλεν C F

9 ἔφη om. D

16 ἀκούοντες C F

23 αὐτοῦ M: αὐτοῦ cet.

II ταύ-

18 ἐπὶ

σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καί, εἴ
που στρατεύοιτο, προθύμως ἔχων τὸ ξενικὸν συνηκολούθει.

- II Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων
ἐπιτετειχικότων [ἐν] τῷ Φλειοῦντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων 5
τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὅμως δὲ διεκαρτέρουν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ.
ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἴ τι καλὸν ἔπραξαν,
ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηνται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις
μικρὰ πόλιν οὔσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι 10
2 μᾶλλον ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν φίλοι
μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτ' ἐκείνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν·
σφαλέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ, καὶ ἀπο-
στάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιόικων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων
τῶν Εἰλώτων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, 15
ἐπιστρατεύοντων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
πιστοὶ διέμειναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους
τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργεῖους ὅμως ἐβοήθησαν
αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνειν τελευταῖοι λαχόντες εἰς Πρασιᾶς τῶν
συμβοηθησάντων, ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι, 20
3 Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρμιονεῖς, Ἀλιεῖς, Σικυῶνιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς· οὐ
γάρ πω τότε ἀφέστασαν—ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπεὶ ὁ ξεναγὸς τοὺς
προδιαβεβώτας λαβὼν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτοὺς ᾤχετο, οὐδ' ὡς ἀπε-
στράφησαν, ἀλλ' ἠγεμόνα μισθωσάμενοι ἐκ Πρασιῶν, ὄντων
τῶν πολεμίων περὶ Ἀμύκλας, ὅπως ἐδύναντο διαδύντες εἰς 25
Σπάρτην ἀφίκοντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄλλως τε
4 ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ βοῦν ξένια ἔπεμψαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρη-
σάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ τῶν Φλειασίων περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
προθυμίᾳ ἐνέβαλον πανδημεὶ εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα καὶ τὴν 30

I μὲν τι H Pal. M : μέντοι cet.

2 που] ποι Dind.

4 ἐν del.

Dobree 13 δ' om. H

22 πω τότε Morus : πώποτε codd.

ἀλλ' del. Hartman

23 ἀπεστράφησαν DC : ἐπεστράφησαν cet.

30 ἐνέβαλλον C F

χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήρουν, οὐδ' ὥς ὑφίεντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπε-
 χώρουν φθείραντες ὅσα ἐδύναντο, ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν
 Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀπισθοφυλα-
 κούντων τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῶν ἱπέων ἀπάντων καὶ λόχων τῶν
 5 μετ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἐξήκοντα ὄντες
 ἐτρέψαντο πάντας τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
 μὲν ὀλίγους αὐτῶν, τροπαῖον μέντοι ἐστήσαντο ὀρώντων
 τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ εἰ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν
 αὐτούς.
 10 Αὔθις δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐφρούρουν τὸ 5
 Ὀρειον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προσῆσαν ὥς ὑπερβησόμενοι. πορευο-
 μένων δὲ διὰ Νεμέας τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὅπως
 συμμείξαιεν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, προσήνεγκαν μὲν λόγον τῶν
 Φλειασίων φυγάδες ὥς εἰ ἐθελήσειαν ἐπιφανῆναι μόνον
 15 σφίσι, λάβοιεν ἂν Φλειοῦντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνωμολογήθη,
 τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἔχοντες
 οἳ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὥς ἐξακόσιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 οἱ μὲν σκοποὶ ἐσήμαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικαράνου ὥς πολεμίων
 ἐπιόντων, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς τούτους τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν, ἐν δὲ
 20 τούτῳ οἱ προδιδόντες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ὑποκαθημένοις ἀνα-
 βαίνειν. οἱ δ' ἀναβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ 6
 ὄπλα ἔρημα, ἐδίωκον τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας ὄντας δέκα· ἀφ'
 ἐκάστης δὲ τῆς πεμπάδος εἰς ἡμεροφύλαξ κατελείπετο· καὶ
 ἓνα μὲν ἔτι καθεύδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλον δὲ καταφυγόντα
 25 πρὸς τὸ Ἡραιον. φυγῇ δ' ἐξαλλομένων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους
 τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστν ὀρώντος τῶν ἡμεροφυλάκων, ἀναμφισβητήτως
 εἶχον οἱ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῆς εἰς τὴν 7
 πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβοήθουν οἱ πολῖται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελ-
 θόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν
 30 τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερουσῶν πυλῶν· ἔπειτα πολιορκούμενοι

4 λόχους codd. : corr. Stephanus
 λεγόντων codd. 19 δὲ Leoncl. : δὲ codd.
 § 11 : cet. ἢ(δ hic C : ἢ § 11 C pr.)ραῖον 26 ὀρώντος Dind. : ὀρών-
 των codd. 27 δὲ om. H

13 λόγον τῶν Stephanus :
 25 Ἡραιον Pal. et

ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθούντων ἐχώρουν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρό-
 πολιν· οἱ δὲ πολῖται συνεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν
 μέσον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐθὺς ἔρημον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ
 τεῖχος καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἔπαιον καὶ
 ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἔνδον· οἱ δὲ χαμόθεν ἡμύνοντο καὶ κατὰ τὰς 5
 8 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος φερούσας κλίμακας προσεμάχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πύργων ἐκράτησάν τινων οἱ πολῖται,
 ὁμοσε δὴ ἐχώρουν ἀπονενοημένως τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ
 δὲ ὠθούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἔλαττον
 συνειλύντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ 10
 Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν τὸ
 τεῖχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως διώρυττον· τῶν δ' ἔνδοθεν οἱ μὲν
 †ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἐπαναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ
 ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας, ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμάχοντο†, καὶ πῦρ εὐρόντες ἐν ταῖς 15
 σκηναῖς ὑφήπτον αὐτούς, προσφοροῦντες τῶν δραγμάτων ἀ
 ἔτυχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεθερισμένα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
 οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τὴν φλόγα φοβούμενοι ἐξήλλοντο,
 οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιόμενοι ἐξέπιπτον.
 9 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο ὑπέικειν, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἀκρόπολις 20
 ἔρημος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς
 ἐξήλαυνον· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπεχώρουν, κατα-
 λιπόντες τὰς τε κλίμακας καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ
 ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλευμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἷ
 τε ἔνδον μαχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἔξω ἀλλόμενοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν 25
 ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔνθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
 τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας

1 πρὸς] εἰς H 2 δὲ πολῖται Dind. : δ' ὀπλίται vel δ' ὀπλίται codd.
 5 χαμόθεν Cobet 7 τινων] των H 10 posterius οἱ om. C
 13 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος] τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους Leoncl. : τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν
 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος Tillmanns, omissis quae infra leguntur ἀναβεβηκότας
 αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ del. Dobree καὶ] τοὺς Schneider, Hertlein ἔτι ante
 ἐπὶ ταῖς transp. Hertlein ἐπαναβαίνοντας] ἀναβαίνοντας Cobet ἐπὶ]
 ἐν Cobet 14 πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους] πρὸς
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων Tillmanns ἐπαναβεβηκότας C F 15 αὐ-
 τῶν] αὐθις Grosser 19 ὑπὸ om. H

πιεῖν τε φερούσας καὶ ἅμα χαρᾷ δακρυνούσας· πάντας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τότε γε τῷ ὄντι κλαυσίγελως εἶχεν.

Ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα οἱ 10
 τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἅπαντες. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ
 5 ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ὠργίζοντο
 αὐτοῖς, ἅμα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν αἰεὶ διὰ
 τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. οἱ δ'
 ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ
 ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτίθενται σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν
 10 Ἀθηναίων ἱππεῦσι· καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐποίησαν τοὺς πολε-
 μίους τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ὑποχωρεῖν,
 ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φυλαττομένους
 μὴ καταπατήσειαν.

Αὐθις δέ ποτε ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα ὁ ἐν τῷ 11
 15 Σικυῶνι ἄρχων Θηβαῖος, ἄγων οὓς τε αὐτὸς εἶχε φρουροὺς
 καὶ Σικωνίους καὶ Πελληνέας· ἥδη γὰρ τότε ἠκολούθουν
 τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ Εὐφρων δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔχων μισθοφό-
 ρους περὶ δισχιλίους συνεστρατεύετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι
 αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικaráνου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον, ὥς
 20 τὸ πεδίον φθεροῦντες. κατὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς Κόρινθον φερούσας
 πύλας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπε Σικωνίους τε καὶ Πελληνέας,
 ὅπως μὴ ταύτῃ περιελθόντες οἱ Φλειαῖοι κατὰ κεφαλὴν
 αὐτῶν γένοιτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου. ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐκ 12
 τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ὠρμημένους, ἀντε-
 25 ξελθόντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων
 ἐμάχοντο καὶ οὐκ ἀνέεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ μὲν
 πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ
 μὲν περὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα ἐπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἱππασίμου,
 οἱ δὲ ἐνδοθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐδόκει 13

3 ἐνέβαλλον C F τὸν om. M 8 οἱ om. F 11 ὑπὸ]
 ἐπὶ D 15 ἄρχων del. Cobet Θηβαῖος Morus : θηβαίους codd.
 17 αὐτοῦ M V corr. F₂ : αὐτοῦ cet. 19 τρικaráνου H Pal. DV :
 τρικράνου M : τρικαρανείου C : τρικανείου F pr. : τρικρανείου F corr.
 25 οἱ om. C F 29 posterius δέ] δὲ καὶ ὁ M καιρὸς] ὥρα C

- εἶναι, ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικάρανου· ὥστε γὰρ τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς Πελληνέας ἀφικέσθαι ἢ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους φάραγξ εἶργε. μικρὸν δ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον προπέψαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἵεντο τὴν παρὰ
 14 τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πελληνέας καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ 5
 περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Φλειασίων ἡμιλλῶντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι βοηθήσαντες. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες πάλιν σὺν τοῖς παραγεγενημένοις τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλον καὶ ἐκ 10
 χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἀποθυήσκουσι τῶν τε Σικυνίων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Πελλη-
 15 νέων μάλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Φλειάσιοι τροπαῖον ἵσταντο λαμπρὸν παιανίζοντες, ὥσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον καὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα 15
 περιεώρων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θέαν περιεδραμηκότες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σικυνῶνος ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπεχώρησαν.
 16 Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξαντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι· τὸν γὰρ Πελληνέα πρόξενον ζῶντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων σπανι- 20
 ζόμενοι, ἀφήκαν ἄνευ λύτρων. γενναίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις φαίη εἶναι τοὺς τοιαῦτα διαπραττομένους ;
 17 Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστιν τοῖς φίλοις διέσφζον περιφανές· οἱ ἐπεὶ εἵργοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, ἔζων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου 25
 ὠνούμενοι, διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰόντες, χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες, χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς πορίζοντας διαπραττόμενοι, γλίσχρως δ' ἐγγυητὰς καθιστάντες τῶν ἀξόν-
 18 των ὑποζυγίων. ἤδη δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποροῦντες Χάρητα

1 εἶναι Jacobs (fort. Pal.): ἰέναι codd.: del. Hertlein τρικρά-
 νου M C F 7 βοηθήσαντες C: βοηθήσαντες cet. 8 δὲ D F₂:
 om. cet. 10 ἐνέβαλλον C F 11 δὴ] δὲ F 16 περιεδρα-
 μηκότες] παραεδραμηκότες Morus (? Pal.) 20 Πρόξενον Schneider
 27 τοὺς πορίζοντας] τοὺς κομίζοντας Madvig: τὴν παραπομπὴν Dobree
 28 διαπραττόμενοι] διαπορεύοντες Hartman

διεπράξαντο σφίσι παραπέμψαι τὴν παραπομπήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἐν Φλειοῦντι ἐγένοντο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους
 συνεκπέμψαι εἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. κακείνους μὲν ἐκεῖ κατέ-
 λιπον, ἀγοράσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπισκευασάμενοι ὅποσα ἐδύνατο
 5 ὑποζύγια νυκτὸς ἀπῆσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐνεδρεῦσαιτο
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τοῦ
 μάχεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὰπιτήδεια. καὶ προῆσαν μὲν οἱ 19
 Φλειάσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις,
 εὐθὺς ἔργου τε εἶχοντο καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις
 10 ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἅμα Χάρητα ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐβόων. νίκης δὲ
 γενομένης καὶ ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων,
 οὕτω δὴ οἴκαδε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἃ ἦγον ἀπέσωσαν. ὥς δὲ
 τὴν νύκτα ἡγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθειδον μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ 20
 15 χρησιμώτατοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔλεγον· ὦ Χάρης, ἔξεστί σοι
 τήμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ
 τοῖς ὄροις ἡμῖν οἱ Σικυνῶνιοι τειχίζουσιν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν
 πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὀπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάνυ πολλούς. ἡγησόμεθα
 μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ἔρρωμενέστατοι·
 20 σὺ δὲ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχων ἔαν ἀκολουθῆς, ἴσως μὲν διαπεπραγ-
 μένα σοι καταλήψῃ, ἴσως δὲ ἐπιφανεῖς σὺ τροπήν, ὥσπερ
 ἐν Πελλήνῃ, ποιήσεις. εἰ δέ τι δυσχερές σοί ἐστιν ὧν
 λέγομεν, ἀνακρίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θνόμενος· οἰόμεθα γὰρ ἔτι
 σε μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύσειν.
 25 τοῦτο δὲ χρή, ὦ Χάρης, εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἔαν ταῦτα πράξῃς,
 τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ πόλιν δια-
 σεσωκῶς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔσει, ὀνομαστότατος
 δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καὶ πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης 21
 πεισθεὶς ἐθύετο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τοὺς

2 ἐγένετο Hartman 4 ἐνσκευασάμενοι Cobet 7 τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια H M V C 12 ἦγον] εἶχον D 14 τε om. C 15 et
 19 ὀπλιτῶν Schäfer : πολιτῶν codd. 16 γὰρ om. H 17 ὄροις]
 ὄριοις C 21 τροπήν] ῥοπήν Breitenbach 22 ποιήσει Mehler
 σοί om. V 25 δὲ om. V 26 et 27 ἔση codd. 29 οἱ μὲν]
 μὲν οἱ C F

θώρακας ἐνεδύνουντο καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται
ὅσα εἰς πεζὸν παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ
ὄπλα ἐπορεύοντο ἔνθα ἐθύετο, ἀπῆντα αὐτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ
μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε,
ἔφασαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἔκη- 5
ρύχθη, θεία τινὲ προθυμία καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον.
22 ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι, προῆσαν αὐτοῦ οἱ τῶν
Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταχέως
ἡγοῦντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον· τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς κατὰ
κράτος ἤλαννον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος ἔθεον ὥς δυνατόν 10
ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ὁ Χάρης σπουδῇ ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν
τῆς ὥρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς
ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν λουομένους, τοὺς δ' ὀψο-
ποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ φυρῶντας, τοὺς δὲ στιβάδας ποίου-
23 μένους. ὥς δ' εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδου, εὐθύς 15
ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφυγον, καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι
πάντα τὰπιτήδεια. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα δειπνήσαντες καὶ
οἴκοθεν ἄλλα ἐλθόντα, ὥς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ σπείσαντες καὶ παιανί-
σαντες καὶ φυλακὰς κατασκευασάμενοι, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ
Κορίνθιοι, ἀφικομένου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θυαμίας, 20
μάλα φιλικῶς κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα
καὶ σίτου γεμίσαντες εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα παρήγαγον· καὶ
ἕωςπερ ἐτειχίζετο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπαὶ
ἐγίνοντο.

III Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασίων, ὥς καὶ πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐγέ- 25
νοντο καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διετέλεσαν, καὶ ὥς πάντων
σπανίζοντες διέμενον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἴρηται. σχεδὸν δὲ
περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος, στρατηγὸς τῶν
Ἀρκάδων γεγενημένος, νομίσας οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν τῷ
Σικυῶνι, ἀναβὰς σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρό- 30

10 κατὰ κράτος om. marg. Stephani 12 δύντος] δύνοντος
Nauck 17 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια VC 17-18 καὶ—παιανίσαντες om. H
19 κατασκευασάμενοι] καταστησάμενοι Dind. et fort. M₁ teste Keller
21 κηρύξαντες] ζεύξαντες Hartman 23 ἕωςπερ ἐτειχίζετο Dind. :
ἕως περιτειχίζετο codd.

πολιν συγκαλεῖ τῶν Σικωνίων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων τοὺς
 κρατίστους καὶ τοὺς ἄνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμ-
 πετο. φοβηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν 2
 λιμένα τῶν Σικωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον ἐκ
 5 Κορίνθου, διὰ τούτου παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα τοῖς Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὖ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων
 ὥς Λακεδαιμονίοις διατελοίη πιστὸς ὢν. ὅτε γὰρ ψῆφος
 ἐδίδото ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ δοκοίη ἀφίστασθαι, μετ' ὀλίγων
 ἀποψηφίσασθαι ἔφη· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς προδόντας ἑαυτὸν βου- 3
 10 λόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι δῆμον καταστήσαι. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη,
 φεύγουσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὑμᾶς προδιδόντες. εἰ μὲν
 οὖν ἐδυνάσθην ἐγώ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἀπέστην· νῦν δ' οὐ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παρα-
 δέδωκα ὑμῖν. ἡκροῶντο μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· ὁπόσοι
 15 δὲ ἐπείθοντο οὐ πάννυ κατάδηλον.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐπείπερ ἡρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ περὶ 4
 Εὐφρονος. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικωνί τῶν τε βελ-
 τίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὐφρων Ἀθήνηθεν ξενικὸν
 πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως ἐκράτει σὺν τῷ
 20 δήμῳ· Θηβαίου δὲ ἄρμοστοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντος, ἐπεὶ
 ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
 τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα ᾤχετο, ὥς
 τούτοις πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους,
 παραδοῦναι δ' αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ 5
 25 πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, ἀντε-
 πορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας. ὥς δ' ἑώρων αὐτὸν οἰκείως τοῖς
 ἄρχουσι συνόντα, φοβηθέντες μὴ διαπράξαιτο ἢ βούλεται,
 παρεκινδύνευσάν τινες καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει
 τὸν Εὐφρονα, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθη-
 30 μένων. οἱ μέντοι ἄρχοντες τοὺς ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς
 τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ἔλεγον τάδε.

2 μετεπέμψατο D

4 ἐκ κορίνθου πασίμηλον H

11 πάντες

om. C

13 παρέδωκα M

17 τε om. F

28 ἀποσφάττουσιν

αὐτὸν C, omisso τὸν Εὐφρονα

6 ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, ἡμεῖς τουτουσὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας
 Εὐφρονα διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, ὁρῶντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν σώ-
 φρονες οὐδὲν δῆπου ἄδικον οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ
 πονηροὶ ποιοῦσι μὲν, λανθάνειν δὲ πειρῶνται, οὗτοι δὲ
 τοσοῦτον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβεβλήκασι τόλμη τε καὶ 5
 μιαρία ὥστε παρ' αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς
 τοὺς κυρίους οὔστινας δεῖ ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ οὔστινας μὴ,
 αὐτογνωμονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰ οὖν οὗτοι μὴ
 δώσουσι τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην, τίς ποτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν θαρρῶν
 πορεύσεται; τί δὲ πείσεται ἡ πόλις, εἰ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλο- 10
 μένῳ ἀποκτεῖναι πρὶν δηλῶσαι ὅτου ἔνεκα ἦκει ἕκαστος;
 ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τούτους διώκομεν ὡς ἀνοσιωτάτους καὶ ἀδικω-
 τάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλείστον δὴ ὑπεριδόντας τῆς
 πόλεως· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκοότες, ὁποίας τινὸς ὑμῖν δοκοῦσιν ἄξιοι
 εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπίθετε. 15

7 Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτεινάντων οἱ
 μὲν ἄλλοι ἡρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενῆσθαι· εἷς δὲ ὡμο-
 λογῇκει, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ᾧδὲ πῶς ἤρχετο. Ἄλλ' ὑπερορᾶν
 μὲν, ᾧ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ δυνατὸν ὑμῶν ἀνδρὶ ὃς εἰδείη κυρίους
 μὲν ὄντας ὃ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι· τίνι μὴν πιστεύων 20
 ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῷ
 νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῷ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς γνῶσεσθαι.
 ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὓς
 ἐλάβετε ὅμοια Εὐφροني πεποιηκότας, οὐ ψήφον ἀνεμείνατε,
 ἀλλὰ ὁπότε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε, νομίζοντες 25
 τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ τῶν φανερώς προδοτῶν καὶ
 τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων θάνατον
 8 κατεγνώσθαι. οὐκοῦν καὶ Εὐφρων πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχος ἦν.
 παραλαβὼν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστὰ καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν
 ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τούτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε 30

6 τε om. D αὐτοὺς vulg.: ἐαυτοὺς codd. 10 πείσεται
 Schäfer: εἴσεται codd. 12 δὴ om. C 16 τοιαῦτ' C F 20 μὲν
 del. Keller 21 ἐνθάδε om. D 28 οὐκοῦν . . . ἦν; Cobet
 29 μεστὰ Wytttenbach: μετὰ codd.

μὴν τίς ἂν περιφανέστερος Εὐφρονος εἴη, ὃς φιλαίτατος μὲν
 ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων εἴλετο· πιστὰ δὲ δοὺς
 καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ὑμῶν πάλιν προύδωκεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λιμένα; καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως
 5 τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δούλους μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτίνυνε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα
 ἀφηρεῖτο οὐ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὓς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει; οὗτοι
 δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι. αὐθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ὑμῶν 9
 Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν ἔθετο τὰ
 10 ὄπλα τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρμοστῇ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη
 ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα δεῦρο
 ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὄπλα ἡθροικῶς ἐφάνη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ
 χάριν ἂν μοι εἴχετε, εἰ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν· ὃς δὲ χρήματα ἦλθε
 παρασκευασάμενος, ὥς τούτοις ὑμᾶς διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων
 15 πάλιν κύριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς πόλεως, τούτῳ ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην
 ἐπιθεῖς πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθάνοιμι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν
 ὄπλοις βιασθέντες βλάπτονται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοί γε ἀνα-
 φαίνονται· οἱ δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφθαρέντες
 ἅμα μὲν βλάπτονται, ἅμα δὲ αἰσχύνῃ περιπίπτουσιν. εἰ μὲν 10
 20 τοῖνυν ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἦν, ὑμῶν δὲ φίλος, καὶ γὰρ ὁμολογῶ
 μὴ καλῶς ἂν μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῶν τοῦτον ἀποκτεῖναι· ὁ δὲ
 ὑμᾶς προδιδούς τί ἐμοὶ πολεμιώτερος ἦν ἢ ὑμῶν; ἀλλὰ νῆ
 Δία, εἴποι ἂν τις, ἐκὼν ἦλθε. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπεχόμενον τῆς
 ἡμετέρας πόλεως ἀπέκτεινέ τις αὐτόν, ἐπαίνου ἂν ἐτύγχανε·
 25 νῦν δὲ ὅτι πάλιν ἦλθεν ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πρόσθεν κακὰ ποιή-
 σων, οὐ δικαίως φησὶ τις αὐτὸν τεθνάναι; ποῦ ἔχων Ἑλλησι
 σπονδὰς ἀποδείξαι ἢ προδόταις ἢ παλιναυτομόλοις ἢ τυράν-
 νοις; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε 11
 δήπου τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμα-
 30 χίδων. ὅστις δὲ ἄνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμαχῶν δόγματος

1 φίλτατος Cobet (φιλότατος C pr. ut vid.) 4 ἀπροφάσιτος
 Schneider 5 μὲν om. C F 24 ἡμετέρας V C 25 ὅτι]
 ὅτε Schäfer 26 φήσκει V 29 πασῶν Cobet : τῶν πάντων M :
 πάντων cet. 30 συμμαχῶν] συμμαχίδων C

κατέρχεται φυγάς, τοῦτον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποθνήσκειν; ἐγὼ φημι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ τετιμωρηκότας ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρὶ τῷ πάντων ὑμῖν πολεμιωτάτῳ, γνόντας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς τετιμωρηκότας φανείσθαι ὑπὲρ τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμμαχῶν 5 ἀπάντων.

12 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔγνωσαν δίκαια τὸν Εὐφρονα πεπονθέναι· οἱ μέντοι πολῖται αὐτοῦ ὥς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κομισάμενοι ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὥς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται. οὕτως, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ πλείστοι ὀρίζον- 10 ται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.

IV Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὐφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. ἔτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν καὶ τοῦ Χάρητος ἔτι παρόντος Ὀρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν 15 φευγόντων κατελήφθη. στρατευσαμένων δὲ πάντων Ἀθη- ναίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Χάρητα μεταπεμψαμένων ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας, ὁ μὲν λιμὴν αὖ ὁ τῶν Σικυωνίων πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀλίσκεται· τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμαχῶν ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνε- 20 χώρησαν Θηβαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης.

2 Καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Λυκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον δι' ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον 25 ἔδυσχέραινόν τινας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμαχοῦς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ἠΰρισκον οὐδὲν μείον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδεῖσθαι Θηβαίων, οὕτω δὴ 3 προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. καὶ Λυκομή- 30 δης ταῦτα πράττων, ἀπιὼν Ἀθήνηθεν δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθνή-

1 δίκαιος Nauck 5 φανήσεσθαι H 8 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸν C 10 οὕτως . . . εἶναι del. Nauck 15 post κατελήφθη lac. stat. Hartman 22 τοὺς om. V 27 ἐπειδὴ δὲ M D V: ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ Pal.: δὴ om. H C F

σκεῖ. ὄντων γὰρ παμπόλλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων
ὃ ἐβούλετο, καὶ συνθέμενος τοῖνυν ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς
κελεύει, εἵλετο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἔνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον
ὄντες. κακείνος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία
5 οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο.

Εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὥς 4
ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη πρᾶτ-
τεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἔφη χρῆναι ὅπως
καὶ Κόρινθος σῶα ἢ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ
10 ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ταχὺν πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς ἑαυτῶν
πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι, ὥς
οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπέιθοντο. ὥς δὲ συν-
ῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν
οἱ Κορίνθιοι, εἴ τις ἀδικοῖτο Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι, ὥς
15 ληψομένους τὰ δίκαια. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων Χάρης 5
ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ πρὸς Κεγχρεῖας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω
τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἔλεξεν ὅτι ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τῇ πόλει
βοηθῶν παρείη. οἱ δ' ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτὸν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον
ἐδέχοντο τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον·
20 καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας δὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν. ἐκ
μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορίνθου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν.
τοῖς μέντοι Ἀρκάσι πέμπειν ἡναγκάζοντο τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπι- 6
κούρους διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, εἴ τις στρατεύοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀρκαδίαν· τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ.
25 Τοῖς δὲ Κορινθίοις ἐνθυμουμένοις ὥς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι αὐ-
τοὺς σωθῆναι, κρατουμένους μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν κατὰ γῆν,
προσγεγενημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἀνεπιτηδείων, ἔδοξεν
ἀθροίζειν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας μισθοφόρους. ἡγούμενοι
δὲ τούτων, ἅμα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττον, ἅμα δὲ πολλὰ
30 τοὺς πλησίον πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποιοῦν· εἰς μέντοι Θήβας

1 τούτων om. C 2 τοῖνυν] τοῖς ναύταις Wytttenbach 5 ὄν-
τως] οὕτως C F: del. Cobet: καὶ ὥς Hartman 8 χρῆναι om. C:
ἔφη χρῆναι fort. delendum 9 ἡ κόρινθος C F σῶα H D V C F corr.
δὲ om. C 26 κρατημένους C F: κεκρατημένους F₂ 29 πολλὰ om. C

- ἔπεμψαν ἐπερησομένους εἰ τύχοιεν ἂν ἐλθόντες εἰρήνης.
 7 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰέναι ἐκέλευον, ὥς ἐσομένης, ἐδεήθησαν
 οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμαχούς, ὥς
 μετὰ μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ
 πόλεμον αἰρουμένους ἑάσοντας πολεμεῖν. ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ 5
 ταῦτα πράττειν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἐλθόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ
 8 Κορίνθιοι εἶπον· Ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 πάρεσμεν ὑμέτεροι φίλοι, καὶ ἀξιούμεν, εἰ μὲν τινα ὁράτε
 σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν, ἔαν διακαρτερώμεν πολεμοῦντες, διδάξαι καὶ
 ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως γινώσκετε ἔχοντα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν 10
 καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέρει, ποιήσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην· ὥς
 οὐδὲ μετ' οὐδένων ἂν ἥδιον ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν σωθείημεν· εἰ
 μέντοι ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε συμφέρειν ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, δεόμεθα
 ὑμῶν ἑᾶσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. σωθέντες μὲν γὰρ
 ἴσως ἂν αὖθις ἔτι ποτὲ ἐν καιρῷ ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα· ἔαν δὲ 15
 νῦν ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδέποτε χρήσιμοι ἔτι ἐσόμεθα.
 9 ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς τε Κορινθίοις
 συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμ-
 μάχων ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις σὺν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμεῖν
 ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δ' ἔφασαν πολεμοῦντες πράξειν ὅ τι ἂν 20
 τῷ θεῷ φίλον ᾖ· ὑφῆσσεσθαι δὲ οὐδέποτε, ἣν παρὰ τῶν
 10 πατέρων παρέλαβον Μεσσήνην, ταύτης στέρηθῆναι. οἱ οὖν
 Κορίνθιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐπὶ
 τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ συμ-
 μαχίαν ὁμνύειν· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἡ μὲν συμμαχία οὐκ 25
 εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ πολέμου μεταλλαγὴ εἴη· εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο,
 παρεῖναι ἔφασαν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι. ἀγα-
 σθέντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κινδύνῳ ὄντες
 οὐκ ἠθελον τοῖς εὐεργέταις εἰς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι, συν-
 ἐχώρησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ Φλειασίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετ' αὐτῶν 30
 εἰς Θήβας τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους.

1 ἂν del. Cobet 2 ἐσομένης Leoncl.: ἐσομένων codd. 4 τοὺς
 δὲ Pal. F: τοὺς τε cet. 6 πράττειν om. C 11 συμφέροι C F₁
 12 μετ' οὐδένων] μεθ' ἔνων Dobree 30 prius καὶ om. H

- καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὠμόσθησαν οἱ ὅρκοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ Φλειάσιοι, 11
 ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ σύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς
 Θυαμίας· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις
 εἰρήνην ποιήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταπράξαι ὥστε
 5 τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδας μένειν ἐν τῷ Τρικαρᾶνφ ὡς
 ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει ἔχοντας, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούρουν, φά-
 σκουντες σφετέραν τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἶναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον
 ὡς πολεμίαν οὔσαν ἐδῆρουν, καὶ δίκας τῶν Φλειασίων
 προκαλουμένων οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.
- 10 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τετελευτηκότος ἤδη 12
 τοῦ πρόσθεν Διουνυσίου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπει βοήθειαν τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις δώδεκα τριήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμο-
 κράτην. οὗτος οὖν ἀφικόμενος συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς Σελλασίαν·
 καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε.
- 15 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ
 Ἑλεῖοι Λασιῶνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ
 παρόντι συντελοῦντα εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν. οἱ μὲντοι Ἀρκάδες 13
 οὐ παρωλιγώρησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς παραγγέιλαντες ἐβοήθουν.
 ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλείων οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι
 20 τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπι-
 πεδεστέρῳ χωρίῳ τῶν Ἑλείων τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἀνα-
 βαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλείων ὄρους κορυφήν·
 ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλείους. οἱ δὲ
 25 ἰδόντες ἅμα μὲν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου προσιόντας, ἅμα δὲ πολλα-
 πλασίους, ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ῥησχύνησαν, ὁμόσε δ'
 ἦλθον καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἔφυγον· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
 ἄνδρας, πολλὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἀπώλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀπο-
 χωροῦντες.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὰς 14

2 ξύμβασις C 4 ποιήσεσθαι fort. F pr.: ποιήσασθαι cet.
 6 ἔχοντας] οἰκοῦντας Madvig 13 οὖν H: δ' οὖν D C F: δ' αὐ Pal. M V
 19 τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι Dobree: τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἔτι τριακόσιοι
 codd. 20 ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων Dind.: ἀντεστρατευ, ο ante ras.) μένων
 F: ἀντιστρατοπεδευομένων V: ἀντιστρατευομένων cet.

- τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν Θραύ-
 στου ἀφικνουῦνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες τὸ
 Κρόνιον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ
 ὄρους· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδόντων τινῶν. οὕτω δὲ
 προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἡλείοι αὖ παντάπασιν ἠθύμησαν, 5
 οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς
 ἀγορᾶς ἦλθον· ἐκεῖ μέντοι ὑποστάντες οἳ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας καὶ
 15 τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διαφορὰ ἐν
 τῇ Ἡλιδι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπόν τε καὶ Θρασωνίδαν 10
 καὶ Ἀργεῖον εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἦγον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ
 †Στάλκαν τε καὶ Ἰππίαν καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ
 δ' οἱ Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν
 εἶναι τοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι βουλομένοις, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρα-
 σύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς 15
 16 Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ
 δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐχώ-
 ρουν ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούουσιν αὐτούς· ὥστ' ἔφυγον σὺν τῷ
 Ἀργεῖφ καὶ Χαρόπφ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τριακοσίων. οὐ
 πολὺ δ' ὕστερον οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰς 20
 καταλαμβάνουσι Πύλον. καὶ πολλοὶ μέντοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ
 τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἅτε χωρίον τε καλὸν καὶ
 μεγάλην ῥώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων σύμμαχον ἔχοντας. ἐνέ-
 βαλον δὲ καὶ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ
 Ἀρκάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἀναπειθόμενοι ὥς ἡ πόλις 25
 17 προσχωρήσοιτο. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγεννη-
 μένοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν· ὥστε οἱ
 Ἀρκάδες οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράξαντες ἢ δηρώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν
 χώραν ἀπῆλθον. εὐθὺς μέντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἡλείας ἐξιόντες,
 αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Πελληνέας ἐν Ἡλιδι ὄντας, νυκτὸς μακρο- 30
 τάτην ὁδὸν ἐλθόντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν Ὀλουρον·

2 εἰς] πρὸς H τὸ W. Dind.: τὸν codd. 10 γὰρ om. CF 12 Σιτάλ-
 καν Mehler: Εὐάλκαν Keil 14 δὲ] δὲ F 19 τριακοσίων] τετ-
 ρακοσίων C 23 ἔχοντας Morus: ἔχοντες codd. 30 πελληνεῖς codd.

ἤδη γὰρ πάλιν προσεκεχώρηκεσαν οἱ Πελλήνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθοντο τὰ περὶ Ὀλού- 18
 ρου, περιελθόντες αὖ καὶ οὗτοι ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν
 πόλιν Πελλήνην εἰσῆλθον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπολέμουν
 5 τοῖς ἐν Ὀλούρῳ Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν παντὶ δήμῳ
 μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν
 ἐξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὀλουρον.

Οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατείαν εἰς 19
 τὴν Ἥλιν. μετὰ δὲ Κυλλήνης καὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπε-
 10 δευομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Ἡλείοι, ὑποστάντες δὲ οἱ
 Ἀρκάδες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν ὁ Ἡλείος
 ἵππαρχος, ὅσπερ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τὴν μάχην συνάψαι,
 αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώ-
 ρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ παραγενόμενος καὶ
 15 Σωκλείδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· ἤδη γὰρ τότε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 σύμμαχοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἦσαν. πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἡλείοι ἐν 20
 τῇ ἑαυτῶν, ἠξίουσαν καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πέμποντες πρέσ-
 βεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα
 ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῖντο. καὶ
 20 ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν,
 καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρῶμνον. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ φρουρὰν
 τῶν δώδεκα λόχων τρεῖς, οὕτως ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν. οἱ 21
 μέντοι Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ ἔτυχον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἥλιν στρατείας
 συνειλεγμένοι, βοηθήσαντες περιεσταύρωσαν τὸν Κρῶμνον
 25 διπλῷ σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ὄντες ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς
 ἐν τῷ Κρῶμνῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις
 φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν·
 ἡγείτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐδήλου καὶ τῆς
 Ἀρκαδίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο καὶ τῆς Σκιριτίδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει
 30 ὅπως, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρ-
 κάδες οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρε-

3 ὅπῃ Dind. : ὅποι codd. αὐτῶν Pal. M : αὐτῶν cet. 6 καὶ
 μάλα C 8 καὶ ἄλλην F 9 τε καὶ Pal. H M V F 13 αὐτὸν H F₁
 19 ἀπολαβεῖν Jacobs : ἀποβαλ(λ C)εῖν codd. : ἀποκαμεῖν Madvig
 XEN. HELL. 17

- 22 ὥρων. κατιδὼν δέ τινα λόφον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, δι' οὗ τὸ ἔξω
σταύρωμα περιεβέβληντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἐνόμισεν ἐλεῖν ἂν
τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τούτου κρατήσειεν, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μένειν
τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτῳ πολιορκοῦντας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγοντος αὐ-
τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὥς εἶδον οἱ προθέοντες τοῦ Ἀρχι- 5
δάμου πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔξω τοῦ σταυρώματος,
ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ <οἱ> ἵππεῖς συνεμβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο.
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνέκλιαν, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.
οἱ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐνέκλιαν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπήσαν, ἥδη οὔσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς, ἐβοήθει δὴ 10
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐκτραπόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρῶμ-
νον φέρουσαν ἀμαξιτόν, εἰς δύο ἄγων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανεν
23 ἔχων. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχι-
δάμῳ κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες
ἄθροοι συνασπιδοῦντες, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο οἱ Λακε- 15
δαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πλήθει, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν
ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέτρωτο τὸν μηρὸν διαμπάξ, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ
μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνησκον, Πολυναυίδας τε καὶ Χίλων
ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν
24 τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν τριάκοντα. ὥς δὲ κατὰ τὴν 20
ὁδὸν ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ
εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι ἕστασαν, καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλείποντο,
εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ εἶχον, ἐπεληλυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ
ἄνδρας ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἀθύμως 25
εἶχον, τετρωμένον μὲν ὀρώντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀκηκοότες
δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ
25 σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ὥς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀνα-
βοήσας τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε· Τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες,

2 ἂν om. C F 3 τοῦτον Stephanus: τοῦτο codd. 4 τούτῳ
Pal.: τοῦτο cet.: τοῦτον Stephanus 7 οἱ add. Stephanus
9 ἐπεὶ] ἐπειδὴ V 10 δὴ] δὲ C F 12, 13 ἄγων . . . ἔχων Schäfer:
ἔχων . . . ἄγων codd. 20 τότε om. H: οἷ γε D 23 ἕστασαν
M F corr.: ἕστησαν H: ἕστασαν cet. 25 post ἄνδρας lac. stat.
Hartman 26 μὲν om. M

μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ σπεισαμένους διαλυθῆναι; ἄσμενοι δὴ ἀμφοτέροι ἀκούσαντες ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενοι ἀπήλθον, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἐπαναχωρήσαντες ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἐπιέναι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.

5 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες περὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἦσαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς 26 πόλεως Ἡλείοι πρῶτον μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρουμένοις ἐκ τῶν Θαλαμῶν. καὶ προσελαύνοντες οἱ ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἡλείων ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάλλουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπο-
10 κτιννύουσιν, οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ γήλοφον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦλθον οἱ πεζοί, ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ξένοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέδοντο, ὅσοι δὲ φυγάδες, ἀπέσφαττον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
15 τοὺς τε Πυλίους, ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ χωρίῳ αἰροῦσι, καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας ἀναλαμβάνουσι. καὶ 27 μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὕστερον αὖ ἐλθόντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος <τοῦ> κατὰ τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εὐ-
20 θὺς ἐξεκάλουν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐγγύτατά τε ἐτύγχανον ὄντες καὶ ὠξυλάβησαν, ἐξῆλθον· ὁπόσους δὲ ἔφθασαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμβοηθήσαντες, ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἔνδον καὶ ληφθέντες διενεμήθησαν· καὶ ἐν μὲν μέρος ἔλαβον Ἀργεῖοι, ἐν δὲ Θηβαῖοι, ἐν δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνιοι. οἱ δὲ σύμ-
25 παντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε καὶ περιοίκων πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐγένοντο.

Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρῶμνου, 28 πάλιν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἶχον, καὶ τήν τε Ὀλυμπίαν ἔρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρουν, καὶ ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους
30 παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλύμπια σὺν Πισάταις τοῖς πρῶ-

1 σπεισομένους Pal. δῆ] δὲ H F 12 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν C F
18 τοῦ add. Schneider κατὰ Palmerius: καὶ codd. 19 τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων del. Breitenbach 23 μὲν om. C F μέρος ἀρκάδες
Pal. H M D V 28 δῆ] δὲ H

τοις φάσκουσι προστῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε μὴν ἦκεν
 ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὀλύμπια γίγνεται αἷ τε ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις
 ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ Ἥλείοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασά-
 μνοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμ-
 29 πιακὴν ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ᾤοντο 5
 ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν
 πανήγυριν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἵπποδρομίαν ἤδη ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ
 τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου· οἱ δ' εἰς πάλην ἀφικόμενοι οὐκέτι
 ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ
 ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ Ἥλείοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις παρήσαν ἤδη εἰς 10
 τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, ὅς παρὰ τὴν
 Ἄλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει. καὶ σύμμαχοι
 δὲ παρήσαν αὐτοῖς, ὅπλῃται μὲν Ἀργείων εἰς δισχιλίους,
 30 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱππεῖς περὶ τετρακοσίους. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἥλείοι 15
 τὰπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, σφαγιασάμενοι δὲ
 εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ
 καταφρονούμενοι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀργείων, καταφρο-
 νούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὅμως ἐκείνῃ τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὥς ἀλκιμώτατοι ὄντες ἡγοῦντο, 20
 τοὺς δ' Ἀρκάδας, τούτοις γὰρ πρώτοις συνέβαλον, καὶ εὐθὺς
 ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ ἐπιβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀργείους δεξάμενοι
 31 καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ
 τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς
 ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρον, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ 25
 ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ
 βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ
 ἰσοπέδῳ μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἥλείων
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων Στρατόλας. τούτων δὲ
 32 πραχθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον. οἱ 30

2 prius ἐν V : om. cet.

4 τοὺς ἀχαιοὺς C F

9 τῷ om. C

10 παρήσαν Cobet

13 Ἄλτιν Brodaeus : ἄλταν M : ἄλτην cet.

20 ἐξηγοῦντο H

21 πρώτοις H V C : πρώτων cet.

συνέβαλλον

C F

23 εἰς τὸ om. H

30 αὐτῶν vulg. : αὐτῶν codd.

μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπεφόβηντο τὴν
ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὥστε οὐδ' ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς νυκτός, ἐκκόπ-
τοντες τὰ διαπεποιημένα σκηνώματα καὶ ἀποσταυροῦντες.
οἱ δ' αὖ Ἠλεῖοι ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσιόντες εἶδον καρτερόν
5 τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπῆλθον
εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι οἷους τὴν ἀρετὴν θεὸς μὲν
ἂν ἐμπνεύσας δύναιτο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδείξαι, ἄνθρωποι δὲ
οὐδ' ἂν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀλκίμους ποιήσειαν.

Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν 33
10 ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπαρίτους τρεφόντων, πρῶτοι
Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι. καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες
φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ἀνεκαλοῦντο
15 εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐχ
ὑπήκουον, κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐπεμπον
ὥς ἄξοντας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαντινεῖς
κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς εἶσω. ἐκ δὲ 34
τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὥς
20 οὐ χρή τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ καταλιπεῖν εἰς
τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τοῖς παισὶν ἔγκλημα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς θεούς.
ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς
χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενοι ἄνευ μισθοῦ τῶν
ἐπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι παρακελευσάμενοι
25 αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ'
ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν. γνόντες δὲ τῶν
ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ὅτι εἰ δώσοιεν
εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θήβας,
καὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὥς εἰ μὴ στρατεύσειαν,

3 τὰ] τὲ H 8 ὄντας vulg. : ἐῶντας C : ἐόντας cet. 16 ἐπεμψαν V
21 πρὸς] εἰς C 25 αὐτοῖς H V C F 26 ἐκείνοις Stephanus : ἐκείνους
codd. τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες Pluygers : οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων
διακεχειρικότες codd. 27 δώσειαν Pal. 28 κινδυνεύσειαν codd. :
corr. Dind.

- 35 κινδυνεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν
 παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς στρατευσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ
 Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἔπεισαν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων
 πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις μὴ ἰέναι σὺν
 ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰ μή τι καλοῖεν. καὶ ἅμα μὲν 5
 ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔλεγον, ἅμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ὅτι
 πολέμου οὐδὲν δέοιτο. τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προεστάναι
 οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἂν καὶ δικαι-
 ότερα καὶ ὀσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἶεσθαι μᾶλλον ἂν
 οὕτω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων, 10
 ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.
- 36 Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων, καὶ ὁμοσάντων τῶν τε ἄλλων
 ἀπάντων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου, ὃς ἐτύγ-
 χανεν ἐν Τεγέᾳ ἔχων τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν, οἱ
 μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταμείναντες 15
 ἔδειπνοποιούντο τε καὶ ἠϋθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παι-
 ἶνας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο, ὃ δὲ Θηβαῖος
 καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι τὰς εὐθύνας σὺν τε τοῖς
 Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι τῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες τὰς
 πύλας τοῦ τῶν Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σκη- 20
 νοῦντας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βελτίστους. ἅτε δὲ ἐκ πασῶν
 τῶν πόλεων παρόντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ πάντων εἰρήνην
 βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὺς ἔδει τοὺς συλλαμβανομένους
 εἶναι· ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν,
- 37 ταχὺ δὲ ἡ δημοσία οἰκία. ὥς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργόμενοι ἦσαν, 25
 πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ
 διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφείντο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ ὠργίζετο, ὅστις
 μὴ ᾔετο ἀπολεῖσθαι· ἀπορήσαι δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τὸν τε
 Θηβαῖον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντας ὅτι Μαντινέας,
 οὗς μάλιστα ἐβούλουντο λαβεῖν, ὀλίγους τινὰς πάνυ εἶχον· 30
 διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σχεδὸν πάντες ᾔχοντο

1 κινδυνεύοιαι codd. : corr. Schneider 7 τε om. V 15 ἄλλοι
 om. D ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ del. Cobet 16 τε om. F 21 δὲ Steph. :
 δὴ codd. 25 εἰργασμένοι H 26 ante κατὰ add. οἱ Kurz

οἵκαδε. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο 38
οἱ Μαντινεῖς, εὐθὺς πέμποντες εἰς τε τὰς ἄλλας Ἀρκαδικὰς
πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν τὰς
παρόδους. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἅμα πέμψαντες
5 εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν ἀπήτουν ὅσους ἔχοιεν ἄνδρας Μαντινέων·
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκαδῶν οὐδένα ἀξιοῦν ἔφασαν οὔτε
δεδέσθαι οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες
ἐπαιτιῶντο, ἔλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων
πόλις ἐγγυῶτο ἢ μὴν παρέξειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν
10 ὁπόσους τις προσκαλοῖτο. ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος ἠπόρει 39
τε ὅτι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀφίησι πάντας τοὺς ἄνδρας.
καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συγκαλέσας τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν ὁπόσοι γε δὴ
συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν, ἀπελογέιτο ὡς ἔξαπατηθεῖη. ἀκούσαι
γὰρ ἔφη ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε εἶεν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς
15 ὀρίοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλοιεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν
τινές. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνουν μέν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες
ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ σφῶν, ἀφίεσαν· πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θήβας
πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν δ' 40
Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἔφασαν, καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν τότε ἐτύγχανε,
20 λέγειν ὡς πολὺ ὀρθότερον ποιήσκειν, ὅτε συνελάμβανε τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἢ ὅτε ἀφήκε. τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον
καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰρήνην ποιεί-
σθαι πῶς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τοῦτο κατη-
γοροίη; εὐδ' ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν
25 Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούσι πολεμήσομεν.
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν V
καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαντινεῖς τε καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκαδῶν οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡσαύ-

3 προηγόρευον] προεκέλευον H V 4 παρόδους D: πόλεις cet.
5 μαντινεῖς C F 6 ἀξιοῦν Pal. M: ἀξιοῦντες H V C F: om. D ἔφασαν]
ἦσαν H C F 7 εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες D: εἰ δὲ τινες Pal. H M: καὶ εἴ τινες
F₂: καὶ τινες V C F₁ 8 ἔλεγον τε V: καὶ ἔλεγον C ἐπαγγέλλοντες
(? Pal.) Dind.: ἀπαγγέλλοντες codd. ἢ om. H: post μαντινέων
ponit V 17 ἀφήκαν V: ἀφείσαν Cobet 18 δεῖ Castalio
19 ἐτύγχανεν H 20 ποιήσοιεν et συνελάμβανον H 21 ἀφήκεν H
22 καταστάντων F₂: καταστησάντων cet. 27 κατὰ] τὰς C

- τως δὲ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι δῆλοι εἶεν
 βουλόμενοι ὥς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι, ὅπως
 2 ὥς ῥᾶστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαιντο. τί γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς
 βούλονται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀλλήλους κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἐκείνων
 δ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν δεώμεθα; ἢ τί λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεόμεθα 5
 αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρασκευάζονται ὥς ἐξιόντες; οὐ δῆλον
 ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευά-
 3 ζονται; ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ Ἀθήναζε βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· ἐπο-
 ρεύθησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων,
 παρακαλοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ βούλονται κοινῇ διακω- 10
 λύειν, ἃν τινες ἴωσι καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
 περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτόθεν διεπράττοντο ὅπως ἐν τῇ
 ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ἡγήσονται.
- 4 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήκει, Βοιω-
 τοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ Θετταλῶν πολλοὺς παρά 15
 τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ. Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ
 ἠκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθήκαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶεν, εἴ
 τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν· ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ στρατεύειν οὐκ
 5 εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. ὁ μέντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο
 καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ 20
 Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονούντας.
 ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται
 καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραὶ τε
 6 εἶναι καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. ἐξῆλθε
 μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν 25
 Νεμέᾳ, ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριόντας
 λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν
 σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρῶσαι αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναν-
 τίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπείν,
 7 πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι Θηβαίοις ὅτι ἐλαττοῦντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐν δὲ 30
 τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆσαν πάντες οἱ ὁμοφρονούντες

1 οἱ om. M C F

Cobet

22

Ἀσεᾶται Steph. : ἀθεᾶται H : ἀσθεᾶται cet.

4 βούλονται; ἢ Madvig

17 αὐτοῖς del.

18 Παλλαντιεῖς Palmerius : παλ(λ)αντιεῖς codd.

εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι,
 κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος
 βοηθήσοντας τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμήσας ἐκ τῆς
 5 Νεμέας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. εὐτυχῇ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν 8
 ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα μέντοι
 προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ
 ἑλλίπειν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ
 στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιήσατο, ἐνθ' ἐν
 10 ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις ἐν ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὅ τι πράττειτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ,
 εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ'
 ἐτέρων ἔξω στρατευομένων ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν, εἴτε τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο
 εἴτε τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντι-
 15 πάλων εἶναι, ὁπότε ὁρῶν χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτοὺς,
 οὐκ ἐξήγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὁρῶν δὲ οὕτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσ- 9
 χωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τόν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε
 πρακτέον τι εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας
 πολλὴν ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ
 20 μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μετα-
 πεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαι-
 μονίους, καὶ ἦσθετο ἐξεστρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ
 ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνοποιησάμενος καὶ παραγ-
 γείλας ἠγείτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. καὶ εἰ 10
 25 μὴ Κρῆς θείᾳ τινὶ μοίρᾳ προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
 προσιδόν τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν
 παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προ-
 πυθόμενος ταῦτα Ἀγησίλαος ἔφθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθών,
 διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι

7 ἀνὴρ Dind. : ἀνὴρ codd. (? Pal.) 8 ἑλλείπειν codd. : corr. Morus
 γὰρ om. F ἔγωγε om. V 10 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο C F 13 στρα-
 τοπεδευομένων Dind. 16 αὐτῷ(ι) codd. (αὐτῶν C) 23 δειπνο-
 ποιήσασθαι Hirschig. omisso καὶ cum C F 27 ἀμυνουμένων C
 28 ὁ ἀγησίλαος D V F

- ὄντες· οἳ τε γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν
 11 καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς. ἐπεὶ
 δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου
 μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν τῇ ἰσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων
 βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆει ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν ἰπλέονες 5
 μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἔνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν
 ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέ-
 12 βαιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τό [τε] γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον
 ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιάσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὥς τοῖς
 ἀπονενουμένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο Ἀρχί- 10
 δαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβὰς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι
 ἔχειν κώλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαι-
 μονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία
 ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλί- 15
 13 νουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδα ἀποθνήσκουσιν·
 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρω-
 τέρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι· περιεγέγραπτο γάρ,
 ὥς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι ὅσου νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τροπαῖόν τε ἴστατο ἔνθα ἐπεκράτησε 20
 καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπε-
 14 δίδου. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ
 Ἀρκαῖδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο
 καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως
 τε καὶ ἡντυχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ 25
 πορευθεὶς ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν
 ὀπλίτας ἀνέπανσε, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἐπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντί-
 νειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὥς πάντα

1 ἀπῆσαν Schneider : ἀπή(ι)εσαν codd. 4 ἐν τε τῇ (ἡ in ras.) H
 ἰσοπέδῳ] ἰσό//δῳ H cum lac. duarum lit. 5 πλέ(ι)ονες codd. : πλέον
 Leoncl. : πλέον ἔχοντες Voigtländer 6 post ὀλίγων add. ὁθούτων
 cum compend. H 7 καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαιεν del. E. Curtius 8 τε del.
 Schneider 16 ἐπαμεινώνδου C 17 ἔνδον H 18 ἀποθνή-
 σκουσιν H 19 ἡ νίκη C 22 βοηθήσοιεν Schneider : βοηθήσαιεν
 codd. 25 τῶν] σφῶν Cobet

μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας
 δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτον συγκομιδῆς οὐσης.
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἱππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ 15
 Ἐλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, διελθόντες δὲ
 5 καὶ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν
 καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ
 Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων βοηθήσαι, εἴ τι δύναιντο·
 ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας,
 10 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων· ἀκού-
 σαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι
 καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν 16
 τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὀρώντες τοὺς
 πολεμίους καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγεννημένου τοῖς
 15 ἱππεύσιν οὐδὲν τούτου ἐπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις
 καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεύειν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον
 μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχνυόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μὴδὲν ὠφελήσειαν
 τοὺς συμμάχους, ὥς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρ-
 ραξαν, ἐρῶντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρίαν δόξαν. καὶ 17
 20 μαχόμενοι αἵτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆναι τοῖς
 Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπ-
 ἔκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιούτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ
 ὄπλον ἐκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν φίλους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὐς
 25 ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν. ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμού- 18
 μενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ
 ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους
 οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκείνοι πολιορκήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντι-
 πάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμασμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασι
 30 ἔσοιτο, ἡττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ

10 prius καὶ om. V

15 τούτων V

ὑπελογίσαντο Schneider

θηβαίοις ἅμα C

16 ἱππεύειν] ἱππεύσιν C F

18 συνήρραξαν M

corr.

24 φίλους C F

οὐ F₂ : om. cet.

26 μὲν om. V

27 καταλείψοι Pal. H F₂ : καταλήψοι cet.

ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἵππομαχίᾳ, αἴτιος
 δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατείαν τοῦ
 συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ
 Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατόν
 εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νικῶν, πάντα 5
 ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγή-
 σατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου
 19 καταλιπεῖν. τὸ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνν
 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα
 διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι <τὸ> στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὥς 10
 πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας,
 κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τὰπιτήδεια
 ἔχοντας ὅμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμα-
 20 στότερα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν
 αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς μάχης ἐσομένης, προθύμως μὲν 15
 ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγρά-
 φοντο δὲ καὶ <οἱ> τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλῖται ῥόπαλα, ὥς Θηβαῖοι
 ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἡκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ
 21 ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευα-
 σμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον 20
 μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πρᾶττων
 σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε
 μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὥς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν
 συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
 πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἡγείτο· ὥστε 25
 δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ
 22 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὥς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ
 ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα,
 ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε
 μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην 30

5 ἀπελθεῖν Pluygers
 Pal. H M : τὰ ἐπιτήδεια cet.
 Dind. ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες C
 23 ὥς] ὥσπερ M

10 τὸ add. Dind.

16 ἀνεγράφοντο C

20 ἐξήγαγον M

25 καὶ ἀντιπέραν] κατ' ἀντιπéρας Dind.

12 τὰπιτήδεια

17 οἱ add.

22 ὅτι] ὥς C

παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν
 παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον
 ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλα-
 βεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ
 5 δὲ πολέμιοι ὥς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν
 ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ
 δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας
 ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν
 ἐῴκεσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρῳρον ὥσπερ τριήρη 23
 10 προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν διακόψει, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον
 τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυρο-
 τάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρῳ
 ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ'
 ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ
 15 μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα
 βάθος ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπαμει- 24
 νώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο, καὶ
 ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ
 διακόψειν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ
 20 χαλεπὸν εὔρειν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδὴν τινας φεύ-
 γοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρώσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατ-
 ἔστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ
 ὀπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὥς, εἰ
 25 βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν δὴ
 συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποίησατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος·
 κρατήσας γὰρ ἥ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν
 ἐναντίων. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκείνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ 25
 νίκη ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν
 30 αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται

8 τι om. C F 14 αὐτοῦ Pal. V 15 ἀντιπαρετάξαντο Dind. :
 αὐτοὶ παρετάξαντο codd. φάλαγξ M 16 ἐφεξῆς] ἐφ' ἐξ Rüstow
 ἀμίππων Morus: ἀνίππων codd. 18 ἀνίππους codd. 25 βοη-
 θήσκειν Dind.

οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττώμενοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννενικηκότες 5 τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὥς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

- 26 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τοῦναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὐ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνελλυθίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις 10 οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχῃ ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξαι, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω μὲν τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυνον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ὡς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν, ἀμφο- 15 27 τερὶ δὲ ὡς ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νενικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλεον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου 20 γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

1 προσῆλθον C F 4 ἡττημένοι Cobet 5 ἄμιπποι codd.
 9 οἱ ἄνθρωποι D γὰρ V: δὲ cet. 10 ἦν del. Cobet 13 μὲν
 om. C ὡς νενικηκότες del. Cobet 15 prius ἀμφο[τερων] in H cetera
 desunt: vide praefationem μὲν om. M C 21 γεγράφθω Leoncl.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Abarnis prom. II i 29.
 Abydus I i 5; ii 16. II i 18. III i 9. IV viii 3 sq., 32. V i 25 sq. Abydeni II i 18. IV viii 3 sq., 35 sq. V i 6.
 Academia II ii 8. VI v 49.
 Acanthus V ii 11; iii 6. Acanthii V ii 12, 23.
 Acarnanes IV ii 17; vi 1 sq.; vii 1. VI v 23.
 Acarnania VI ii 37.
 Achaei I ii 18. III ii 26. IV ii 18; vi 1 sq. VI iv 18. VII i 41 sq.; iv 17, 28; v 1, 18.
 Achaia III ii 23. IV viii 3, 10, 23. VI ii 3. VII i 41 sq.
 Achaici Phthiae montes IV iii 9.
 Achilleum III ii 17. IV viii 17.
 Acrisius Sicyonius VII i 45.
 Acrocorinthus IV iv 4.
 Acrorii III ii 30. IV ii 16. VII iv 14.
 Adeas Sicyonius VII i 45.
 Adimantus Athen. I iv 21; vii 1. II i 30, 32.
 Aegae IV viii 5.
 Aegina II ii 9. V i 1 sq., 23, 29; iv 61. VI ii 1. Aeginetae II ii 3, 9. V i 2.
 Aegospotami II i 21, 23.
 Aegosthena Megar. V iv 18. VI iv 26.
 Aegyptia Larisa, v. Larisa.
 Aeneas Stymphalius VII iii 1.
 Aenesias Laced. II iii 9.
 Aenianes III v 6. IV iii 15.
 Aeoles III iv 11. IV iii 17.
 Aeolis III i 10, 17; ii 1, 13. IV viii 33.
 Aeschines Athen. II iii 2, 13.
 Aetoli IV vi 14. Aetolia ibid. IV vi 1.
 Aexonenses II iv 26.
 Agamemnon III iv 3. VII i 34.
 Agathinus Corinthius IV viii 10.
 Agesandridas Laced. I i 1; iii 17.
 Agesilaus III iii 2 sq.; iv 2 sq. IV i 1 sq.; ii 1 sq.; iii 15; iv 19; v 1 sq.; vi 3 sq.; vii 5 sq. V i 32 sq.; ii 3, 32; iii 8, 10, 13 sq.; iv 13, 25, 35, 55, 58. VI i 12; iii 19; iv 5; v 5, 12, 15 sq. VII v 9, 10.
 Agesipolis IV ii 9; vii 2 sq. V ii 3; iii 9, 18, 20.
 Agesistratus Laced. II iii 10.
 Agis I i 33. II ii 7 sq.; iii 3. III ii 22 sq.; iii 1 sq.
 Agrigentum I v 21. II ii 24.
 Agyrrhius Athen. IV viii 31.
 Alcetas Laced. V iv 56.
 Alcetas Epiri rex VI i 7; ii 10.
 Alcibiades I i 5, 9 sq.; iii 3, 10, 20; iv 8 sq., 13, 18; v 9 sq. II i 25; iii 42.
 Alcibiades Alcibiadis consobrinus I ii 13.
 Alcimenes Corinthius IV iv 7.
 Alea Minerva VI v 27.
 Alexander Thessalus VI iv 34 sq. VII v 4.
 Alexias Athen. II i 10.
 Alexippidas Laced. II iii 10.
 Alpheus fl. III ii 29. VI ii 31, VII iv 29.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Altis VII iv 29.
 Alypetus Laced. V iv 52.
 Alyzia V iv 65, 66.
 Amedocus Odrys. rex IV viii 26.
 Amphidoli III ii 25, 30. IV ii 16.
 Ampheum V iv 8.
 Amphipolis IV iii 1.
 Amyclae VI v 30. VII ii 3.
 Amyclaei IV v 11 sq.
 Amyntas rex Maced. V ii 12, 38;
 iii 9.
 Anaetius Athen. II iii 2.
 Anaxibius Laced. IV viii 32 sq.
 Anaxicrates Byzant. I iii 18.
 Anaxilaus Byzant. I iii 8.
 Andrii I iv 22. II i 31 sq.
 Androclidas Thebanus III v 1, 4.
 V ii 31, 35.
 Andromachus Eleus VII iv 19.
 Andrus I iv 21; v 18. V iv 61.
 Angenidas Laced. II iii 10.
 Antalcidas Laced. IV viii 12 sq.
 V i 6, 25, 28. VI iii 12.
 Antandrus I i 25; iii 17. II i 10.
 IV viii 35.
 Antigenes Athen. I iii 1.
 Antiochus Arcas VII i 33, 38.
 Antiochus Athen. I v 12 sq.
 Antiphon Athen. II iii 40.
 Antisthenes Laced. III ii 6.
 Anytus Athen. II iii 42, 44.
 Apaturia I vii 8.
 Aphrodisium Megar. V iv 58.
 Aphytis V iii 19.
 Apollo III iii 3; v 5. IV vii 12.
 VI iv 2, 30; v 27.
 Apollonia VII i 11; iii 1 sq. Apollo-
 niatae V ii 13.
 Apollophanes Cyzicenus IV i 29.
 Aracus Laced. II i 7; iii 10. III
 ii 6, 8. VI v 33.
 Arcades III ii 26; v 12. IV iv 16.
 V ii 19. VI v 11, 15 sq. VII i
 18, 23 sq., 28 sq.; ii 2 sq.; iv
 1 sq., 13 sq.
 Arcadia IV iv 16. VI v 12, 21,
 51. VII i 28, 39; ii 21; iv 6,
 35, 40; v. 10
 Archedemus Athen. I vii 2.
 Arcestratus Athen. I v 16. II
 ii 15.
 Archias Thebanus V iv 2, 6. VII
 iii 7.
 Archidamus Agesilai pater VIII 13.
 Archidamus Agesilai filius V iv
 25 sq. VI iv 18, 19, 26; v 1.
 VII i 28 sq., 31; iv 20 sq.; v
 12 sq.
 Archidamus Eleus VII i 33, 38.
 Archytas Laced. II i 10; iii 10.
 Aresias Athen. II iii 2.
 Argeus Eleus VII i 33; iv 15, 16.
 Arginusae I vi 27, 28, 33, 38.
 Argivi I iii 13. II ii 7. III ii 21;
 v 11. IV ii 17; iii 15 sq.; iv
 1 sq., 9, 19; v 1; vii 2, 3 sq.;
 viii 15, 34. V i 29 sq. VI v
 16, 23, 46. VII i 18, 25, 44; ii
 1 sq.; iv 11, 27 sq.; v 5.
 Ariaeus IV i 27.
 Ariobarzanes I iv 7. V i 28. VII
 i 27.
 Aristarchus Athen. I vii 28. II
 iii 46.
 Aristocles Athen. VI iii 2.
 Aristocrates Athen. I iv 21; v.
 16; vi 29; vii 2.
 Aristodemus Laced. IV ii 9.
 Aristogenes Athen. I v 16; vi 30;
 vii 1.
 Aristogenes Siculus I ii 8.
 Aristolochus Laced. V iv 22.
 Ariston Byzant. I iii 18.
 Aristophon Athen. VI iii 2.
 Aristoteles Athen. II ii 18; iii
 2, 13, 46.
 Arnapes Persa I iii 12.
 Artaxerxes V i 31.
 Asea VI v 11. Aseatae VII v 5.
 Asia II i 18. III i 3, 5; ii 6, 10,
 21; iv 2, 5; v 5. IV ii 4, 5; iii
 1, 15; viii 5 sq., 27. V i 31;
 iii 8. VII i 34.
 Asine VII i 25.
 Aspendus IV viii 30. Aspendii ib.
 Astyochochus Laced. I i 31.
 Astyrene Diana IV i 41.
 Atarneus III ii 11.
 Athenadas Sicyonius III i 18.
 Athenae I i 1 sq. II i 29 sq. IV
 viii 9. V ii 31; iv 34. VI iv
 19; v 35. VII i 23.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Athenienses I i 1 sq.; ii 1 sq.;
iii 1 sq.; iv 4 sq.; v 13 sq.; vi
13 sq.; vii 9 sq. II i 16 sq.;
ii 1 sq.; iii 1 sq.; iv 21. III i
1; v 2 sq., 16. IV iv 18; viii
12 sq. V i 1 sq.; iv 34 sq. VI
i 1, 10; ii 1 sq.; iii 1 sq.; iv
20; v 1 sq. VII i 1; iv 1 sq.
Aulis III iv 3; v 5. VII i 34.
Aulon III ii 25; iii 8, 10. Au-
lonitae III iii 8.
Autoboesaces Persa II i 8.
Autocles Athen. VI iii 2, 7.

Bacchi templum Aphyti V iii 19.
Bageus Persa III iv 13.
Bendideum II iv 11.
Bithyni I iii 2 sq. III ii 2 sq.
Boeotarchi III iv 4.
Boeotia III v 17, 24. V i 33; ii
16, 34. VI iii 1; iv 3. Boeoti
I iii 15. II iv 30. III ii 25.
IV ii 17; iii 3; iv 1; v 9. V
i 32. VI iii 19; v 23; vii 2. VII
iv 36; v 4.
Boeotius Laced. I iv 2.
Brasidas Laced. II iii 10.
Byzantium I i 35 sq.; iii 2. 10 sq.;
iv 1. II ii 1 sq. IV viii 27, 31.
Byzantii I iii 16.

Cadmea V ii 29, 31. VI iii 9, 11;
v 46.
Cadusii II i 13.
Callias Athen. I vi 1. Hipponici
f. IV v 13 sq. V iv 22. VI iii
2 sq.
Callias Laced. IV i 15.
Callibius Laced. II iii 14.
Callibius Tegeata VI v 6.
Callicratidas Laced. I vi 1 sq.,
16 sq.
Callimedon Athen. IV viii 13.
Callisthenes Athen. IV viii 13.
Callistratus Athen. II iv 27. Alius
VI i 39; iii 3, 10 sq.
Callixenus Athen. I vii 8 sq., 35.
Calydon IV vi 1, 14.
Camarina II iii 5.
Cannonus Athen. I vii 20, 34.
Cardia I i 11.
Cares III ii 15.
Caria I i 10; iv 8. II i 15. III
i 7 sq.; ii 12 sq.; iv 11 sq.
Carthaginienses I i 37; v 21. II
ii 24; iii 5.
Caryae VI v 25. VII i 28.
Castolus I iv 3.
Catana II iii 5.
Caue IV i 20.
Cebren III i 17.
Cedreae II i 15.
Celtae VII i 20, 31.
Celusa IV vii 7.
Cenchreae IV v 1. VI v 51. VII
i 17, 41; iv 5.
Ceos V iv 61.
Cephalenia VI ii 31, 33, 38.
Cephisodotus Athen. II i 16. Al.
VI iii 2. VII i 12.
Cephisophon Athen. II iv 36.
Cephisus fl. Atticae II iv 19.
Boeotiae IV iii 16.
Ceramicus Atticus II iv 33.
Ceramicus Cariae I iv 8. II i 15.
Ceres VI iii 6.
Chabrias Athen. V i 10 sq.; iv
14, 54, 61. VI ii 39. VII i 25.
Chaeareleos Athen. II iii 2.
Chaerilas (Charilas) Laced. II iii
10.
Chaeron Laced. II iv 33.
Chalcedon I i 26, 35; iii 2, 11,
12. II ii 1. IV viii 31. Chal-
cedonia I i 22. Chalcedonii I
iii 2 sq. IV viii 28. V i 25.
Chares Athen. VII ii 18, 20; iv
1 sq.
Charicles Athen. II iii 2.
Charmides Athen. II iv 19.
Charon Thebanus V iv 3.
Charopus Eleus VII iv 15.
Chersonesus Thraciae I iii 8; v
17. II i 20, 27. III ii 8 sq.
IV ii 6; viii 5, 35, 39. V i 7.
Chersonesitae I iii 10. III ii 8.
Chilon Laced. VII iv 23.
Chius I i 32; vi 3, 12. II i 1.
Chii II i 1 sq. III ii 11.
Chremon Athen. II iii 2.
Chrysopolis I i 22; iii 12.
Cilicia III i 1.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Cinadon Laced. III iii 4 sq.
 Cissidas Syrac. VII i 28.
 Cithaeron V iv 36, 47, 55, 59. VI
 iv 5, 25.
 Cius I iv 7.
 Cladaus VII iv 29.
 Clazomenae I i 10, 11. V i 31.
 Cleander Sicyonius VII i 45.
 Clearchus Laced. I i 35; iii 15 sq.
 Cleas Laced. V iv 39.
 Cleocritus Athen. II iv 20.
 Cleombrotus Laced. V iv 14, 16,
 59, 63. VI i 1; iv 2 sq., 13.
 Cleomedes Athen. II iii 2.
 Cleonae VII v 15.
 Cleonymus Laced. V iv 25 sq. VI
 iv 14.
 Cleophon Athen. I vii 35.
 Cleosthenes Laced. II iii 10.
 Cleostratus Argivus I iii 13.
 Cligenes Acanthus V ii 12.
 Clinomachus Laced. II iii 10.
 Cliteles Corinthius VI v 37.
 Clitorii V iv 36 sq.
 Cnidus IV iii 11 sq.; viii 22 sq.
 Cocylitae III i 16.
 Coeratadas Boeotus I iii 15, 21, 22.
 Colonae III i 13, 16.
 Colophon I ii 4. Colophonii ib.
 Collytensis, v. Thrasybulus.
 Conon Athen. I iv 10; v 16, 18;
 vi 16 sq., 38; vii 1. II i 28 sq.
 IV iii 11; viii 1 sq.
 Coreyra V iv 64. VI ii 4 sq.
 Corcyraei ib. 7 sq.
 Coressus I ii 7 sq.
 Corinthus III v 1. IV iv 1 sq.,
 14 sq; v 1; viii 15, 34. V i 29,
 34, 36. VI ii 3; iv 26; v 11, 49.
 VII iv 4 sq.; v 16. Corinthii II
 i 32 sq.; ii 19; iv 30. III ii
 25; v 5, 12, 17, 23. IV ii 14,
 17 sq.; iii 15; iv 1 sq.; v 2, 3,
 11 sq.; V i 34; iii 27. VI iv
 18; v 29, 52; VII i 18 sq., 25,
 40; ii 2, 23; iv 4 sq.
 Coronea IV iii 16.
 Coryphasium I ii 18.
 Cos I v 1.
 Cranium IV iv 4.
 Crannonii IV iii 3.
 Cratesippidas Lac. I i 32; v 1.
 Cremaste IV viii 37.
 Cretenses IV ii 16; vii 6. VII
 v 10.
 Creusis IV v 10. V iv 16, 60. VI
 iv 3, 25.
 Crinippus Syrac. VI ii 36.
 Critias Athen. II iii 2, 15, 18,
 24-56; iv 8, 19.
 Crocinas Thessalus II iii 1.
 Crommyon IV iv 13; v 19.
 Cromnus VII iv 20 sq.
 Cronium VII iv 14.
 Cydon Byzant. I iii 18.
 Cyllene III ii 27, 30. VII iv 19.
 Cylon III v 1.
 Cyme III iv 27.
 Cynoscephalae V iv 15. VI iv 5.
 Cyprus II i 29. IV viii 24. VI 10, 31.
 Cyrus minor I iv 3 sq.; v 1 sq.;
 vi 6, 10, 18. II i 7, 8, 11, 13,
 15. III i 1 sq.; iv 2. VI i 12.
 Cyrei III ii 7, 18; iv 20.
 Cythera IV viii 8. Regio Cythe-
 ria IV viii 7.
 Cyzicus I i 11, 14, 16 sq., 18; iii
 13. III iv 10. Cyziceni I i 19,
 20. IV i 29.
 Darius I ii 19. II i 8. Dariaeus ib.
 Dascyleum III iv 13. IV i 15.
 Decelea I i 33 sq.; ii 14; iii 22.
 II ii 7; iii 3; v 5.
 Delphi III iii 1. IV iii 21; vii 2.
 VII i 27.
 Delphi pop. VI iv 30.
 Delphinium I v 15.
 Delphion Phliasius V iii 22, 24.
 Demaenetus Ath. V i 10, 26.
 Demaratus Laced. III i 6.
 Demarchus Syrac. I i 29.
 Demonstratus Athen. VI iii 2.
 Demoteles Laced. VII i 32.
 Demotion VII iv 4.
 Deras castellum VII i 22.
 Dercylidas Laced. III i 8, 9, 16
 sq.; ii 1 sq.; iv 6. IV iii 1 sq.;
 viii 3 sq.
 Derdas V ii 38 sq.; iii 1 sq.
 Diana IV ii 20. VI v 9. VII i
 34. Astyrene IV i 41. Ephesia

INDEX NOMINUM

- I ii 6. III v 18. Leucophryne
 III ii 19. Munychia II iv 11.
 Digma in Piraeo V i 21.
 Dinon Laced. V iv 33. VI iv 14.
 Diocles II iii 2.
 Diomedon Athen. I v 16; vi 22,
 29; vii 2, 16, 29.
 Dion Athen. IV viii 13.
 Dionysius Syrac. major II ii 24;
 iii 5. VI ii 4, 33. VII i 20, 22.
 Dionysius Syrac. minor VII iv 12.
 Dionysius Athen. V i 26.
 Diopithes Laced. III iii 3.
 Dioscuri VI iii 6.
 Diotimus Athen. I iii 12. V i 25.
 Diphridas Laced. IV viii 21.
 Dolopes VI i 7.
 Dorieus Rhodius I i 2 sq.; v 19.
 Dorotheus Athen. I iii 13.
 Dracon Pellen. III ii 11.
 Dracontides Athen. II iii 2.

 Ecdicus Laced. IV viii 20 sq.
 Elaeus II i 20.
 Elei III ii 21 sq. IV ii 16. VI
 ii 2; v 3, 19, 23. VII i 18 sq.;
 ii 5 sq.; iv 12 sq.; v 1, 18.
 Eleusis II iv 8, 24, 28, 29, 38, 43.
 V i v 15. Eleusinii II iv 9.
 Eleutheræ V iv 14.
 Elimia V ii 38.
 Elis III ii 23 sq. IV vii 4. VI ii 3.
 Elymia Arcadiae VI v 13.
 Endius (?) Laced. II iii 1, 10.
 Enyalius II iv 17.
 Epaminondas VII i 41; iv 40 sq.;
 v 4 sq.
 Epariti VII iv 22, 33, 36; v 3.
 Eperatus Laced. II iii 10.
 Epeum III ii 30.
 Ephesus I ii 6; v 1, 10, 14; vi 2.
 II i 6. III i 8; ii 9, 11; iv
 4, 7, 16. IV viii 3. V i 7.
 Ephesii I ii 10; v 12, 15.
 Regio Ephesia III ii 14.
 Epicydidas Laced. IV ii 2. V iv 39.
 Epidauros VII ii 3. VII i 18, 25.
 Epidaurii IV ii 16. VI v 29.
 VII ii 2.
 Epidocus I i 29.
 Epiticia IV ii 14; iv 13.
 Epitalium III ii 29, 30. Epitalien-
 ses III ii 25.
 Erasinides Ath. I v 16; vi 16, 29;
 vii 2, 29.
 Erasistratus Athen. II iii 2.
 Eratosthenes Athen. II iii 2.
 Eretrienses III i 6.
 Erythrae V iv 49.
 Eteonicus Laced. I i 32; vi 26,
 35 sq. II i 1 sq.; ii 5. V i
 1, 13.
 Etymocles Laced. V iv 22, 32. VI
 v 33.
 Euagoras Cypr. II i 29. IV viii
 24. V i 10. Eleus I ii 1.
 Eualces Athen. IV i 40.
 Euarchippus Laced. I ii 1. II iii 10.
 Euboea II iii 9. IV ii 17. Euboe-
 enses IV ii 17; iii 15. VI
 v 23. VII v 4.
 Eubotas Cyren. I ii 1.
 Euclea festum IV iv 2.
 Eucles Siculus I ii 8.
 Euclides Athen. II iii 2.
 Euctemon Athen. I ii 1.
 Eudamidas Laced. V ii 24 sq.
 Eudicus Laced. V iv 39. Vid.
 II iii 1.
 Eumachus Athen. I i 22.
 Eumathes Athen. II iii 2.
 Eunomus Athen. V i 5, 7, 9.
 Euphron Sicyon. VII i 44 sq.; ii
 11 sq.; iii 2 sq.
 Eurotas V iv 28. VI v 27, 30.
 Eurymedon fl. IV viii 30.
 Euryptolemus Athen. I iii 12 sq.;
 iv 18; vii 12, 16, 34.
 Eurysthenes III i 6.
 Eurystheus VI v 47.
 Eutaea VI v 12, 20 sq.
 Euthycles Laced. VII i 33.
 Eutresii VII i 29.
 Euxenus Laced. IV ii 5.
 Exarchus Laced. II iii 10.

 Galaxidorus Theb. III v 1.
 Gambreum III i 6.
 Gaureum I iv 22.
 Gela II iii 5.
 Gelanor s. Geranor Laced. VII i 25.
 Gerastus III iv 4. V iv 61.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Gergis III i 15, 19, 21.
 Gnosis Syrac. I i 29.
 Gongylus Eretr. III i 6.
 Gordeum I iv 1.
 Gorgion Eretr. III i 6.
 Gorgopas Laced. V i 5 sq.
 Graeci in exercitu Cyri minoris
 III i 2. Cf. Cyrei.
 Gryneum III i 6.
 Gylis Laced. IV iii 21, 23.
 Gytheum I iv 11. VI v 32.
- Hagnon Athen. II iii 30.
 Halae II iv 34.
 Haliartus III v 6, 17 sq.
 Halienses IV ii 16. VI ii 3. VII
 ii 2.
 Halipledon Athenarum II iv 30.
 Halisarna III i 6.
 Hamaxitus III i 13, 16.
 Hannibal I i 37.
 Helicon mons IV iii 16 sq.
 Helixus Megar. I iii 15, 17, 21.
 Hellespontii III iv 11 sq. IV iii 17.
 Hellespontus I i 2; ii 11; iii 8;
 v 11; vi 20; vii 2. II i 21. III
 ii 5 sq.; iv 10. IV ii 8; iii
 3; viii 6, 26. V i 1.
 Helos Lacon. VI v 32.
 Helotes I ii 18. III iii 6 sq.; v 12.
 VI v 28. VII i 12; ii 2.
 Heraclea Trachinia I ii 18. VI
 iv 27. Heracleotae III v 6.
 VI iv 9, 27; v 23.
 Heracleum Aeginae V i 10.
 Chalced. I iii 7. Thebarum VI
 iv 7.
 Heraclides Syrac. I ii 8.
 Heraea III ii 30; iii 1. Herae-
 enses VI v 11, 22. Heraeum
 Corinth. IV v 5 sq. Phlias.
 VII ii 1 sq.
 Hercules III iii 3. VI iii 6; iv 7;
 v 47. VII i 31.
 Herippidas Laced. III iv 6, 20.
 IV i 11 sq., 20 sq.; ii 8; iii 15,
 17; viii 11.
 Hermion VI ii 3. Hermionenses
 IV ii 16. VII ii 2.
 Hermocrates Syrac. I i 27 sq.;
 iii 13.
- Hermogenes Athen. IV viii 13.
 Hermon Megar. I vi 32.
 Herodas Syrac. III iv 1.
 Hieramenes Persa II i 9.
 Hierax Laced. V i 3 sq.
 Hieron Athen. II iii 2. Laced.
 VI iv 9.
 Himera I i 37.
 Hippius Samius I vi 29.
 Hippias Eleus VII iv 15.
 Hippocrates Laced. I i 23; iii 5 sq.
 Hippodameum forum II iv 11.
 Hippodamus Sicyon. VII i 45.
 Hippolochus Athen. II iii 2.
 Hippomachus Athen. II iii 2;
 iv 19.
 Hippon Syrac. I ii 8.
 Hipponicus Athen. VI iii 2. Phlia-
 sius V iii 13.
 Histiaeenses II ii 3.
 Hyacinthia fest. IV v 11.
 Hyampolitae VI iv 27.
 Hypates Theb. VII iii 7.
 Hypatodorus Tanagr. V iv 49.
 Hypermenes Laced. VI ii 25.
- Iason Pheraeus VI i 4, 14 sq.;
 iv 20 sq.; v 1.
 Iberes VII i 20.
 Ichthys prom. VI ii 31.
 Ida I i 25.
 Idaeus Laced. IV i 39.
 Ilarchus Laced. II iii 10.
 Ilium I i 4.
 Ilienses III i 16.
 Imbrus IV viii 15. V i 31.
 Iones III iv 11. IV iii 17.
 Ionia II i 17. III ii 11, 14. V
 i 28.
 Ionicae urbes III i 3; ii 12, 17.
 Iphicrates Athen. IV iv 9, 15; v
 3, 13 sq.; viii 34 sq. V i 25.
 VI ii 13 sq., 24, 33 sq.; iii 3;
 iv 1; v 49 sq.
 Isanor Laced. II iii 10.
 Isarchus Laced. II iii 10.
 Ischolaus VI v 24 sq.
 Isias II iii 10.
 Ismenias III v 1. V ii 25 sq.
 Isthmia IV v 1.
 Isthmus Corinth. IV v 1; viii 8.

INDEX NOMINUM

- VII v 15. Thracius III ii 10.
Pallenes V ii 15.
Italia V i 26. IV vii 2. VII iv 35.
Iuppiter Olympius III ii 22. 26.
Labotas Laced. I ii 18.
Lacedaemon, v. Sparta.
Lacedaemonii I i 31; ii 18 et passim.
Laconica IV vii 6; viii 8. VI ii 9, 31; v 21, 24; VII i 28. La-caena VII i 25, 29.
Lacrates Laced. II iv 33.
Lampsacus I ii 15. II i 18 sq.; ii 1, 3. III ii 6.
Larisa Aegyptia, Larisaei, III i 7, 16. Thessaliae VI iv 33, 34. Larisaei II iii 4. IV iii 3.
Larus III ii 23.
Lasion III ii 30. VII iv 12. Iasionii IV ii 16.
Lechaem IV iv 7, 9, 17; v 7 sq.; viii 10, 23. V i 29.
Lemnus IV viii 15. V i 31.
Leon (?) Athen. I v 16; vi 16. VII i 33, 38. Leon Laced. II iii 10. Salaminus II iii 39.
Leontiades Theb. V ii 25 sq.; iv 7, 19.
Leontichus Athen. V i 26.
Leontini II iii 5.
Leontis tribus II iv 27.
Leontichus Athen. V i 26.
Leotychides III iii 1 sq.
Lepreatae III ii 25. VI v 11.
Lesbus I ii 11; vi 12, 16, 26. II ii 5; iii 32, 35. IV viii 28.
Letrini III ii 25, 30. IV ii. 16.
Leucas VI ii 3, 26.
Leucolophides Athen. I iv 21.
Leucophrys III ii 19. IV viii 17.
Leuctra V iv 33. VI iv 4; v 1, 23. VII i 35; ii 2.
Leuctrum VI v 24.
Libys Laced. II iv 28.
Lichas Laced. III ii 21.
Locri Opuntii III v 3 sq. et Ozolae IV ii 17; iii 15, 22. VI v 23, 30.
Locris III v 3. IV iii 21.
Lycaethus Athen. VI iii 2.
Lycarius Laced. II iii 10.
Lyceum I i 33. II iv 27.
Lyciscus Athen. I vii 13.
Lycomedes Mantin. VII i 23 sq., 39; iv 2 sq.
Lycophron Pheraeus II iii 4.
Lycurgus Laced. I iii 18.
Lysander Laced. I v 1 sq.; vi 1 sq. II i 7 sq.; ii 2 sq.; iii 3 sq.; iv 28 sq. III iii 3; iv 2, 7 sq.; v 6 sq.
Lysander Sicyon. VII i 45.
Lysias Athen. I vi 30; vii 2.
Lysimachus Athen. II iv 8, 26.
Lysimenes Sicyon. VII i 45.
Lysippus Laced. III ii 29 sq.
Macedones V ii 12, 40.
Macedonia I i 12. IV iii 3. V ii 12, 13, 38; iii 18. VI i 11.
Macedonicus exercitus V ii 43.
Macistus III ii 30.
Madytus I i 3.
Maeander III ii 14, 17; iv 12, 21. IV viii 17.
Malea prom. Lacon. I ii 18. Maleatis VI v 24.
Malea prom. Lesbi I vi 26.
Mania Dardan. III i 10 sq.
Mantineia IV v 18. V ii 2 sq. VI v 3 sq. VII v 7 sq.
Mantinenses III ii 21. IV ii 13; iv 17; v 18. V ii 1 sq. VI iv 18; v 3 sq. VII iv 33; v 1, 14 sq.
Mantinice VI v 15, 17.
Mantitheus Athen. I i 10; iii 13.
Maraci VI i 7.
Margaritenses III ii 25, 30. IV ii 16. VI v 2. VII iv 14, 26.
Medi I ii 19.
Megabates Persa IV i 28.
Megalopolitae VII v 5.
Megara I i 36; ii 14. II iv 1. IV iv 13. V iv 41, 55, 58. Megarice V iv 18. VI iv 26.
Megaree I iii 15.
Megillus Laced. III iv 6.
Melanippus Rhodius VI ii 35.
Melanopus Athen. VI iii 2.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Melanthius Athen. II iii 46.
 Melea VII i 28, 29.
 Meletus Athen. II iv 36.
 Melienses III v 6. IV ii 17. VI v 23.
 Melobius Athen. II iii 2.
 Melon Theb. V iv 2 sq.
 Melus IV viii 7.
 Melii II ii 3, 9.
 Menander Athen. I ii 16. II i 16, 26.
 Menascus Laced. IV ii 8.
 Menecles Athen. I vii 34.
 Menecrates Syrac. I i 29.
 Menon Thesp. V iv 55.
 Messene V ii 3. VII i 27, 36; iv 9.
 Messenii VI v 33. VII iv 27; v 5.
 Methymna I ii 12; vi 12, 38. IV viii 29. Methymnaei I vi 13 sq.
 Midias Dardan. III i 14 sq.
 Milesii I vi 8.
 Miletus I i 31; ii 2; v 1; vi 2, 7.
 Mindarus Laced. I i 4, 11, 14 sq.
 Minerva I i 4; iii 1; vi 1. III i 21, 22. v. Alea.
 Misgoulaidas Laced. II iii 10.
 Mitraeus Persa II i 8.
 Mitrobates Persa I iii 12.
 Mnasippus Laced. VI ii 4 sq., 15 sq.
 Mnesilochus Athen. II iii 2.
 Mnesithides Athen. II iii 2.
 Munychia II iv 11, 37. Diana Munychia II iv 11.
 Mygdon Laced. III iv 20.
 Myrina III i 6.
 Myscon Syrac. I i 29.
 Mysia I iv 7. Mysi III i 13. IV i 24.
 Mytilene I vi 16, 26, 35, 38; vii 29. II ii 5. IV viii 28. Mytilenaei ib.; I vi 22.
 Narthacium IV iii 8 sq.
 Naubates Laced. III ii 6.
 Naucles Laced. VII i 41.
 Naucidas Laced. II iv 36.
 Naupactus IV vi 14.
 Nauplia IV vii 6.
 Neandrenses III i 16.
 Nemea IV ii 14; vii 3. VII ii 5; v 6.
 Neptunus IV v 1, 2, 4; vii 4. Gaeoachus VI v 30.
 Niceratus Athen. II iii 39.
 Nicias Athen. II iii 39.
 Nicolochus Laced. V i 6 sq., 25; iv 65.
 Nicophemus Athen. IV viii 8.
 Nicostratus Athen. II iv 6.
 Notium prom. I ii 4, 11; v 12 sq. II i 6.
 Ocyllus Laced. V iv 22. VI v 33.
 Odeum Athen. II iv 9, 10, 24.
 Odrysae III ii 2, 5. IV viii 26.
 Oeniadae IV vi 14.
 Oenoe Att. I vii 28. Corinth. IV v 5, 19.
 Oetaei I ii 18. III v 6.
 Oeum VI v 24 sq. Oeatae VI v 26.
 Olontheus Laced. VI v 33.
 Olurus VII iv 17 sq.
 Olympia III ii 26. IV i 40; vii 2. VII iv 14, 28. Olympiaca via ib. Olympiacus mons VII iv 14.
 Olympiorum ludicrum VII iv 28.
 Olympius Juppiter, v. Juppiter.
 Olynthus V ii 11 sq., 27, 37; iii 9. Olynthii V ii 13 sq.; iii 1 sq., 26; iv 54.
 Oneum VI v 51. VII i 15, 41 sq.; ii 5.
 Onomacles Athen. II iii 2. Laced. II iii 10.
 Onomantius Laced. II iii 10.
 Opuntii Locri, v. Locri.
 Orchomenus Arcadiae IV v 18. V i 29. VI v 15 sq., 29. Orchomenii ib. 11, 13. Boeotiae III v 17. IV iii 15. Orchomenii III v 6. IV ii 17; iii 15 sq. V iv 36 sq. VI iv 10.
 Oreum V iv 56.
 Oropus VII iv 1.
 Orsippus Laced. IV ii 8.
 Otys rex Paphlag. IV i 3 sq.
 Ozolae Locri, v. Locri.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Pactolus III iv 22 sq.
 Pagasae V iv 56.
 Palaegambreum III i 6.
 Pallantium VI v 9. Pallantienses VII v 5.
 Pallene V ii 15.
 Pamphilus Athen. V i 2.
 Pangaeum, V ii 17.
 Pantacles Laced. I iii 1. II iii 10.
 Paphlagonia IV i 2 sq., 21, 26, 28.
 Paralus navis II i 28 sq.; ii 3. VI ii 14.
 Parapita Persis IV i 39.
 Parium I i 13.
 Paros I iv 11.
 Parrhasii VII i 28.
 Pasimachus Laced. IV iv 10.
 Pasimelus Corinth. IV iv 4, 7. VII iii 2.
 Pasippidas Laced. I i 32; iii 13, 17.
 Patesiadas Laced. II iii 10.
 Pausanias rex Laced. II ii 7; iv 29 sq. III v 6, 17 sq. V ii 3.
 Pella V ii 13.
 Pellene Achaiae VII i 18; ii 18, 20; iv 18. Lacon. VII v 9.
 Pellenenses Ach. IV ii 20. VI v 29. VII i 15; ii 2, 11 sq.; iv 17.
 Pelles (?) Laced. IV iii 23.
 Pelopidas Theb. VII i 33 sq.
 Peloponnesus III ii 17, 26; v 17. IV vi 2, 14. V ii 20; iv 62 sq. VI ii 9; iii 6. VII i 23; ii 2; iv 35; v 1 sq., 18. Peloponnesii I i 6 sq.; vi 33 sq. II ii 7; iv 21, 29, 41. III i 4; v 6, 14. VI v 1.
 Percote V i 25.
 Pergamus III i 6.
 Pericles Athen. I v 16; vi 29; vii 2, 16, 21.
 Perinthus I i 20. Perinthii ib., 21.
 Persae III iv 14 sq. IV i 6, 30. V ii 35. VI i 12. VII i 33 sq.
 Phaedrias Athen. II iii 2.
 Phantias Athen. V i 26.
 Phanosthenes Athen. I v 18.
 Pharax Laced. III ii 12, 14. IV v 6. VI v 33.
 Pharnabazus Persa I i 6 sq.; ii 16; iii 5 sq.; iv 1 sq. III i 9 sq.; ii 1 sq., 9, 13; iv 10 sq. IV i 1, 7, 15 sq. 29 sq.; iii 11; viii 1. 3, 6 sq. V i 28.
 Pharnabazi filius IV i 39 sq.
 Pharsalus VI i 8; iv 34. Pharsalii IV iii 3. VI i 2 sq.
 Phea III ii 30.
 Pherae IV viii 7. Pheraei II iii 4. VI iv 31.
 Phidon Athen. II iii 2.
 Philippus V iv 2.
 Philiscus Abydenus VII i 27.
 Phillidas V iv 2 sq.
 Philocles Athen. I vii 1. II i 30 sq.
 Philocrates IV viii 24.
 Philocydes (?) Athen. I iii 13.
 Phlius IV iv 15; vii 3. V ii 8; iii 15, 21, 25. VII i 18; ii 1, 4, 11 sq. Phliasii IV ii 16; iv 15. V ii 9 sq.; iii 10 sq. VI iv 9, 18; v 14 sq. VII i 1; ii 1 sq.; iv 1 sq.
 Phocaea I iii 1; v 11; vi 33.
 Phocis III v 4. VI i 1; iv 27.
 Phocenses III v 3 sq. IV iii 15, 21. V ii 33; iv 60. VI i 1; ii 1; iii 1; iv 2, 9, 21; v 23, 30. VII v 4.
 Phoebidas Laced. V ii 24 sq.; iv 41 sq.
 Phoenix III iv 1.
 Phoenicus IV viii 7.
 Phrixa III ii 30.
 Phrygia I iv 1. III ii 1; iv 12, 26, 29. IV i 1.
 Phthia IV iii 9.
 Phyle II iv 2 sq.
 Piraeum IV v 1 sq.
 Piraeus I ii 14; iii 22; iv 12 sq.; vii 35. II ii 2 sq.; iii 9, 11; iv 1, 19, 32. III v 5, 16. IV viii 9. V i 9, 22; ii 33; iv 20, 22, 34.
 Pisander Laced. III iv 29. IV iii 10 sq.
 Pisatae VII iv 28 sq.
 Pisias s. Pithias Argivus VII i 41.
 Pisidae III i 13.
 Pison Athen. II iii 2.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Pithias, v. Pisias.
 Pityas Laced. I vi 1. II iii 10.
 Plataeae V iv 14, 48. VI iii 5.
 VII i 34. Plataeenses V iv 10.
 VI iii 1.
 Plistolas Laced. II iii 10.
 Plynteria I iv 12.
 Podanemus Laced. IV viii 10. V
 iii 13.
 Pollis Laced. IV viii 11. V iv 61.
 Polyaenidas Laced. VII iv 23.
 Polyanthes Corinth. III v i.
 Polybiades Laced. V iii 20, 26.
 Polychares Athen. II iii 2.
 Polycharmus Pharsalius IV iii 8.
 Laced. V ii 41.
 Polydamas Pharsalius VI i 2 sq.;
 iv 34.
 Polydorus Thessalus VI iv 33.
 Polyphron Thessalus VI iv 33 sq.
 Polytropus Corinth. VI v 11 sq.
 Polyxenus Syracus. V i 26.
 Potamis Syracus. I i 29.
 Potidaea V ii 15, 24, 39; iii 6.
 Potniae V iv 51.
 Pras IV iii 9.
 Prasiae VII ii 2.
 Praxitas Laced. IV iv 7 sq.; v 19.
 Priene III ii 17. IV viii 17.
 Proaenus Corinth. IV viii 11.
 Procles Phliasius V iii 13. VI v
 38. VII i 1. Teuthran. III i 6.
 Proconnesus I i 13, 18, 20; iii 1.
 IV viii 36. V i 26.
 Prometheus Thessalus II iii 36.
 Prothous Laced. VI iv 2.
 Protomachus Athen. I v 16; vi
 30, 33; vii 1.
 Proxenus Syracus. I iii 13. Te-
 geates VI v 6 sq.
 Pygela I ii 2. Pygelenses ib.
 Pylus Elidis VII iv 16, 26. Pylai
 ibid.
 Pyrrholochus Argivus I iii 13.
 Pythia VI iv 30.
 Pythodorus Athen. II iii 1.

 Rhamphias Laced. I i 35.
 Rhathines Persa III iv 13.
 Rhium IV vi 14; viii 11.
 Rhodus I i 2; v 1, 19; vi 3. II
 i 15, 17. IV viii 20 sq. V i 5.
 Rhodii I v 19. IV viii 20.
 Rhoeteum I i 2.

 Salaminia navis VI ii 14.
 Salamis II ii 9.
 Samii I vi 25, 29; vii 30. II ii 6;
 iii 6.
 Samius Laced. III i 1.
 Samothrace V i 7.
 Samus I ii 1; iv 8 sq., 23; v 14
 sq.; vi 2, 15, 25 sq. II i 12;
 iii 3. IV viii 23.
 Sardes I i 9, 10; v 1. III iv 25. IV
 i 27; viii 21. Sardiana regio
 III iv 21.
 Satyrus Athen. II iii 54 sq.
 Scepsis III i 15 sq. Scepsii ib.
 21 sq.
 Scilluntii VI v 2.
 Scionaei II ii 3.
 Sciritas VII ii 24; iv 52 sq. Sciritis
 VI v 24, 25. VII iv 21.
 Scolus V iv 49.
 Scopas Thessalus VI i 19.
 Scotussaei IV iii 3.
 Scyrus IV viii 15. V i 31.
 Scythes Laced. III iv 20.
 Selinus I i 37. Selinuntii I ii
 8, 10.
 Sellasia II ii 13, 19. VI v 27.
 VII iv 12.
 Selymbria I i 20, 21; iii 10.
 Sestus I i 7, 11 sq., 36; ii 13. II
 i 20, 25. IV viii 3 sq.
 Seuthes III ii 2, 9. IV viii 26.
 Sicilia I i 37; v 21. VI ii 9. Si-
 culi II ii 24.
 Sicyon IV ii 14; iv 1, 7, 14, 18; v.
 12, 19. VII i 17 sq., 44; ii 11,
 15; iii 1, 4. Sicyonii IV ii 16;
 iv 8 sq. VI iv 18. VII i 22; ii
 1 sq., 11, 20; iv 1.
 Sidus IV iv 13; v 19.
 Sisyphus III i 8.
 Soclides Laced. VII iv 19.
 Socrates Athen. I vii 15.
 Sophocles Athen. II iii 2.
 Sophroniscus Athen. I vii 15.
 Sostratidas Laced. II iii 10.
 Sparta I i 32; vi 32. II iii 1. V

INDEX NOMINUM

- iii 10; iv 32. VII i 28, 33; ii 3; v 9. Lacedaemon III ii 20; iii 1. IV ii 12; viii 7. VI iv 16; v 23. VII i 23, 24; v 7. Spartiatæ III iii 5 sq.; iv 2. IV iii 23. V i 11; iii 8; iv 2. VI iv 15; v 21, 25. VII v 10. Spartolus V iii 6. Sphagiae VI ii 31. Sphodrias Laced. V iv 15 sq., 23 sq., 33, 34, 63. VI iv 14. Spithridates Persa III iv 10. IV i 2, 20 sq. Stages Persa I ii 5. Stalcas (?) Eleus VII iv 15. Stasippus Laced. VI iv 18; v 6 sq., 36. Stesicles (?) Athen. VI ii 10. Sthenelaus Laced. II ii 2. Stratolas Eleus VII iv 15, 31. Stratus IV vi 4. Strombichides Athen. VI iii 2. Struthas Persa IV viii 17 sq. Syracusae I i 29, 31; iii 13. V i 26, 28. VI ii 35. VII i 22. Syracusani I i 18, 26 sq.; ii 8 sq. II ii 24; iii 5, 14. Tanagra V iv 49. Tanagraei ib. Tegea III v 7, 25. V i 33; iv 37. VI v 6, 9, 15 sq. VII iv 36; v 7, 14. Tegeatae IV ii 13. VI iv 18; v 6, 10 sq., 24, 36. VII iv 36; v 5 sq. Tegeatis VI v 15. Teleutias Laced. IV iv 19; viii 11, 23 sq. V i 2 sq., 13; ii 37, 41, 43; iii 3 sq. Temnus IV viii 5. Tenea IV iv 19. Tenedus V i 6. Tenedii V i 7. Teos (?) I v 15. Teuthrania III i 6. Thalamæ VII iv 26. Thamneria II i 13. Thasus I i 12, 32; iv 9. V i 7. Thebae II iv 1 sq. III v 1, 3. V ii 25; iv 1, 14, 19, 36 sq. VI iii 2, 11. VII i 39; iii 6; iv 6, 10, 34, 39; v 4. Thebani I vii 28. II ii 19. III ii 21; v 4 sq. IV iii 16 sq.; v 10. V i 32 sq.; ii 25 sq., 37 sq.; iv 2. VI i 1; ii 1; iii 1, 19 sq.; iv 3 sq.; v 22 sq. VII i 15 sq.; ii 5; iii 4 sq.; vi 1 sq. Thebes campus IV i 41. Themistogenes Syracus. III i 2. Theogenes Athen. I iii 13. II iii 2. Theognis Athen. II iii 2. Theopompus Milesius II i 30. Theramenes Athen. I i 12, 22; vi 35; vii 4, 8, 17, 31. II ii 16 sq.; iii 2 sq. Therimachus Laced. IV viii 29. Thermopylae VI v 43. Thersander Laced. IV viii 18 sq. Thespieae V iv 10, 15, 20, 38 sq. VI iii 5. Thespienses IV ii 20. V iv 42 sq. VI iii 1; iv 10. Thessalia II iii 4, 36. IV iii 3. VI i 2 sq.; iv 28. VII i 28. Thessali II iii 4. IV iii 3 sq. V iii 9. VI i 8, 18; iv 28; v 30. VII v 4, 16. Thibrachus Laced. II iv 33. Thibron Laced. III i 4 sq.; ii 1. IV viii 17 sq. Thisbae VI iv 3. Thorax Laced. II i 18, 28. Thoricus I ii 1. Thraces III ii 8, 10. Thraces Bithyni I iii 2. III ii 2. Thraces Odrysa III ii 5. Thracia I iii 10, 17; iv 9. II ii 5. III ii 9. IV viii 26. V i 26; ii 12, 24. Thracium I iii 20. Thrasonidas Eleus VII iv 15. Thrasybulus Collytensis V i 26. Thrasybulus Stiriensis I i 12; iv 9 sq.; v 11; vi 35; vii 5, 17, 31. II iii 42 sq.; iv 2 sq. III v 16. IV viii 25 sq. Thrasydaeus Eleus III ii 27 sq. Thrasyllus Athen. I i 8, 33, 34; ii 1 sq.; iii 6; iv 10; v 16; vi 30; vii 2, 29. Thraustus VII iv 14. Thriae V iv 21. Thyamia VII ii 1, 23; iv 1, 11.

INDEX NOMINUM

- Thymochares Athen. I i 1.
 Thyrienses VI ii 37.
 Tigranes Persa IV viii 21.
 Timagoras Athen. VII i 33, 38.
 Timocrates Athen. I vii 3.
 Timocrates Laced. VII i 13.
 Timocrates Rhodius III v 1.
 Timocrates Syracus. VII iv 12.
 Timolaus Corinthius III v 1. IV
 ii 11.
 Timomachus Athen. VII i 41.
 Timotheus Athen. V iv 63 sq. VI
 ii 2, 11, 13.
 Tiribazus Persa IV viii 12 sq.
 V i 6, 28, 30.
 Tisamenus Laced. III iii 11.
 Tisiphonus Thessalus VI iv 37;
 v 1.
 Tissaphernes Persa I i 9, 31; ii
 6, 8; v 2, 8 sq. III i 3 sq.;
 ii 12 sq.; iv 1 sq.
 Tithraustes Persa III iv 25 sq.;
 v. 1.
 Tlemonidas Laced. V iii 3 sq.
 Torone V iii 18. Toronaei II
 ii 3.
 Trachinia Heraclea, v. Heraclea.
 Tralles III ii 19.
 Tricarantum VII ii 1, 5, 11, 13;
 iv 11.
 Triphyliae urbes III ii 30. Tri-
 phylia IV ii 16. VI v 2. VII
 i 26.
 Triptolemus VI iii 6.
 Tripyrigia V i 10.
 Troezen VI ii 3. Troezenii IV
 ii 16. VII ii 2.
 Troia III iv 3. VII i 34.
 Tydeus Athen. II i 16, 26.
 Tyndaridae VI v 31.
 Vesta II iii 52. VII iv 31.
 Xenias Eleus III ii 27.
 Xenocles Laced. III iv 20.
 Xerxes II i 8.
 Zæcynthus VI ii 3. Zacynthii ib.
 Zenis Dardan. III i 10.
 Zeuxippus Laced. II iii 10.
 Zoster V i 9.

COMMENTARY
ON
THE HELLENICA
UNDERHILL

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

A COMMENTARY

WITH INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX

ON THE

HELLENICA OF XENOPHON

BY

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PREFACE

THE success of his edition of the first and second books of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, published in 1888, has encouraged the editor to revise and continue his work on the same lines, but on a slightly larger scale, so as to embrace the whole of the seven books. It was his original intention to prepare a revised text, and with that end in view he had already amassed considerable material—drawn more especially from a hitherto uncollated Palatine MS. of the *Hellenica* which it was his good fortune to discover, along with two others of inferior merit, in the Vatican Library. Finding, however, that the Delegates of the University Press had entrusted the task of revising the text of the whole of Xenophon's writings to Mr. E. C. Marchant, he most willingly abandoned this portion of the work, and has contented himself with collecting together in a short appendix such readings and conjectures—very few in number—as for some reason or other he has preferred to those admitted by Mr. Marchant into his own text.

The Introduction deals in the first section with the various problems that have been raised as to the composition of the *Hellenica*—with the relation of the first part to the History of Thucydides and with the relations of the various parts to each other, with the aim and object of the author and with his merits and de-

merits as a writer. The second section treats at very considerable length of the many chronological difficulties with which the *Hellenica* abounds, owing to the complete absence—at any rate after the second book—of any definite system of reckoning. The editor has seen reason to abandon his former view that the date of Alcibiades' return to Athens was 408 B.C., and to prefer the later date 407, and in the succeeding history he has done his utmost—after a careful study of many histories, commentaries, and monographs—clearly to exhibit the evidence on which his own conclusions depend. The remaining sections of the Introduction aim to summarize as clearly as possible such information about the MSS. of the *Hellenica*, the life of Xenophon, and the chronological order of the events of the period as seemed most needful for the profitable study of the *Hellenica*.

Though no serious difficulty, whether grammatical or textual, it is hoped, has been left undiscussed or unexplained, if explanation be possible, the notes are mainly historical, and are intended more especially to elucidate the many historical problems to which the well-known sins of omission and brevity in Xenophon so often give rise. They also treat with some fullness the divergent accounts of other authorities, e.g. the account of the Aristotelian *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* of the Despotism of the Thirty, and Plutarch's two accounts of the Liberation of Thebes—comparing and, as far as possible, estimating the value of the conflicting evidence.

In the historical sections of the Appendix (§§ 1–6) the editor has treated at greater length than the limits of the notes would allow certain portions and problems

of Athenian and Spartan history, and has tried to put together from various sources—alas! only too scanty—all the available information about the Spartan and Theban constitutions applicable to the period of the *Hellenica*.

The great indebtedness of the editor to the annotated editions of Dindorf, Breitenbach, and Büchschütz, is indeed evident on every page: his only apology must be that the abundant materials collected by them must of necessity form the basis of every future commentary. He wishes also to acknowledge the use that he has frequently made of Mr. H. G. Dakyns' admirable translation, and of Dr. Ernst von Stern's most valuable monograph on the Spartan and Theban Hegemonies.

Finally the editor wishes to acknowledge the courtesy of the editors of the *Journal of Philology* and the *Classical Review* in allowing him to reprint portions of articles which had already appeared in their pages, and to give his grateful thanks to his friend and colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, who kindly consented to revise the proofs, for many corrections and important suggestions, and to the staff of the Clarendon Press for their diligent care in detecting all too numerous errors of every kind.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Christmas, 1899.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION :	
§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA	ix
§ 2. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA	xxxv
§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE HELLENICA	lxxii
§ 4. LIFE OF XENOPHON	lxxx
§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY	lxxxii
NOTES	1-309
APPENDIX :	
§ 1. BATTLE OF CYZICUS	310
§ 2. POLITICAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-404 B.C.	312
§ 3. TRIAL OF THE GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE	325
§ 4. SPARTA	334
§ 5. ATHENS AND THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS	353
§ 6. THEBES AND BOEOTIA	356
§ 7. CRITICAL NOTES	359
GREEK INDEX	363
GENERAL INDEX	368
INDEX OF AUTHORS	377

INTRODUCTION



§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA.

XENOPHON'S Hellenica furnishes us with a contemporary record of a considerable and important period of Greek History—from the autumn of 411 to the summer of 362—in all nearly forty-nine years¹. It begins in the middle of the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian War, at the point—or more exactly within a few weeks of the point—where Thucydides' unfinished work suddenly breaks off. It ends with the battle of Mantinea, wherein the Spartans suffered a crushing defeat, and the Thebans left their hero Epaminondas dead upon the field. With the loss of their leader Theban supremacy was at an end; Spartan power sank never to rise to prominence again; the general result for Greece was ἀκρίσια καὶ παραχή² greater than ever before.

Whether Xenophon himself gave the name of Hellenica to this work is perhaps more than doubtful, but the title implies and the universal opinion of antiquity testifies to the fact that it was early regarded as a treatise on Greek History, in the same sense in which Herodotus wrote a History of the Persian Wars, and Thucydides a History of the Peloponnesian War. Thus Polybius³ (fl. 167 B. C.), who places Xenophon among οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων, by quotation and allusion shows apparently an intimate acquaintance with the Hellenica, and while he severely criticizes Ephorus for his foolish descriptions of the land battles, Leuctra and Mantinea, says not a word about Xenophon, implying, we may perhaps not unjustly infer, that he was satisfied with Xenophon's descriptions.

¹ Diod. xiii. 42.

² vii. 5. 27.

³ xiii. 6; vi. 45; ix. 8; x. 20.

Dionysius¹ of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 B. C.) ranks Xenophon with Herodotus and Thucydides, and referring to the *Cyropaedia*, *Anabasis*, and *Hellenica*, praises his choice and arrangement of subjects, his diction, and his *ἥθος θεοσεβὲς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ εὐπετές, ἀπάσαις τε συλλήβδην κεκοσμημένον ἀρεταῖς*. Diodorus Siculus² (fl. 8 B.C.) puts Thucydides and Xenophon together as *ἐπαινούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἱστοριῶν*. Plutarch (fl. 80 A. D.) quotes Xenophon as an authority many times over, and in one passage³ more particularly contrasts his truthfulness with Ctesias' lies. Lucian (fl. 160 A.D.), in his brilliant essay *πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν*, also classes Xenophon with Herodotus and Thucydides, applying to him (§ 39) the epithet *δίκαιος συγγραφεύς*. The chorus of antiquity in favour of Xenophon as a historian is universal: adverse criticism is limited to his language and diction.

With the great historians of Greece of the present century Xenophon has fared very differently. Niebuhr⁴ indignantly exclaims: 'His history is worth nothing; it is untrue, written without care, and with perfect nonchalance. . . . The partiality towards Sparta is quite revolting; he glosses over her evil deeds, and acts the part of a calumniator and detractor towards his own country. His infatuation is inconceivable, for he imagined the supremacy of the Spartans to be salutary and beneficial to Greece: how could an Athenian say so?' Grote⁵ is almost as pronounced: 'To pass from Thucydides to the *Hellenica* of Xenophon is a descent truly mournful; and yet when we look at Grecian history as a whole, we have great reason to rejoice that even so inferior a work as the latter has reached us.' And again⁶: 'The partiality towards Sparta, visible even from the beginning of Xenophon's history, becomes more and more exaggerated throughout the two latter books wherein he recounts her misfortunes; it is moreover intensified by spite against the Thebans and Epaminondas as her conquerors. But there is hardly any instance of this feeling, so glaring or so discreditable as the case now before us,' &c. Freeman⁷ is still more condemnatory: 'Xenophon writes from the worst inspiration of local and temporary party-spirit. He writes history, not to record facts or to

¹ Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4.

² xi. 37.

³ Artax. 13.

⁴ Lect. Anc. Hist. ii. 36.

⁵ G. H. vii. 356 n.

⁶ ix. 449 n.

⁷ Historical Essays, ii. III.

deduce lessons, but at whatever cost of truth or fairness, to set up Agesilaus and to run down the Thebans. . . . In Xenophon we have to brand, not merely an unpardonable degree of weakness and passion, but sheer want of common honesty, a deliberate breach of the first moral laws of the historian's calling.' Finally—to cite the words of another modern writer, who in his general estimate of Xenophon as a man and as an author has shown a keen appreciation of his character and merits—Colonel Mure¹ says: 'As a historian he is notorious for a partiality the most unscrupulous, fortunately also the most transparent that has ever probably been exemplified in the page of any writer, otherwise moderately endowed with tact and judgement in the art of composition. He seems however rarely to have carried this defect the length of deliberate misstatement of fact. His method of falsification consists in suppressing, colouring, or otherwise misrepresenting truth; in giving special prominence to transactions honourable to the cause which he favours; in concealing or palliating those of an opposite tendency; and in a corresponding degree omitting what is creditable, dwelling on what is disparaging, or harshly construing what is indifferent in the conduct or motives of the opposite party.'

Not but what Xenophon has also found many defenders among the moderns, but they too all have to admit the obvious faults of which his detractors complain—the strange incompleteness, the curious inequalities of treatment, the numerous omissions both of events and of persons—only in defence they bring forward explanations more or less ingenious to save the *bona fides* of the historian.

No single key, however, has hitherto been found of the many that have been offered to unlock all the difficulties of the problem. Xenophon himself gives no direct help towards any solution: nowhere does he state what was the scope or plan of his work, nor where, when, or how he wrote it. External evidence based on ancient testimony is almost worthless. Internal evidence drawn from differences of language and style, and from casual remarks and expressions of the author is the only guide, and unfortunately the proper inferences to be drawn from such materials are by no means easy to reach.

In the following pages the external testimony will first be con-

¹ Gk. Lit. v. 254.

sidered ; then, after that has been disposed of, the problems, mainly raised by the internal evidence, will be dealt with ; here the theses maintained will be (1) that Xenophon's primary object was to write history on the grand scale like his predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides ; but that from lack of capacity rather than of honesty he was unable adequately to carry out his purpose : (2) that though his partiality for Sparta and hatred of Thebes may sometimes explain his inclusion of some and omission of other occurrences, these subjective feelings seldom, if ever, lead him to distortion of actual matters of fact : and (3) that the lack of unity in the work is due partly to the nature of the matters dealt with, partly to the length of time over which its composition was spread, and partly to the shifting motives which animated the author himself at different times of his life.

External evidence carries us but very little way. Dionysius¹ of Halicarnassus in scarcely intelligible words speaks of τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν [ἱστορίαν] καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελῇ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον αὐθις ἀνίστανται. Apparently there is some corruption in the text : some² scholars propose to strike out καὶ before ἣν : others³ to insert a second καὶ before ἐν ᾗ, the former seeing in the passage an argument for the unity of Xenophon's work, the latter an argument for its division into two portions i-ii. 3. 10 ; ii. 3. 11-vii. Similarly Marcellinus⁴, a compiler of a life of Thucydides, distinguishes two parts : τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἕξ ἑτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὃ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν. These two authorities, however, seem to mean by their statements nothing more than the simple fact that besides finishing the history of the Peloponnesian War, which it had been Thucydides' ⁵ intention to write, Xenophon went on to write of other and later events. Diodorus⁶ simply states : Ξενοφῶν τε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέλιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιήνται, καὶ Ξενοφῶν περιέλαβε χρόνον ἑτῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ ; and again⁷ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σύνταξιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτήν—statements which prove that in

¹ Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4.

² E. g. Krüger.

³ E. g. Grosser.

⁴ § 45.

⁵ v. 26.

⁶ xiii. 42.

⁷ xv. 89.

Diodorus' time the Hellenics covered the same period as they do in the form in which we now possess them. The obscure words of Diogenes Laertius¹ seem to throw no light whatever on the problem: λέγεται δ' ὅτι (he says) καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος λανθάνοντα αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν. The reference seems to be to the story preserved by Marcellinus that Xenophon was the editor and publisher of Thucydides—a story probably invented to account for the unfinished state of the earlier historian's work. The statement is only quoted here, because it has recently been made the ground for the baseless hypothesis, that Xenophon in Hell. i.-ii. 3. 10 uses in his narrative materials already collected by Thucydides.

Finally the MSS., though they all exhibit the Hellenica divided into seven books, yield evidence of a different arrangement and of a variation in title. Harpocration, it has recently² been noticed, quotes words from eight books, viz. *Θέογνις* from β' (ii. 3. 2), *πενέσται* from γ' (ii. 3. 36), *ἐκπολεμῶσαι* from ζ' (v. 4. 20), *ρόπτρου* and *πολύστρατος* from η', i. e. *ὀγδοῇ* (vi. 4. 36; 5. 11), and *ἄμιπποι* without a definite reference. Evidently therefore in his copy, wherever the divisions of the other books may have been, that between the second and third must have been drawn at ii. 3. 10. A Neapolitan³ MS. gives the title of the Hellenics as *ξενοφώντος τὰ παραλειπόμενα ἅπερ καὶ ἑλληνικὰ ἐκάλεσεν, εἰς ὀκτὼ βιβλία διαιρούμενα*, although like the other MSS. it contains the sevenfold arrangement of books. Similarly Aldus in his preface to the Editio princeps (1503) refers to τὴν *Ξενοφώντος ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν*, ἣτινα λέγεται παραλειπόμενα τῆς *Θουκυδίδου ξυγγραφῆς*: on his title page he prints '*paralipomena Thucydidis*,' in the body of the book simply *ἑλληνικῶν*. Riemann again found in two MSS. *παραλειπόμενα Ἑλληνικῶν, Θουκυδίδου παραλειπόμενα Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*. From the MSS. evidence therefore two important inferences are deducible—the first that at an early date an intimate relation was supposed to exist between the History of Thucydides and the Hellenica of Xenophon; the second, that in discussing the relation of the various parts of the Hellenica to each other we need not confine ourselves to the prevailing division into seven books.

¹ de Xenoph. § 57.

² J. A. Simon, Xenophont. Stud. ii. Düren.

³ G. Jorio, Codici Ignorati nelle Bibl. di Napoli: Leipzig, 1892.

Remembering these deductions, let us now turn to the internal evidence.

Two passages prove that the composition of the *Hellenica* extended over a period of at least thirty years. In ii. 4. 43¹ Xenophon praises the restored democrats at Athens after the final expulsion of the Thirty from Eleusis in 401-400², because *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος*—words which have no real meaning, if written more than ten or fifteen years after the amnesty; i. e. they cannot have been written later than 386 B. C., and may have been written earlier. In a digression upon Thessalian affairs (vi. 4) Xenophon states (§ 37)³ that Tisiphonus was reigning as successor to the murdered Alexander *ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο*: but Alexander was murdered in 358 or 357 B. C. Moreover, throughout the work numberless passages⁴ give so many picturesque details of time, place, and circumstance, that they must either have been written at the very time of the occurrences themselves, or extracted from a commonplace book, wherein they were noted at the time. In either case we must therefore suppose that for fifty years Xenophon entertained a more or less definite design of writing the history of his own times.

Again the ingenious statistics of the varying use of certain words and particles in the various works of our author, which have recently been compiled by Dittenberger, Roquette, Rosenstiel, and J. A. Simon—whatever may be their value in other respects—prove one thing at any rate to demonstration, that Xenophon must have been more or less occupied with the various sections of the *Hellenica* throughout the whole period of his literary activity.

Now although this slowly elaborated composition does indeed possess a certain unity of subject in so far as it treats throughout—with very few digressions—of contemporary Greek history, its composite character soon betrays itself even on the most cursory examination. Two main divisions at least can be distinguished, not only by their differences of date, but by their striking differences of style and treatment; and a closer investigation reveals three, four, or even more parts distinguished by differences doubtless less

¹ Cp. note ad loc.

² Cp. note ad loc.

³ Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 40.

⁴ E. g. books iii and iv.

marked, but still sufficiently determinate. Of the two divisions most easily distinguishable the first extends from book i to book ii. 3. 10, continuing the history of the Peloponnesian War from the point where it was left in the unfinished work of Thucydides down to the destruction of the Long Walls of Athens—an event which Thucydides¹ himself takes as marking the end of the war. Here Xenophon writes throughout from the point of view of an Athenian citizen resident in Athens, more conversant with Athenian affairs than with those of other states. The second (books iii-vii) resumes the narrative of Greek history from the Spartan expedition under Thibron to aid the Asiatic Greeks in 399 B.C., and continues it without any serious break down to 362 B.C., the year of the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. In 401 Xenophon left Athens never to reside there again: naturally therefore the Athenian point of view disappears, and with his philo-Laonian sympathies Xenophon shows his interest mostly in Sparta and her doings. In between these divisions come nearly two chapters, ii. 3. 11-4. 43, which most commentators regard as belonging to the first division, though some assign it to the second, while others again—perhaps with greater probability—regard it as a third division, more or less independent of the other two. It is occupied entirely with the history of the Rule of the Thirty at Athens, with which Xenophon, as resident at the time, must have been personally acquainted. Its point of view therefore, like that of the first part, is Athenian.

The second division again seems to fall naturally into two sections, the first extending from bk. iii to bk. v. 1. 36, i. e. from 399 B.C. to the Peace of Antalcidas 387-386, the second from bk. v. 2. 1 to bk. vii: but of this subdivision more hereafter.

Two questions therefore arise, (1) what is the relation of the first division to the History of Thucydides? and (2) what is the relation of the various divisions or sections to each other?

As to the first question the statements of Dionysius, Diodorus, and Marcellinus, as we have seen already, need imply nothing more than that Xenophon continued the history of Thucydides in the same way as Thucydides himself continued the history of Herodotus, although the words of Marcellinus might well be taken

¹ v. 26.

to mean that Xenophon in this portion of his work deliberately intended to complete the unfinished plan of his predecessor¹. Internal evidence, however, though perhaps not conclusive, tends to show that this was really Xenophon's express purpose. On no other hypothesis, except indeed that the beginning of the *Hellenica* itself is lost (which seems unlikely²), can it be satisfactorily explained why the author should begin, not only without an introduction—a preliminary which Xenophon dispenses with in other works—but without any explanation, however brief, of the events immediately preceding and of the persons engaged in them, sufficient to put the reader in a position to understand the further development of their history. On the contrary, Xenophon plunges him *in medias res* with the connecting phrase *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, which seems to refer (with considerable obscurity, it must be confessed) to the battle of Cynossema, previously described by Thucydides³. He is supposed to be already acquainted with Thymochares, the Athenian general, and Agesandridas, the Spartan general, who had a few months⁴ previously met in battle off Eretria; and also to know the place, i.e. the Hellespont, where the Athenian and Lacedaemonian fleets were stationed when their second (§ I αἴθις⁵) naval engagement took place; while not a word is said of the disaster which Diodorus (xiii. 41) relates to have overtaken Epicles with the fleet of Agesandridas off Mount Athos in the interval. Similarly Dorieus is suddenly represented as sailing from Rhodes to the Hellespont, whereas in Thucydides⁶ he last appears at Miletus, whence he had been sent, Diodorus⁷ tells us, by Mindarus to Rhodes. The Athenian generals are introduced with the article (τοῖς στρατηγοῖς), as if they had been already mentioned, but we are left to gather from Thucydides⁸ that they were Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. Mindarus, the Spartan admiral is introduced with equal abruptness. Xenophon omits altogether to mention the movement of the Athenian fleet from Cyzicus to the mouth of the

¹ So Büchschütz, *Einleit.* p. 3.

² Cp. however Riemann, *Qua rei criticae*, &c., p. 52.

³ Cp. Thuc. viii. 107, 108 ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις . . . πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον.

⁴ Thuc. viii. 95.

⁵ Cp. Diod. xiii. 39, 40.

⁷ xiii. 38.

⁶ viii. 84.

⁸ viii. 104.

Hellespont¹, and the corresponding movement of the Peloponnesians under Mindarus from Elaeus to Abydos. So too (§ 5) Alcibiades sails up from no one knows where, and (§ 12) Theramenes comes from Macedonia; whereas Thucydides² had left the one in Samos and the other in Athens. The motive of Tissaphernes' journey is never stated, and can only be supplied by a reference to Thucydides' narrative³. All these passages therefore, though they do not, it must be admitted, join on quite exactly, yet seem to take for granted an acquaintance with Thucydides; and if it be further supposed that the last few chapters of Thucydides' eighth book have been lost⁴—for to all appearances an interval of some five or six weeks must have elapsed between the last event mentioned by Thucydides and the first alluded to by Xenophon—these points of obscurity also would be readily explicable.

Again in books i-ii. 3. 10 Xenophon adopts an annalistic mode of treatment, which, though not very thoroughly or successfully⁵ carried out, would appear to be a distinct reminiscence of Thucydides' careful division into summers and winters. So soon, however, as he has brought his narrative down to the surrender of Athens, which Thucydides⁶ had announced as the goal of his undertaking, he drops this method, and relates the usurpation of the Thirty without any definite marks of time. Still even in the later books, where Xenophon as a rule groups events together much more according to their causal connexion than their chronological sequence, this annalistic treatment occasionally⁷ reappears in the treatment of successive campaigns, which indeed most naturally fall into it. Further in the received text of the Hellenica as in Thucydides we find⁸ at the end of most years a brief account of contemporary events—in Persia, Sicily, or elsewhere—which the author could not well weave into his main narrative: but un-

¹ Cp. i. 1-2 with Thuc. viii. 107.

² viii. 92, 108.

³ viii. 109.

⁴ Riemann (l. c.) thinks it equally probable that the beginning of the Hellenica may have been lost.

⁵ Cp. *infr.* p. xxxix.

⁶ v. 26.

⁷ E. g. iii. 2. 21, the war in Elis; iii. 1. 1-3. 23, campaigns in Asia and the Corinthian War to the battle of Coronea; v. 2. 43-3. 26, the campaigns at Olynthus and siege of Phlius.

⁸ Cp. i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 3. 1; 5. 21; 6. 1; ii. 1. 8.

fortunately for the present argument there is very grave reason¹ to believe that most, if not all of these passages, are later interpolations. Finally it is noticeable that in this part, after the manner of Thucydides, Xenophon never departs from his impersonal narrative to make comments of his own, as he is so fond of doing in the later books, on the religious, moral, and political aspects of persons and things. We have therefore mainly to rely on the extraordinary nature of the opening words of the Hellenica, which, it is hard to believe, can ever have been meant to stand as the beginning of an independent work, and on the annalistic treatment of the remaining years of the Peloponnesian War, to which may be added the early date of its composition and the absence of personal comments, as arguments in support of our hypothesis that Xenophon purposely intended the first part of the Hellenica (i-ii. 3. 10) to be a completion of Thucydides' unfinished history.

In discussing the second question, the relation of the various parts to each other, we shall find that, however else they may be distinguished, they all alike suffer from their 'strange incompleteness,' their 'curious inequalities of treatment,' and their 'numerous omissions both of events and of persons.'

The first part (i-ii. 3. 10, 411-404 B.C.) which may be called the Sequel to Thucydides is undoubtedly distinguished from the rest by its more annalistic treatment, and by the absence of all personal comments, and of all references to sacrifices before and after battle, which are so frequent in iii-vii. In this part it has also been noticed that Xenophon states accurately the numbers of ships or soldiers in the contending forces, and the numbers of the slain or of prisoners taken in battle, while in the later books he uses the prepositions *ὥς* or *εἰς*, or the phrases *οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ*, *πλείους ἢ*, *πολλοί*, *ὀλίγοι*. Philologists² and statist affirm moreover that its language is more purely Attic, and therefore they rank it with the *Cyngeticus* as the earliest of Xenophon's compositions.

The second part (ii. 3. 11-4. 56, 404-401 B.C.), unlike the rest of the Hellenica, deals with a political event, the usurpation of the Thirty at Athens, and more than a third of it is taken up with speeches in *oratio recta*. Here the annalistic treatment has wholly

¹ Cp. *infr.* p. xxxviii.

² Cp. Roquette, *De Xenophontis Vita*, p. 55.

disappeared : no dates are given except quite¹ incidentally like the mention of snow or ripe fruit, and of the eight months' rule of the Thirty in the middle of Cleocritus' speech. Xenophon's² 'ἦθος θεοσεβές' first appears; and here he first makes personal³ comments of his own. The date of its composition, as we have seen already⁴, cannot be later than 386 B. C., and the statist tells us that in diction it approximates more closely to the two succeeding books than to the first part of the Hellenica. Further it appears from the Aristotelian *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, that it is not, as was formerly thought, separated from bk. iii by any interval of time : for the *ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ* of ii. 4. 43 refers not to 403-402 but to 401-400, the very year of the expedition of the Ten Thousand, to which allusion is made in iii. 1. 1, 2. No special motive of the historian is discoverable beyond the general wish to record *ἀξιμνημόνευτόν τι*; but as witnessed by Xenophon, when he was still in Athens, the events, whenever he may have noted them down, serve rather as an appendix to the Peloponnesian War, than as an introduction to the Spartan expeditions in Asia.

The third part (iii-v. 1. 36⁵, i. e. down to the Peace of Antalcidas) is more finished and complete than either what precedes or what follows, if we are to regard the Hellenica as a general history of Greek affairs. Its main theme seems to be the power and glory of the Spartans, who at the outset seemed likely to follow up Xenophon's own *Anabasis* with a Homeric invasion of the dominions of the Great King under command of the hero Agesilaus—for such he seems to have appeared to Xenophon and his contemporaries⁶. Agesilaus, however, was stopped in full career by his recall to meet the troubles raised at home by the Thebans, Corinthians, and other faithless allies: so that the rest of this section is occupied with tracing how the Spartans overthrew their Hellenic enemies and successfully emerged as the *προστάται τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης*. It is doubtful when this section was composed, though the remark⁷ that the battle of Coronea (394 B. C.) *ἐγένετο*

¹ ii. 4. 3, 21, 25.

² ii. 4. 14, 18-22.

³ ii. 3. 56; 4. 43.

⁴ Cp. *supr.* xiv.

⁵ Some commentators have put the break between this part and the next at v. 3. 27. For arguments against this cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 56.

⁶ Cp. Plut. Ages. 10 *καὶ μέγιστος μὲν ἦν ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν τότε ζώντων ἐπιφανέστατος, ὡς εἴρηκέ που καὶ Θεόπομπος.*

⁷ iv. 3. 16.

οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν seems to have more force, if it was written before the battle of Leuctra. But at the Peace of Antalcidas the historian seems to have paused, meaning to lay aside his pen. Thus in v. 1. 35, 36 he recapitulates the results of Greek History from the destruction of the Walls of Athens 404 to the King's Peace 387-386; and in iii. 5. 25 he records the subsequent death of the exiled king Pausanias at Tegea, as if he would never again reappear in his narrative; whereas as a matter of fact he is mentioned again¹ in the history of Agesipolis' campaign in 385. Moreover, the philologists and statist² discover a change in vocabulary and diction in comparing this part with what follows.

The fourth part (v. 2-vii, 386-362) is the most unsatisfactory of all—fullest of inequalities and unaccountable omissions of events and persons. Here Xenophon in Herodotean fashion shows how the ὕβρις of Sparta in seizing the Cadmea (382) soon brought with it its own νέμεσις in its unexpected loss (379), and still worse in her crushing defeat at Leuctra (371). Hereafter Xenophon seems to have had neither the heart nor the patience to trace the gradual downfall of his beloved Sparta and the growth of the hated Thebes. His history becomes as confused as the wars and politics of the times, until it stops with the battle of Mantinea, which, while it brought no advantage to the conqueror, ended for ever all possibility of Sparta's again becoming the champion of Greece—ἀκρισία καὶ παραχῇ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. As to the date of the composition of this section, if our previous conjecture as to the date of the third part be accepted, it must have been begun (if we leave out of consideration the notes, which it seems to have been Xenophon's habit to jot down in a commonplace book at the time of the events) some time after the battle of Leuctra, shortly after which Xenophon seems³ to have shifted his habitation from Scillus to Corinth; and the allusion⁴ to the reign of Tisiphonus proves that it was not completed in the year 358. It must, therefore, have occupied the last few years of Xenophon's life: for his death can be assigned with reasonable certainty to the year 354 B. C.

Thus far we have been occupied mainly with proving our

¹ v. 2. 3.

³ Cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 26.

² Cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 35 ff.

⁴ vi. 5. 37.

hypothesis¹ that the lack of unity in the *Hellenica* is due partly to the nature of the subject-matter, partly to the length of time over which its composition was spread, and partly to the shifting motives which animated the historian at different periods of his life.

Our next task is to consider the numerous omissions and inequalities which occur throughout the whole of the *Hellenica*, though less perhaps in iii-v. 1. 36 than in the other parts of the work. First of all, however, two general theories to account for their origin may be briefly disposed of. The first² is that the *Hellenica* in its present shape is only a later epitome of Xenophon's own work. To refute this theory it is sufficient to adduce the fact, that while the characteristics of an epitome are to leave out unimportant details altogether, and to give a summary of the whole, laying most emphasis on the matters of most importance, in the *Hellenica* the case is reversed almost more frequently than not. The second theory that our present text is very corrupt and has suffered much at the hands of interpolators, who, it is argued, may have seen good to omit just as well as to insert, is capable of neither proof nor disproof. The discovery of a papyrus fragment of the third century A. D. exhibiting the text, with the passages which are now almost universally regarded as interpolations, much in the state of the *textus receptus*, renders this hypothesis even more improbable than before.

We must now turn to the omissions and inequalities themselves. The most convenient arrangement will be to treat each of the four parts above distinguished separately, as different reasons may perhaps be discoverable for their occurrence in each part, and at any rate somewhat different theories to account for them have been advanced.

First Part: i-ii. 3. 10. 411-404 B. C.

Omissions occur here not only in the interval³ between the point where Thucydides ends and Xenophon begins, but frequently

¹ Cp. supr. p. xii.

² Campe, Uebersetzung, &c., 1856; A. Cyprianus, περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν κ.τ.λ., Athens, 1859; Grosser, Jahr. f. Phil. 93, 95, 105, &c.

³ Cp. supr. p. xvi.

throughout the whole section. Thus Xenophon does not mention the Spartan offer¹ of peace to the Athenians after the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B. C., and the similar offer² made after the battle of Arginusae in 406 B. C. The recovery³ of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians, which the Athenians had held ever since 425 B. C., Xenophon represents as the mere expulsion of some runaway Helots; and he does not say a word about the unsuccessful expedition which the Athenians sent under Anytus to relieve their garrison in the place; nor about the recovery⁴ by the Megarians of their port of Nisaea at the same time, which had been in the possession of the Athenians since 424; nor yet about the battle which shortly ensued, when the Athenians defeated the Megarians with great slaughter. Again, nothing is said about Alcibiades' plundering expedition against Cyme, though according to Diodorus⁵ it was one of the chief causes of the complaints against him, which brought about his downfall. Similarly⁶, Xenophon does not tell how in the year of his admiralty Lysander organized the oligarchical clubs in Asiatic Greece and the Aegean, which after the battle of Aegospotami did such good service to the Lacedaemonian cause.

Obscurities due to the omission of some important link in the chain of events, or to excessive brevity, are even more numerous. It has already⁷ been shown how Xenophon presupposes a knowledge of Thucydides, and that even then more has to be supplied to fill up the interval between the two narratives; but the same defects are noticeable throughout. For example, the newly appointed generals coming from Syracuse are made⁸ to take over the fleet at Miletus, which Xenophon had represented as built and still in dock at Antandros. Thrasyllus was sent⁹ to Athens to procure reinforcements for the Athenian armament in the Hellespont; but when at last he is given them, he takes them, without any word of explanation, to Ionia. No reason is assigned¹⁰ for the Lacedaemonian ambassadors and Hermocrates attaching themselves to

¹ Cp. i. 1. 23 with Diod. xiii. 52; Nepos, Alc. 5; Aesch. Fal. Leg. 76.

² Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 34, quoted by the Schol. on Aristoph. Frogs, 1532.

³ Cp. i. 2. 18 with Diod. xiii. 64, 65.

⁴ Diod. l. c.

⁵ Cp. i. 5. 15 with Diod. xiii. 73.

⁶ Cp. i. 6. 4; ii. 2. 5 with Diod. xiii. 70, 104; xiv. 10 and Plut. Lys. 5.

⁷ Cp. *supr.* p. xvi.

⁸ i. 1. 26, 31.

⁹ i. 1. 8; 2. 2.

¹⁰ i. 3. 13.

the Athenian ambassadors, to whom Pharnabazus had promised a safe conduct to the Persian king after the capture of Byzantium. These ambassadors at Gordium¹ meet other Lacedaemonian ambassadors, returning from the king, who, though never previously mentioned, are introduced with the definite article as if already known. What finally became of Hermocrates, when he attempted² to return to Syracuse, is never stated. Callicratidas at an important crisis sent³ ships to Sparta to procure supplies, but nothing more is heard of them. Though in 409 B. C. Chalcedon was not captured⁴ by the Athenians, yet in 405 B. C. it appears in their possession.

The inequality and disproportionate length with which many episodes are treated, are still more extraordinary. Personal and military details, as any one acquainted with the other writings of Xenophon would expect, are often given with considerable fullness, like the negotiations⁵ between Lysander and Cyrus, the stratagem⁶ whereby Conon contrived to send to Athens news of his blockade in Mytilene, and the measures⁷ adopted by Eteonicus to quell the mutiny of his troops at Chios. On the other hand, many important events are dismissed in a few words, e. g. the expulsion⁸ of the philo-Laconian party from Thasos and the consequent exile of Pasippidas; the capture⁹ of Selymbria; the joint attack¹⁰ of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades upon Phocaea; the capture¹¹ of Delphinium by the Spartans; the accusation¹² of Erasinides *περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας* after Arginusae; the *στάσις*¹³ in which the demagogue Cleophon was slain; the revolt of the Athenian allies and the institution¹⁴ of Harmosts and Decarchies by Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami; the amnesty¹⁵ of Patroclides, by which he attempted to unite all parties at Athens to sustain the coming siege; and lastly the opposition¹⁶ offered to Theramenes' proposals for peace with Sparta and the ultimate surrender of the city. There is the same want of proportion in the speeches reported in this section. While the speech of Alcibiades to his fleet before the battle of Cyzicus is dismissed¹⁷ in three lines, the speeches¹⁸ of

¹ i. 4. 2.

² i. 1. 27-29; 4. 7.

³ i. 6. 8, 9.

⁴ i. 3. 8; ii. 2. 1.

⁵ i. 5. 2-7.

⁶ i. 6. 19-21.

⁷ ii. 1. 1-4.

⁸ i. 1. 32.

⁹ i. 3. 10.

¹⁰ i. 5. 11.

¹¹ i. 5. 15.

¹² i. 7. 2.

¹³ i. 7. 35.

¹⁴ ii. 2. 5, 6; 3. 6, 7.

¹⁵ ii. 2. 11.

¹⁶ ii. 2. 22, 23.

¹⁷ i. 1. 14.

¹⁸ i. 6. 5, 8-11.

Callicratidas to the discontented Lacedaemonians and to the Milesian assembly are given at some length. Similarly only the bare subject of Alcibiades' speeches¹ before the Athenian Council and Assembly on his return from exile is indicated; whereas the speech of Euryptolemus in defence of the generals after Arginusae, delivered on an occasion of scarcely greater importance, is the longest in the whole of the *Hellenica*.

To account for these and similar defects—besides the general theories already alluded to—various special theories have been constructed. One is that for this portion of his work Xenophon used the rough materials² already collected by Thucydides for the completion of his history. Such a hypothesis not only rests on no evidence whatsoever, but furnishes no explanation why some events should have been put in and others left out, why some parts should have been elaborated and others not, especially as in the more elaborated portions (e.g. the speech of Euryptolemus) there are no traces of Thucydides' peculiarities of style.

More worthy of examination is the theory³ that these defects are due to Xenophon's partiality for Sparta and her aristocratic constitution. In support of this view is adduced the omission of the humiliating offers of peace made by Sparta after the defeats of Cyzicus and Arginusae; of the crushing defeat of the Megarians just after they had succeeded in recovering their port at Nisaea; of Agis' unsuccessful sally⁴ from Decelea right up to the walls of Athens; of Lysander's organization of the oligarchical clubs among the Asiatic Greeks; and of Lysander's cruel conduct⁵ towards the Milesians—to which might be added the defective account given by Xenophon of the recovery of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians. But an almost equal number of omissions may be collected of incidents favourable to Sparta, and of insertions of things damaging to her reputation. Thus Xenophon never has a word of praise for Lysander, although he was the victor at Aegospotami and the main cause of the downfall of Athens; and he evidently has a much greater admiration for the unsuccessful Callicratidas, between

¹ i. 4. 20.

² Cp. Volckmar, de Xen. Hell., Göttingen, 1837.

³ Cp. Sievers, Comment. Inst. de Xen. Hell., Berlin, 1833.

⁴ Diod. xiii. 72.

⁵ Diod. xiii. 104.

whose unselfish and patriotic behaviour and Lysander's meanness and ambition a tacit contrast is manifestly implied. Again, Xenophon omits the recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians, and the capture¹ of Chios, Iasos, and Sestos by the Peloponnesians—all Lacedaemonian successes most damaging to Athens. On the other hand he relates in full the disastrous defeats of the Peloponnesians at Abydos, Cyzicus, and Arginusae, and even gives *verbatim* Hippocrates' pitiable letter to the Spartan Government. Moreover, to take the converse of the theory, it seems to be just as much a matter of accident what incidents Xenophon happens to insert or omit favourable or damaging to the reputation of Athens. Thus on the one side he does not relate the failure of Anytus' expedition to relieve Pylos, nor the subsequent trial of that demagogue, when he only escaped condemnation by bribing his judges; though this was, Diodorus² tells us, the first known instance of corruption in an Athenian law court. And though on the other side he does indeed relate how conscience-stricken the Athenians felt after the battle of Aegospotami, fearing that now they themselves would suffer the same fate as they had inflicted on defenceless people like the Melians, yet he omits Cleophon's opposition to the Spartan offers of peace after Cyzicus and Arginusae, and his still more foolish opposition to the comparatively mild terms first offered by Sparta during the siege of Athens.

It would seem therefore that however much reason there may be for accusing Xenophon in the later books of allowing his partiality for Sparta to warp his judgement and spoil his history, in this section at any rate the charge is groundless.

Neither does the theory³ of personal prejudice against individuals carry us very far. Enough has already been said about Lysander and Callicratidas, to dispose of the charge in their case; but Xenophon's picture of Alcibiades deserves more notice. It is true that he passes over Alcibiades' most splendid exploits in a word or two, like his capture⁴ of Selymbria, his escort of the Eleusinian procession by land, and his successful speeches before the Athenian Council and Assembly. But on the other hand he passes still

¹ Diod. xiii. 65, 104, 106.

² xiii. 64.

³ Cp. Hertzberg, Alcibiades.

⁴ i. 3. 10; Plut. Alc. 30

more briefly¹ over his failure at Andros, his marauding expeditions from Samos in the winter of 407-406, for which the first complaints were brought against him at Athens, and his final disgrace and loss of his generalship; and he omits altogether the scandalous tales which Plutarch² and other authorities delight to retail against him. Moreover, he even enlarges on the favourable feelings with which far the larger section of the Athenian people welcomed him on his return, while he dismisses the murmurs of his enemies against him in a few scarcely intelligible lines; and he dwells at some length on the patriotic advice³ which Alcibiades gave the careless Athenian generals just before the battle of Aegospotami, suppressing the fact, which Diodorus⁴ relates, that the would-be patriot was at the same time actuated by motives of private interest. The defects therefore in his picture of Alcibiades are neither more nor less than those to be found in his sketches of other persons, like Hermocrates, Callicratidas, and perhaps Conon, with whom he was certainly more in sympathy.

So far then our examination has brought us only to the negative result, that there is no single key whereby to solve all the difficulties with which bks. i-ii. 3. 10 abound. Most of them indeed seem to admit of no explanation whatever. In some cases we can perhaps see that Xenophon's fondness for personal anecdote or interest in the art of war has led him to narrate little incidents, in themselves of no importance, at disproportionate length, but personal feelings either one way or the other do not help us to account for his omissions. Perhaps the most obvious theory to explain them is to regard them as due to want of personal knowledge; but even on this theory we can see no particular reason why Xenophon's treatment of events should be so uneven. For events occurring almost simultaneously at Athens, on the Hellespont, in Ionia, and elsewhere are related in one place with unaccountable fullness, in another with unaccountable brevity; and no known incidents of his life explain the difference. But there the defects are, and we shall soon see that they are not peculiar to this section.

¹ i. 4. 21-23; Plut. Alc. 35.

² Cp. i. 5. 16 note; Plut. Alc. 36; Diod. xiii. 73, 74.

³ ii. 1. 25.

⁴ xiii. 105.

Second Part : ii. 3. 11-4. 43. 404-401 B. C.

This like the first part belongs to what has been called Xenophon's Attic History, dealing with events which happened while the author was still a resident in Athens. In its general tone it resembles very closely the account of the Trial of the Generals after Arginusæ; and here again we are met with the same kind of omissions and of inequalities of treatment. Nothing is said either here or in the preliminary notice (ii. 3. 1) as to the events which led up to the appointment of the Thirty: we are told nothing of the selection of an oligarchical committee of Five (of which Lysias¹ speaks) who were called Ephors out of compliment to Sparta, nor of the succeeding struggle between the oligarchs and democrats wherein many of the generals, taxiarchs, and other important persons belonging to the democratic party were arrested; not yet of the second visit² of Lysander to Athens at whose dictation the Thirty were appointed; and, stranger still, he omits to notice Alcibiades' murder³ and the share that Lysander at the instigation of Critias had in bringing it about. So too the cruel decree⁴ of the Spartans, forbidding any Greek State to give shelter to the Athenian exiles, is passed over; and the ultimate fate of the Thirty is dismissed in a single unintelligible phrase.

Here again events are alluded to as well known of which no previous account has been given. Thus Theramenes⁵ in his defence against Critias refers to the banishment of Thrasybulus, Anytus, Alcibiades, and others, although not a word has previously been said about them; and after the death of Theramenes the Thirty forbid⁶ all *ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου* to enter the city, though it nowhere appears that they had previously been driven out. Finally the Ten in the Piræus are introduced⁷ with the definite article, although never mentioned before.

Similarly the inequalities of treatments are as striking as before. Constitutional questions interest our author but little. A couple

¹ Lysias xii. 43.

² Cp. ii. 3. 2 note with Lysias xiii. 15.

³ Cp. ii. 3. 42 with Plut. Alc. 39 and Nep. Alc. 10.

⁴ Cp. ii. 4. 1 with Lysias xii. 99 and Diod. xiv. 6.

⁵ Cp. ii. 3. 44 with 13, 14, 21.

⁶ ii. 4. 1.

⁷ ii. 4. 19.

of lines¹ suffice to describe the appointment of the Thirty, and the restoration² of the democracy occupies no greater space. The dramatic story of Theramenes'³ execution on the other hand is told at great length, and so too is the device⁴ of the oligarchical engineer to hinder the advance of Thrasybulus' siege engines.

In this second part Xenophon's impartiality is quite unimpeachable. He dilates on the enormities of the Thirty and the brutality of Callibius the Spartan harmost. While he attributes⁵ to Pausanias mean motives of personal pique for checkmating Lysander's design of extermination against the Athenian exiles under Thrasybulus, he evidently approves⁶ the measures taken by that hesitating monarch for the salvation of the Athenian democrats. The violence of Critias is shown up with unsparing hand, and the brave death of Theramenes, whose unscrupulous intrigues have been previously recounted, extorts from the historian for the first time words of praise in the first person.

Third Part : iii. 1. 1-v. 1. 36. 401-386 B.C.

In this and the following part, which have been called the Spartan History, Xenophon writes first as an exile from and never as a resident in Athens. Throughout he writes as a partisan of Sparta and an ardent admirer of Agesilaus her king : throughout he is just—even indulgent—towards Athens ; and throughout he is unfair and bitter against Thebes, the overthrower of his most cherished ideal of Spartan Hegemony by land and perhaps Athenian Hegemony by sea. His impartiality can indeed be put to a simple test : for while in the years⁷ 395-362 he mentions more than forty Lacedaemonian generals and officers and nearly as many Athenian, he mentions no Theban general by name except Epaminondas (Pelopidas⁸ is only once noticed as an ambassador to the Persian court), and then only at the end of his career and in words of obviously reluctant praise.

To come, however, to the *omissions* in this third part—a few may be dismissed at once as due to mere negligence : thus nothing is

¹ ii. 3. 1, 11.

² ii. 4. 43.

³ ii. 3. 22-56.

⁴ ii. 4. 27.

⁵ ii. 4. 29.

⁶ ii. 4. 31 ff.

⁷ Cp. Mure, Gk. Lit. v. 295, 315.

⁸ vii. 1. 33.

said as to what became of Dercylidas and his troops after¹ his treaty with Tissaphernes in 397: and three years later Dercylidas is introduced² quite casually as meeting Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the battle of Corinth. Similarly³ Euxenus is left by Agesilaus in Asia with 4,000 men, but nothing more is told of them. Again Teleutias gets⁴ ships from Samos in 391 (?), but Xenophon never tells us, what we gather from Diodorus⁵, that his predecessors had subjugated the island. So Eteonicus is said⁶ to be *again* in Aegina, but no previous visit has been mentioned.

Other so-called omissions may be due simply to the judicious selection of his events by Xenophon: thus we hear nothing of Lysander's intrigues⁷ to obtain the Spartan throne for himself; nothing of Herippidas' exploits⁸ at Heraclea Trachinia; nothing of the negotiations⁹ for peace after the capture of the Long Walls of Corinth in 392-391. But far the most important and the most suspicious omissions are those involving any Theban success or Spartan reverse. Xenophon never lets us see, what a formidable rival Thebes had become to Sparta in northern Greece after the battle of Haliartus, 395; his only hint is iv. 3. 3¹⁰ Λαρισαῖοι . . . καὶ Κραννῶριοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς: but we have to go to Diodorus¹¹ to learn of Ismenias' successes over the Lacedaemonians at Pharsalus and Heraclea and of his victory at Naryx. Again, nothing in Xenophon's narrative¹² would lead us to suspect, as we only discover from Diodorus and other sources, that the decisive victory won by Conon and Pharnabazus at Cnidus (394) over the Peloponnesian fleet was only their crowning success in a series of efforts, which included a previous victory at Caunus and the revolt of Rhodes, and which were begun as early as 397.

Still more apparent in the inequalities of his narrative is Xenophon's partiality for Sparta, and especially for Agesilaus, and his hatred of Thebes. The copious and picturesque details with which he recounts the campaigns of Thibron, Dercylidas, and Agesilaus

¹ iii. 2. 20.

² iv. 3. 1.

³ iv. 2. 5.

⁴ iv. 8. 23.

⁵ xiv. 97.

⁶ v. 1. 1.

⁷ Diod. xiv. 13; Plut. Lys. 25.

⁸ Diod. xiv. 38, 81.

⁹ iv. 4. 12; 8. 15 notes.

¹⁰ Cp. note ad loc.

¹¹ iv. 82.

¹² iv. 3. 10; 8. 1.

in Asia (399-395), and of Agesilaus' expedition against Piraeum (390) and perhaps too of his expeditions against the Acarnanians (389)—are sufficiently explained by the fact that Xenophon was himself an eyewitness, and here relates even at undue length matters which most struck him or most interested him. What however can be urged in defence for his descriptions of the battles of Corinth and Coronea, at the latter of which he was himself¹ present? At the battle of Corinth he seems to impute to the Thebans² a cowardly fear of facing the Lacedaemonians, tampering with the auspices, and the adoption of a deep column formation much to the disadvantage of their friends—charges which he insinuates rather than attempts to justify. Xenophon's story of Coronea is a mere panegyric of Agesilaus, detailing with loud notes of admiration his brave but rather foolish and certainly unsuccessful attempt to stop the Thebans, returning from pursuit of the Orchomenians, from rejoining their friends on Mount Helicon. Not that Xenophon is wholly blind to the faults of Sparta nor even of Agesilaus himself. By the mouth of the Theban orator³ at Athens in 395 he states quite plainly how far-reaching was the hostile feeling roused in Greece by Sparta's high-handed proceedings at Athens, in Elis, and elsewhere, and that too among her old supporters the Corinthians, the Arcadians, and the Achaeans. Similarly he censures⁴ Agesilaus' appointment of his incapable brother-in-law Pisander to be admiral of the Peloponnesian fleet. Again⁵ he recounts with an evident sense of the fitness of things how Agesilaus' arrogance towards his prisoners of war and the Theban envoys was crushed by the news of Iphicrates' annihilation of the Spartan *mora* at Lechaeum.

Such instances may serve indeed to warn us against too harsh a judgement about Xenophon's omissions and inequalities in this part. *Suppressio veri* does of course amount to *suggestio falsi*: but there is nothing to show that Xenophon wilfully misstates matters of fact. What we have to lament is that Xenophon does not always give us his facts in their proper setting, and that this occurs too frequently in cases involving the humiliation

¹ Anab. v. 3. 6.

² iv. 2. 18.

³ iii. 5. 8-15.

⁴ iii. 4. 29.

⁵ iv. 5. 6.

of Sparta or the triumph of Thebes to be regarded as altogether accidental.

Fourth Part: v. 2. 1-vii. 5. 27. 386-362 B. C.

In this part Xenophon seems to have given up all attempt to write a connected history of Greek affairs. It consists mainly of isolated sketches, many of them—like the long digression on the petty affairs of the little town of Phlius—well written and interesting in themselves, but of small importance from the point of view of general history. Thus to give a list of omissions in this part would amount to rewriting Greek History. It will therefore be sufficient only to point out those omissions—numerous and important enough by themselves—which involve breaks in the chain of causation in the events narrated by Xenophon, and which in many places would render his narrative unintelligible, could it not be supplemented from other sources. Here again the events omitted are in so many cases unfavourable to Sparta, that the historian's reputation for impartiality correspondingly suffers, though there is at the same time no reason to convict him of wilful misstatement of facts.

Thus the story of the Olynthian Confederacy and its aggressions on its neighbours comes upon us in the speech¹ of Cligenes (382 B. C.) as a bolt from the blue: nowhere does Xenophon explain the nature of the League nor its previous relations with Amyntas king of Macedon. True, the story seems only to be introduced at all to account for Sparta's seizure of the Cadmea; but if introduced, it ought to have been made intelligible. After the capture of the Cadmea, though he speaks² of the indignation at first felt at Sparta at this unauthorized act of Phoebidas, Xenophon says nothing of the fine, which according to the other authorities³ was imposed upon him: in all probability however, as very shortly afterwards⁴ we find Phoebidas made by Agesilaus harmost of Thespieae, the fine was never really exacted, and this may account for Xenophon's omission. To the new and important Athenian Confederacy of

¹ v. 2. 11.

² v. 2. 32.

³ Diod. xv. 20; Plut. Pel. 6; Nepos, Pel. 1.

⁴ v. 4. 41.

378 B.C., which at the time seems to have influenced Lacedaemonian policy much more than the action of Thebes, Xenophon¹ makes the barest reference: Diodorus² gives more detail, but is hopelessly inaccurate, and but for monumental evidence we should have but the haziest notion of what took place. No doubt the historian always takes but little interest in naval warfare, and this may account for his vague and unintelligible allusion³ to the important Lacedaemonian defeat at Naxos in 376 B.C., which he does not even mention by name, though introducing it with the definite article as a famous engagement. Why again has he omitted to mention the Theban victory⁴ gained by Pelopidas over the Lacedaemonians at Tegyra in 375-374, to which he has an obscure allusion in vi. 4. 10? Or why has Xenophon so much to say about Jason of Pherae⁵ (374-370) and his successors down to Tisiphonus (358) and their influence in Thessalian affairs, and yet gives us not a word about the many expeditions of the Thebans into Thessaly under their greatest generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas (except an obscure allusion in vii. 1. 28), which alone made the doings of these tyrants of any importance to the history of Greece? Most extraordinary of all, Xenophon has entirely omitted the principal object which Epaminondas had in view in his first invasion of the Peloponnesus (370-369)—the restoration of Messenian independence, to which however he is compelled by his narrative of 368-367⁶ to allude in terms in themselves quite inexplicable without recourse to other authorities. Similarly though he has occasion later on to speak⁷ of the Megapoliitans, he omits the foundation of Megalopolis c. 370. Again as to Philiscus' mission⁸ from Ariobarzanes we are left quite in the dark both as to what were its causes and what were its consequences. Indeed, as stated already, bk. vii is no continuous history at all: it is a series of sketches, dealing now with the Theban invasions of Peloponnesus, then with the Arcadians and Eleans, again with the affairs of Sicyon or Phlius, of Athens or of Corinth, and winding up with a fairly full and well-written account of the fourth and last Theban

¹ v. 4. 34 and note.² xv. 29.³ v. 4. 61.⁴ Plut. Pel. 15, 25; Diod. xv. 37.⁵ vi. 1. 4 ff.; 4. 20-5. 1.⁶ vii. 1. 27.⁷ vii. 5. 5.⁸ vii. 1. 27.

invasion of Peloponnesus which ended in the fateful day of Mantinea.

The omissions then in this part tend more especially to obscure the growth of the power of Thebes and the glories of her statesmen and generals and to gloze over the decay of Sparta. Still even here philo-Laconism and anti-Thebanism alone are not sufficient to account for Xenophon's attitude. No words could be stronger than his own¹ in condemnation of the Spartan seizure of the Cadmea, the *νέμεσις* for which he thinks directly sent from heaven. No narrative could better show up the weak side of Agesilaus' character than the simple story² wherein he relates the king's share in procuring the iniquitous acquittal of Sphodrias. No one could have more powerfully depicted the growing weakness of Sparta (374-373) than Xenophon himself in telling how the Lacedaemonians were obliged to confess their inability to help the Pharsalians against Jason of Pherae. No one could have told to the Spartans more bitter home truths than Xenophon³ has put into the mouth of the Athenian orator Autocles. Nor are all his omissions in favour of Sparta: he alludes⁴ only very briefly to the barbarous destruction of Plataea by the Thebans, and altogether omits their still more barbarous⁵ treatment of Orchomenus.

What then is the result of this long and tedious examination? Xenophon, we must suppose, was animated, like many another man, with an irresistible impulse to write a history of his own times. For nearly half a century he must have kept a diary or commonplace book. These notes at various times in his life he attempted to work up into a more or less continuous history. But he never succeeded, like Plato's philosopher, in viewing the course of events as from a high and lofty watch-tower. In many of them he played no inconsiderable part himself, and in all he takes no pains to conceal his own personal feelings and predilections: he is an oligarch, a friend of Sparta, an admirer of Agesilaus, a hater of Thebes. Naturally therefore all the corresponding feelings tend to find a place in his narrative; they influence con-

¹ v. 4. 1.

⁴ vi. 3. 1, 5.

² v. 4. 25-34.

⁵ Diod. xv. 79.

³ vi. 3. 7.

sciously or unconsciously his selection of subjects, his omissions and his commissions. Above all, however, he is an honest man, fond of truth and justice for their own sake, a pious worshipper of the gods. This higher side of his character appears in constant conflict with the lower. Thus in the case of Agesilaus his personal admiration of his hero leads him to exaggerate his exploits and minimize his reverses; but his sense of truth and justice does not allow him to pass over all the king's follies and mistakes. So it is everywhere: Xenophon seems always to fall between two stools. No writer of personal reminiscences has ever written a better book than the *Anabasis*, the story of Xenophon's own campaign; and there are corresponding parts in the *Hellenica* which reach as high a level. Unfortunately, however, the satisfactory accomplishment of the object, which Xenophon seems to have set before himself in the latter work, demanded a different treatment and a different genius—the all comprehensive genius of a Thucydides, and with this not the most ardent defender would pretend that Xenophon was endowed.

Tried by such a standard Xenophon falls short of the ideal: but it is very greatly to his credit that his detractors should wish to apply it to him at all. Tried, however, by the standard of the other authorities, who write about the same times, Xenophon comes out easily first. Modern historians and commentators now almost with one consent recognize that the contemporary orators, like Andocides, Lysias, and Isocrates, the historian Diodorus, and the biographer Plutarch, when they deal with the same events, can be used only to supplement, not to correct Xenophon's narrative. The orators naturally speak in the heat and passion of the moment: their first object is to persuade, to which but too often they make the truth but secondary. The actual value of any particular portion of Diodorus or Plutarch varies of course with that of the more ancient authorities on which it happens to be based; and to estimate such value is one of the most difficult problems of the modern writer. To speak generally, however, they are both far inferior to Xenophon. Diodorus, it is but too apparent, cares for history, not so much for its own sake, but as an *opus oratorium*, in which he can display his own surprising talents. Plutarch, however charming and artistic his biographies may be, evidently uses

the facts of history only 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Xenophon alone by his simple and unvarnished style, by his general impartiality and love of truth, even too by the very defects, which, however much they may mar and disfigure his narrative, yet by their curiously fortuitous and unaccountable occurrence tend rather to confirm its truth—leaves upon the mind of his reader the impression that his history, so far as it goes, is a history of facts.

§ 2. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA.

THE chronology followed in this edition is based on Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, published in 1834: here and there, however, will be found certain departures which the discovery of ancient inscriptions and the general advance of historical knowledge have seemed to necessitate. It is the object, therefore, of the following pages to justify these changes, and at the same time to discuss several of the dates, admitted by Clinton himself to be doubtful, on which any new light has been thrown. For the sake of convenience the discussion is divided into paragraphs dealing with the dates of different periods. Controversy has, as far as possible, been avoided, and it is sufficient here merely to refer to the formidable bibliography on the subject.

For greater accuracy the years are reckoned from April to April—the time when the Greeks were accustomed to open their campaigns, as thereby the difficulty is avoided of separating the writer's events between two years of the Christian era.

Many references will be found to the years of the archons in Diodorus. The archons entered upon office on the 1st of Hecatombaeon (c. July), the first month of the Attic official year. But as the Athenians reckoned by lunar months, and were certainly often as much as a month wrong, if not more, it is well to remember the caution of Thucydides (v. 20) σκοπεῖτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους (summers and winters) καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων πιστεύσας μᾶλλον. οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστιν οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ μεσοῦσι

καὶ ὅπως ἔτυχέ τῳ ἐπεγένετό τι. Diodorus, moreover, in his annalistic treatment begins the history of each year apparently about mid-winter, but nevertheless prefixes to it the name of the eponymous archon as well as those of the Roman consuls; and for his Greek history he seems to have used the work of some chronologist, who dated events strictly by the Athenian archonship, beginning in July. Naturally this led to confusion: and almost more often than not Diodorus in his carelessness puts events, if in the right year, yet under the wrong archon; or if under the right archon, yet under the wrong year. Frequently he is mistaken in both.

A. *The last years of the Peloponnesian War.*

In the first two books of the Hellenica we find that not only is the beginning of each year of the war marked by such phrases as τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἀρχομένου ἔαρος¹ (where Xenophon is evidently following the system of Thucydides²), but in several passages additional accuracy is apparently given by the mention of Olympiads, the year of the war, or the names of the eponymous archons and ephors, and also by the notice of contemporary events in Persia and Sicily³. But by all recent commentators such passages have been suspected, and with justice, to be interpolations.

It is true that both Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally give the names of Olympic victors: but Herodotus sometimes simply styles a man Ὀλυμπιονίκης⁴ as a general mark of distinction without specifying any particular victory, and sometimes relates the victories, whether in the chariot race⁵, pentathlum⁶, or pancratium⁷, as incidents in the lives of eminent men like Miltiades the Athenian or Demaratus the Spartan; but in no case does he use an Olympiad to fix a date. Thucydides once⁸ like Herodotus uses the epithet Ὀλυμπιονίκης as the mark of a distinguished man: twice⁹ however he gives the name of the victor to help fix the date, in the first instance not specifying the contest, in the second taking the name

¹ i. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 2; 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1.

² v. 20.

³ i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.

⁴ v. 47, 71.

⁵ vi. 36, 70; ix. 103, 125.

⁶ vi. 92; ix. 75.

⁷ ix. 105.

⁸ i. 126.

⁹ iii. 8; v. 49; cp. 50.

of the victor in the pancratium ; but in both instances the celebration of the Olympic festival has an intimate connexion with his general history of the war, and is not introduced merely as a chronological datum. Moreover, Polybius¹ expressly states that Timaeus, the Sicilian historian (flor. 264 B.C.), was the first to use the first Olympiad as a chronological era, for which, however, the list of the victors in the less famous stadium or foot-race was chosen. Nevertheless, in i. 2. 1 the 23rd year of the war is called the 93rd Olympiad (really it was the fourth year of the 92nd) : and in ii. 3. 1 the Olympiad (really the 94th) is denoted by the name of the victor in the stadium without any number attached. The first instance is an obvious mistake, the second for the reasons alleged is equally spurious.

Again, Herodotus² once mentions the name of the eponymous archon at Athens to fix the date of one particular event, the invasion of Attica by the Persians ; and Thucydides³ sometimes gives the archon, ephor, and even the priestess of the Argive Hera, to mark some unusual occurrence ; but neither of them ever use these official lists to distinguish successive years. Xenophon records seven years of the war : but the interpolator only inserts the names of five archons and five ephors. Further, in two passages the names given in the text of the Hellenica are incorrect : for in ii. 3. 9, 10, a continuous list of twenty-nine ephors appears in which Pantacles immediately precedes Pityas, whereas Xenophon makes two whole years elapse between i. 3. 1 and i. 6. 1, where Pantacles and Pityas are respectively mentioned, to mark the beginning of the years⁴ ; and exactly the same mistake is made with the archons. Evidently therefore the interpolator must have had before him complete lists of the ephors and archons, must have known the right names for the year 404, and then reckoned backwards from that year, but unfortunately overlooked the beginning of a new year in i. 4. 2, where no magistrates are mentioned. Of this, however, more below.

In three⁵ passages the numbers of the year of the Peloponnesian war are given, all of which are incorrect. In a fourth⁶ passage the war is wrongly stated to have lasted $28\frac{1}{2}$ years, and this number is

¹ xii. 12.

³ ii. 1 ; v. 19.

⁵ i. 3. 1 ; 6. 1 ; ii. 1. 7.

² viii. 51.

⁴ Cf. i. 4. 12.

⁶ ii. 3. 9, 10.

substantiated by a list of 29 ephors¹. But Thucydides² distinctly says that the war from the Theban attack on Plataea down to the capture of Athens lasted almost exactly 27 years; so that, if to this another six months be added to include Lysander's return to Sparta at the end of the summer's campaign in 404, the total number of years is only 27½.

As for the notices of Sicilian and Persian history to which marks of time, like *ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, τοῦτ' αὖτ' ἐνιαυτῷ*, are mostly attached, though it is certain that the chronology of the Hellenica does not at all agree with that in Diodorus Siculus, yet, as that author is so exceedingly inexact in his dates, this disagreement does not amount to much of an argument against them. Some of the passages on Sicilian history, however, seem to be inconsistent with each other. The difficulties of the first³ passage, which is evidently inserted to account for the Ephesians conferring⁴ their citizenship upon the Selinuntines, may perhaps be resolved by supposing that Hannibal captured the cities of Selinus and Himera in the spring of 408 (not 409). For both the Hellenica (if the chronology be right) and Diodorus⁵ put the event in the year 409-408; so that this supposition would account for two Selinuntine ships still appearing⁶ in the autumn of 409 in the Aegean as Peloponnesian allies, and yet having returned⁷ to Sicily before the capture of the two cities. Again, the capture of Acragas, which Diodorus⁸ puts in the year 406, is related twice⁹ over, once as happening in 407, and the second time apparently as happening in 405, though in this second passage, it is true, its date is not precisely stated, but left open to inference with a *πρότερον*. On the other hand, the date of Dionysius' seizing the tyranny in the latter passage seems to be fairly correct. Finally the battle of Gela, referred to in ii. 3. 5, is put after the capture of

¹ Morus (Xen. Hell. p. xxiii) has ingeniously shown how the interpolator arrived at the mistaken total. It appears probable from Thuc. v. 19, 36, that the Ephors entered on their office about the autumnal equinox. When the war began therefore, Aenesias, who had entered on his office in Sept. 432 had still four months of his ephorate to run. Twenty-seven more names carry us down to Sept. 404. Then the interpolator adds a twenty-ninth, because Eudicus must have entered on his office just before Lysander returned to Sparta.

² v. 26.

³ i. 1. 37.

⁴ i. 2. 10.

⁵ xiii. 44, 61, 62.

⁶ i. 2. 8-12.

⁷ Diod. xiii. 61.

⁸ xiii. 91.

⁹ i. 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.

Athens in the spring of 404: really¹ it occurred the autumn before (405). There are similar difficulties in the references to Persian history. The first (i. 2. 19) states a mere fact, which there is no means of confirming or denying. The second (ii. 1. 8, 9) is assailable on more grounds than one: it contains forms of words, which could not have been used by Xenophon, viz. *Δαρείαον* and *Δαρείαον* with *Δαρείου* in between, and *κόρη* instead of *κάνδυς* (Cyrop. viii. 3. 10); the sister of Darius was the daughter of Artaxerxes and not of Xerxes, as stated; it professes to give a secret reason for the recall of Cyrus by his father *ὡς ἀρρωστών*, for which in § 13 Xenophon is content simply to give the ostensible reason, which he repeats again in § 15: and it makes too long an interval to elapse between the arrival of the message and the departure of Cyrus. On the whole, therefore, the balance of probability appears to be in favour of regarding as spurious all these passages, which have evidently been inserted in imitation of Thucydides' custom of closing each period of six months with brief notices of events, which have not been recorded in his general narrative.

We are left therefore for our chronological data only with the phrases *τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει* (i. 2. 1), *τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους* (i. 3. 1), *τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει* (i. 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1), supplemented occasionally by additional marks of time like *ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος*, *ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος*, *χειμῶν ἐπῆγει κ.τ.λ.* Not all of these, however, are above suspicion. One of them (i. 6. 1) is probably in the wrong place: for the election of the ten Athenian generals, who replaced Alcibiades and his colleagues (two, Conon and Aristocrates, were re-elected), and who afterwards fought at Arginusae, though in the ordinary course of events it would have taken place in the spring of 406, is recorded in i. 5. 16: then *μετὰ ταῦτα* certain operations of Conon's are inserted; and then only (to leave out of account the spurious *ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν* of § 21) comes *τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει*, intended to mark the same spring of 406. Two more *τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει* (i. 2. 1) and *τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους* (i. 3. 1) are combined, one with the phrase *ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους*, the other with the phrase *ἔαρος ἀρχομένου*—formulae which in i. 4. 2 and in the last five books of the Hellenics occur alone, as sufficient by themselves to mark the beginning of the year. The remaining two *τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει* (ii. 1. 10; 3. 1) have no such objections

¹ Cp. Diod. xiii. 96, 108.

attached to them, and may be paralleled by τῷ δ' ὑστέρω ἔτει of vii. 1. 1; 2. 10. All five, however, occur in connexion with the names of the archons and ephors, which have justly been bracketed as spurious. There remains still another difficulty in the chronology even more serious. Xenophon continues Thucydides from the point where he breaks off in his narrative of the 21st year of the war in the autumn of 411 B.C. The war lasted twenty-seven years, ending in the summer of 404. There ought, therefore, to be seven of these notices of the beginning of a new year: as a matter of fact there are only six; somewhere or other one has been left out, and the question arises, where?

Two answers have been given to this question. Dodwell¹, followed by Clinton, Grote, Büchschütz, Beloch, and many others, puts the beginning of the omitted year at i. 1. 11, whence it follows that Thrasyllus (i. 2. 1) set sail in the summer of 409, and that Alcibiades (i. 4. 12) returned to Athens in 407. Haacke², followed by Krüger, Böckh, Curtius, Kirchhoff, Breitenbach, &c., maintains that Thrasyllus sailed in the summer of 410 and that Alcibiades returned to Athens in 408: he and his followers, therefore, put the beginning of the omitted year at some point in ch. 5 after the departure of Alcibiades (i. 4. 21). In this edition Dodwell's system has been adhered to mainly for the following³ reasons. In the winter 411-410 Thrasyllus⁴ sailed to Athens to ask for reinforcements. Then ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος (Diod. xiii. 49) Mindarus collected his fleet, and after sundry evolutions, which must have occupied a considerable time, was defeated and slain by Alcibiades in the battle of Cyzicus (c. April 410). The news only reached Sparta after some delay, and the Lacedaemonians in despair humbly begged for peace (Diod. xiii. 53⁵) which through the influence of Cleophon was refused. These negotiations cannot be placed much before the end of Theopompus' archonship (411-410). Then Agis made his sally from Decelea (i. 1. 33) and was repulsed by Thrasyllus; we now learn from Lysias (xxxii. 5, 7) that Thrasyllus was στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, so that, unless he received an extra-

¹ Annales Thucyd. et Xenophont.

² Dissertatio Chronologica.

³ Cp. Beloch, Philologus, 1884, p. 276.

⁴ i. 1. 8.

⁵ Cp. Philochorus, fr. 117 Λακεδαιμονίων πρεσβευσάντων περὶ εἰρήνης ἀπιστήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ προσήκαντο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Θεοπόμπου (411-410).

ordinary appointment, he must have been elected in April 410, and entered on office in July. The probability therefore is that in this capacity he commanded the Athenians against Agis. Encouraged by the success the Athenians (§ 34) thereupon voted him 50 triremes, besides horse and foot, i. e. not much before August 410. It is reasonable to suppose that the winter months were occupied by him in fitting out his fleet; for Alcibiades in 407 took three or four months (i. 4. 21) to fit out his fleet, and in the following year, notwithstanding all their efforts, the Athenians were thirty days (i. 6. 24) in despatching the fleet of 110 ships, which afterwards fought at Arginusae. Then in the spring, or rather early summer (i. 2. 1), of 409, Thrasyllus set out for Samos, made some descents upon the Ionian coast and invaded (§ 4) *εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου*, i. e. June.

Again, after the battle of Cyzicus, Pharnabazus allowed the shipless Syracusans (i. 1. 25) *ναυπηγείσθαι τριῖρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζων*. While they were building the ships, the Syracusans found time to help the Antandrians build their city wall and do them other services for which they were rewarded with the Antandrian citizenship. Nevertheless they had their 20 ships ready (i. 2. 8, 12) to meet Thrasyllus in July (§ 7). This could only be July 409: for it is inconceivable that the Syracusans could have felled the timber and built their ships by July 410, only two or three months after the battle of Cyzicus.

Thirdly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Hypoth. to Lysias xxxii) actually states that Thrasyllus *ἐκπλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος* (410-409).

Finally, Xenophon (i. 2. 18) and Diodorus (xiii. 64) put the recapture of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians in the winter of the same year as Thrasyllus' expedition; and we know from Diodorus that the siege was a long one, involving a blockade by sea as well as by land. It must therefore have been taken, while the sea was still navigable, i. e. in the autumn. But from CIA. i. 188, v. 10 it appears that Pylos in October 410 was still in the possession of the Athenians: probably, therefore, it was taken in the following year.

Beloch (l. c.) ingeniously groups together a number of other coincidences all leading to the same result, that Thrasyllus sailed

in 409 and not in 410: but the arguments above given are the strongest (not indeed that much reliance can be placed on Dionysius' chronology), and seem to be quite sufficient in themselves.

If, then, Thrasyllus sailed in 409, it follows from the chronological data of the Hellenics (as already stated) that Alcibiades returned to Athens in 407 (not 408). This again can be otherwise strongly supported. In the first place the ten generals, who were elected (i. 5. 16) in succession to Alcibiades and his colleagues, were the generals who fought at Arginusae ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλίου (Athen. v. p. 218 a). In the ordinary course of things they must have been elected about April 406 and entered on office in July of the same year. Again, in the summer of the same year, Callicratidas succeeded Lysander in the Spartan admiralship (i. 6. 1) παρεληλυθότος ἥδη τοῦ χρόνου, i. e. a year since Lysander (similarly in 407) succeeded Cratesippidas (i. 5. 1) τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθείας. But Lysander's appointment was simultaneous (cp. *ibid.* πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ) with Alcibiades' stay in Athens. Finally the historian Andron¹, so far from putting Alcibiades' return in 408, put it in 406 in the archonship of Antigenes 407 July to 406 July (for Alcibiades, it must be remembered, landed at Piraeus in June), and he is said to have differed from Xenophon περὶ τῆς καθόδου. The battle of Notium, therefore, was probably fought early in 406.

Here, again, Beloch (l. c.) confirms these main arguments by a number of coincidences, which it is unnecessary here to reproduce.

B. *The Despotism of the Thirty, 404-403.*

The dates given in the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία (34-41) confirm the chronological data of the Hellenica and the results previously arrived at by Clinton. The Thirty, we are told (35. § 1), were appointed ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος 404-403. Taken strictly this should mean that the Thirty came into power in or after July

¹ Ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1422 περὶ τῆς δευτέρας αὐτοῦ λέγει ἀποχωρήσεως, ἣν ἐκὼν ἔφυγε, κατελθὼν μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένους (407-406) . . . διὰ δὲ τὸ πιστεῦσαι Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἡττηθῆναι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου δυσχερανθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. Ἄνδρων δὲ διαφέρεται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα περὶ τῆς καθόδου. Καλλίστρατος δὲ φησιν ὅτι οὗτος ἦν ὁ καιρός, καθ' ὃν ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης.

404, a month or two later than is generally supposed; the interpolator in the Hellenics (ii. 3. 1), however, tells us that afterwards the Athenians struck out Pythodorus' name *ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡρέθη*, and called the year *ἀναρχία*; and Aristotle also says that the Thirty appointed *πεντακοσίους βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς*, so that his election must have taken place before any archon eponymous had been regularly elected (i. e. before July): otherwise the Athenians would scarcely have erased his name. Again, *ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστῶτος* (35. § 1), when Thrasybulus seized Phyle, agrees with Xenophon's *ἐπιγίγνεται . . . χιῶν παμπληθής* (ii. 4. 3). Further, Aristotle, though he mentions no definite time, speaks of the expulsion of the Thirty (38. § 1), which Xenophon puts after an eight months' reign (ii. 4. 21, c. February), as happening a considerable time before the final amnesty¹: in this interval therefore there was time for the appointment of the Ten at Athens, for various negotiations between Athens and Sparta, and for the expedition of Lysander, followed by the second expedition of king Pausanias at the head of the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Meantime the Athenians in the city suffered great hardships from famine and want of money (Xen. Mem. ii. 7. 2; Isocr. xvi. 13), so that we need not be surprised to find that according to Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 349 f.) Thrasybulus did not return to Athens till the 12th of Boedromion (September). The final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, which Xenophon (ii. 4. 43) merely states as happening *ὕστέρῳ χρόνῳ* Aristotle (40. § 4) definitely fixes to *ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοίκησιν ἐπὶ Ξεναϊνέτου ἄρχοντος*, i. e. 401-400.

C. *The Elean War*², 399-397.

Clinton's chronology of this war (401-399) was long ago overthrown by Grote's common-sense remark (ix. 49), that, had the war been going on at the time of the Olympic festival (400 B.C.), the

¹ Cp. 39. § 1 *ἐγένοντο δ' αἱ διαλύσεις ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος*, 403. This passage is an apparent contradiction to the same author's statement infr. 41. 1 *ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου . . . ἄρχοντος* (404-403). In a way both statements are right. Pythodorus' year was the year of anarchy, and Euclides was not elected archon till the democracy was restored, i. e. after Sept. 403: cp. Plut. Glor. Athen. 349 f.

² Classical Review, 1893, p. 156.

fact would hardly have been left unnoticed by all the ancient authorities.

The chronological problem is here twofold. (1) Did the war last two years or three? (2) Did the war take place before or after the 95th Olympiad?

As to (1) Xenophon is perhaps ambiguous¹: Diodorus (xiv. 17, 34) limits the war to two years; but Pausanias (iii. 8. 3-5) who evidently follows Xenophon, speaks distinctly of three years—*τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει . . . τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου*. Did he then misinterpret Xenophon, who being a contemporary authority is manifestly of the chiefest importance? If we examine the passage in the Hellenica (iii. 2. 21-30), there can hardly be a doubt that he did not. According to Xenophon, Agis' first campaign was cut short by the occurrence of an earthquake. But *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ* the ephors again declared war against the Eleans. Now the phrase *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ* can only mean, 'when the year was drawing to a close' (cp. Classen's note to Thuc. i. 30 *περιόντι τῷ θέρει*); and as Xenophon, like Thucydides, always begins his year about our April, the close of his year must be February or March. On this interpretation, what follows immediately becomes intelligible. The Spartans, we are told, summoned contingents from their allies, who all, even including the Athenians, obeyed the summons, except the Boeotians and Corinthians. Then Agis at the head of this army entered Elis through Aulon, whereupon the Lepreates and others revolted from the Eleans. The Spartan king sacrificed at Olympia without opposition, and next proceeded to plunder the country; so rich was the booty that many Achaeans and Arcadians volunteered to join him. As he approached the city itself, internal dissensions broke out; notwithstanding this, Agis after waiting awhile inactive retired, leaving a garrison at Epitalium. All this must have occupied a considerable time, namely, all the spring and the best part of the summer of the second year's campaign, so that we are not surprised to learn (§ 30) that this garrison continued to ravage the country *τὸ λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα χειμῶνα*. At last *τοῦ ἐπὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος θέρους* (i. e. in the third year) the Eleans, to avoid further suffering, consented to accept the terms imposed by Sparta. Evidently, therefore,

¹ Grote (l. c.) follows Xenophon and Pausanias: Curtius, Gr. Gesch. v. Anm. 70, prefers Diodorus.

Xenophon represents the events as extending over three years, and Diodorus is wrong in limiting them to two years.

As to (2), Xenophon's¹ narrative seems to imply the later date, 399-397, rather than the earlier, 402-401, which is given by Diodorus (l. c.) who is followed by Grote and Curtius². For in iii. 2. 21 he distinctly states that *τούτων . . . πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδᾳ* at the same time the Elean War took place in Greece. Now, by reckoning back from Xenophon's Anab. vii. 6. 1, and from the eclipse of August 14, 394³, it appears that Dercylidas took the command in Asia in the autumn of 399 and that Agesilaus succeeded him in the spring or summer of 396. At the time of Cinadon's conspiracy, which is related by Xenophon immediately before the king's expedition to Asia⁴, Agesilaus had not yet been a year upon the throne. Supposing then that his predecessor Agis died in the spring of 397, the conspiracy may very well have taken place in the winter months of 397-396, and would give an additional reason⁵ for the ephors being willing to send Agesilaus abroad at the head of 2,000 Neodamodes or enfranchised Helots. If then Agis died in the spring of 397 immediately after the conclusion of the Elean War (as is plain from iii. 3. 1), his first expedition against Elis must have taken place in 399, the year after the Olympic festival, 398 must have been the year of his second and principal invasion, and peace must have been concluded in 397.

D. *The Corinthian War*, 395-386.

The dates for the beginning and end of the Corinthian War are well established, the first by the eclipse of August 14, 394⁶, the second by the consensus of evidence that the Peace of Antalcidas⁷, which ended the war, was concluded in the archonship of Theodotus, July 387-July 386. The eclipse fixes first the date of the

¹ Cp. Sievers, Gr. Gesch. p. 382; Breitenbach, Xen. Hell. notes; A. Holm, Gr. Gesch. iii. 8.

² For an examination of Curtius' arguments cp. Classical Review (l. c.).

³ iv. 3. 10.

⁴ iii. 3. 4.

⁵ Cp. Brasidas' expedition to Thrace, Thuc. iv. 80.

⁶ iv. 3. 10; Lysias, xix. 28.

⁷ Aristides, ii. 370; Diod. xiv. 110; Polyb. i. 6.

outbreak of the war in the preceding year, in which campaign¹ Lysander was slain at Haliartus; and secondly the dates of the sea-fight at Cnidus, a few days before the eclipse; of the battle of Coronea a short time after the eclipse; and also of the battle of Corinth, which was fought a few weeks earlier, in the beginning of the archonship of Eubulides², July 394. The chronology of the subsequent events has been much disputed owing to the vagueness of the marks of time given by Xenophon and the palpable mistakes of Diodorus; a difference indeed of as much as two years appears in the various arrangements advocated by different chronologists, some placing the destruction of the Spartan *mora* by Iphicrates in 392, others in 390, according as they date the biennial Isthmian games mentioned by Xenophon³. Clinton takes the earlier date; Grote prefers the later, which has been adopted in this edition, on the ground that not only is it more probable in itself, but that what little additional evidence has been collected since his time tends to confirm it.

The prime difficulty is due to the fact that Xenophon has chosen to narrate the events of the war by land and by sea in two wholly distinct sections, which only cross each other certainly at one point⁴ and doubtfully at another⁵, and out of neither case can much help be derived towards fixing the chronology. The events of the land-war he narrates uninterruptedly from iv. 4. 1, when Agesilaus at the end of the campaign of 394 B.C. disbanded his army, to iv. 7. 7, where he recounts an expedition of Agesipolis against Argos. Then from iv. 8. 1 to v. 1. 35 he professes to relate πάντα . . . τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γινόμενα—all the events that happened by sea during the same period of time, under the limitation, however, that he treats only of τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀξιομνημονεύτους. The problem is therefore so to combine these two sections and harmonize them with the scattered statements of other authorities, as to evolve a tolerably self-consistent scheme of chronology.

¹ iii. 5. 19.

² CIA. ii. 2084 Δεξιλέως . . . ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἐγ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἱππέων : cp. Aristides, ii. 370. ³ iv. 5. 1.

⁴ iv. 3. 10. Agesilaus heard the news of the battle of Cnidus just before the battle of Coronea.

⁵ iv. 4. 19; iv. 8. 23 : Teleutias' 12 ships.

At the end of the campaign of 394 B.C., Agesilaus¹, we are told, disbanded his army and sailed home; and Conon², while blockading the Hellespont, collected ships for the ensuing campaign. Accordingly next spring (393) Conon and Pharnabazus sailed across the Aegean, made various descents upon the Peloponnesian coast, captured Cythera, and sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth, where they found a number of allies assembled to prosecute the war with Sparta. Pharnabazus³ urged them to act vigorously, leaving with them at the same time a considerable sum of money, and then sailed homewards. On the way, however, Conon persuaded him to allow him to stay with the fleet at Athens, and to provide him with money for the purpose of rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus. Thus was Conon enabled to do this great service to his country. That all these events, including at least the beginning of the rebuilding of the Long Walls, must have taken place before July 393, is proved by an inscription⁴ recently discovered at Athens, which records the hiring of artisans by Conon for this purpose in the archonship of Eubulides, July 394 to July 393. With the Persian gold the Corinthians⁵ also found the means to equip a fleet, with which they gained the mastery over the Corinthian Gulf and maintained it, notwithstanding the efforts of the Lacedaemonians to dispossess them, until Teleutias (apparently in the following year 392-391) succeeded to the command of the Lacedaemonian ships and asserted once more the Lacedaemonian supremacy.

So far all is clear: now comes the first difficulty. Are the dissensions and battles at Corinth narrated by Xenophon in iv. 4 to be put *before* or *after* the visit of Conon and Pharnabazus? Grote⁶ argues with great force that they are to be put afterwards. He maintains that on the first outbreak of the war in 395, when they received money from Tithraustes⁷, and again, in 393, when they received money from Pharnabazus, the Corinthians were zealous in carrying on the war and had no reasons for discontent;

¹ iv. 4. 1. This happened some time after the Pythian games (September): cp. iv. 3. 21 with Plut. Ages. 19.

² iv. 8. 7.

³ iv. 8. 8.

⁴ CIA. ii. 830. Köhler, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit in Athen, iii. 1878, p. 50, and Wachsmuth, Königl. sächsisch. Gesell. 1887, p. 372.

⁵ iv. 8. 10, 11.

⁶ ix. 152.

⁷ iii. 5. 1.

whereas the discontents spoken of in iv. 4. I could only have arisen from causes which 'took effect after a long continuance—the hardships of the land-wars, the losses of property and slaves, the jealousy towards Attica and Boeotia as being undisturbed, &c.' At least the summer of 393 must therefore be allowed, wherein the ravages complained of may have taken place; so that, if the month¹ of the Euclea² be February, the massacre of the oligarchs must have happened about February 392. Then Fraxitas gained his victory within the walls of Corinth in the summer of the same year, and at the end of the campaign large armaments were given up on both sides³, and the contending parties henceforward limited themselves to harassing each other with mercenary forces stationed at Corinth and Sicyon respectively. In the same year may be placed the exploits⁴ of Iphicrates' peltasts at Phlius and in Arcadia, and the rebuilding of the Long Walls of Corinth with the help of the Athenians. Agesilaus' first invasion of Argos, the event next recorded by Xenophon⁵, thus falls naturally at the opening of the campaign of 391—a date confirmed by Andocides⁶, who apparently

¹ Kirchner, *De Andocidis quae fertur tertia oratione*, p. 10. Could more reliance be placed on this conjecture, based upon the analogy of the Calendar of Corcyra, the colony of Corinth, it would be a still stronger confirmation of Grote's view.

² iv. 4. 2.

³ iv. 4. 14.

⁴ iv. 4. 15–18.

⁵ iv. 4. 19.

⁶ Cp. iii. 18–20. It seems impossible to make Andocides quite consistent with Xenophon. He speaks of three Peloponnesian victories, and by the third over *Ἀργείους μὲν πάντας καὶ Κορινθίους, ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν τοὺς παρόντας* (cp. Xen. Hell. iv. 4. 9) he evidently means Praxitas' victory within the Long Walls of Corinth. If Xenophon be right, then Andocides must be wrong in stating that the Lacedaemonians at the same time captured Lechaëum—a pardonable exaggeration in an orator, especially when we remember what Xenophon tells us, that many of the Boeotian guards within the town were slain upon the walls and upon the roofs of the docks. Andocides goes on to say that, now that the war had lasted four years (395–392), the Boeotians were on the point of making peace, agreeing to leave Orchomenus independent, though this had been their original subject of dispute with Sparta; whereas the Argives, secured by their *πατρία* and *ἰδία εἰρήνη* from all ravaging of their country (i. e. before Agesilaus' invasion in 391), were eager for the war to continue. At this moment the Athenians were (§ 12) already in possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and according to Andocides the Lacedaemonians were now ready to admit their claims to these possessions; whereas Antalcidas' proposals (Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 12–15), that the Athenians should recognize their independence, had resulted in the complete breakdown of his negotiations. This implies that Antalcidas'

in the winter of 392-391 speaks of the war as having continued four years (i. e. 395-392) and of the Argolis being as yet unravaged. It is to be noted that Diodorus (xiv. 97) also speaks of an invasion of the Argolis by Agesilaus in the archonship of Nicoteles 391-390; but he represents Agesilaus as returning immediately to Sparta, instead of marching onwards, as Xenophon relates, to the Isthmus, so that not too much stress must be laid upon this coincidence. The invasion of the Argolis was followed by the capture of Lechaeum through the joint action of Agesilaus and Teleutias¹. This brings us next² (ἐκ τούτου) to Agesilaus' expedition against Corinth at the time of the Isthmian Games³ (c. June 390), shortly after which occurred the destruction of the Spartan *mora* by Iphicrates at the time of the Hyacinthian Festival (midsummer). This latter date is indirectly confirmed by the passage already referred to in Andocides (iii. 37), where the orator states that though the war has continued four years, the Spartans had as yet suffered no reverse by land—a statement which would have been quite impossible after this victory of Iphicrates.

It is natural to suppose that Agesilaus' campaign against the Acarnanians, which Xenophon⁴ next relates, belongs to the following year, though there is no reason, except its order in his narrative, why it should not be put a year later, i. e. 388: for the only marks of time that the historian gives (§ 12 τὸ μετόπωρον and 7. § 1 παρελθόντος τοῦ χειμῶνος) do nothing towards fixing the year. Similarly Agesipolis' invasion of the Argolis, which happened ἐκ τούτου⁵, may be equally well assigned to 388 or 387: it appears at any rate from v. 1. 29 that it must have occurred very shortly before the Peace of Antalcidas.

scheme was earlier in date (perhaps the summer of 392) than the proposed peace advocated by Andocides; and that both the Athenians and the Spartans in the interval had seen some additional reasons for wishing for peace. These may well be found, on the part of the Athenians in the loss of Conon's services owing to his arrest by Tiribazus, and on the part of the Spartans in the breakdown of Antalcidas' negotiations and consequent fear of Persia.

¹ iv. 4. 19 and iv. 8. 11.

² iv. 5. 1.

³ If this expedition be referred (with Clinton, Dodwell, Breitenbach, &c.) to 392, then all the events hitherto spoken of have to be crowded into the single year 393 instead of being spread over the three years 393-391.

⁴ iv. 6. 1-14.

⁵ iv. 7. 2.

So much for the chronology of the events by land.

The chronology of the events by sea is still more difficult owing to the fact already mentioned, that Xenophon only professes to make a selection of the most important events (iv. 8. 1-v. 1. 35). How far he has narrated them in chronological order, and how far he has grouped them together for purposes of convenience in narrating, is in many cases impossible to discover. Little help can be gained from other sources. Diodorus gives practically none: his unreliability is abundantly evident from two palpable mistakes that he makes in the course of this period (not to mention others); (a) Diphridas, he says in contradiction to Xenophon¹, commanded in Asia *before* and not *after* Thibron; (b) he leaves, obviously by accident, a whole year blank between Thrasybulus' setting out to the Hellespont² and his death at Aspendus. Fortunately Polybius³ (and his statement is confirmed by Aristides, ii. 370) fixes with certainty the Peace of Antalcidas to the year 387-386. Only two inscriptions throw any light upon the question. The first (CIA. ii. 830) confirms the date already assumed for Conon's rebuilding of the Athenian Long Walls (393 spring or summer): the second (CIA. ii. Add. 14 b) is thought to prove that the final acceptance of the Peace of Antalcidas must be put some months later than the date assigned by Clinton; for the inscription shows that Athens was still endeavouring in the archonship of Theodotus (387-386) to strengthen her influence in Clazomenae. This, it is rightly argued⁴, would have been impossible after the acceptance of the Peace, which must therefore be dated, not at the beginning, but nearer the middle of Theodotus' archonship.

Beyond these scanty materials no further direct evidence from ancient sources seems to be available. But a certain amount of indirect evidence can be obtained from the succession of Spartan admirals, if two or three preliminary assumptions be granted. The first assumption is that the admiralship at Sparta was, as a general rule, an annual office; the second that the newly elected admiral generally entered upon his office about midsummer. For both

¹ xiv. 97-99; cp. Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 21.

² xiv. 94-99.

³ i. 6; cp. Diod. xiv. 110, 117.

⁴ Cp. Swoboda and Köhler, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 1882.

these assumptions a very considerable¹ amount of evidence can be collected, and their general truth may be granted. The third assumption is that the six names, which can be collected from the Hellenica between the years 393 and 387, viz., Podanemus and his temporary successors, Teleutias, Ecdicus, Teleutias, Hierax, Antalcidas,—furnish an exhaustive list; and the fourth, that Teleutias, whatever may have been his title, practically filled the office, like Lysander before him, on two, if not three occasions, notwithstanding the law² οὐ νόμος αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν. Under these four assumptions, which in several points, as will appear, are incidentally confirmed, the various dates in the maritime war can be fixed with some degree of apparent accuracy.

How then is this list of six admirals arrived at? In Hell. iv. 8. 11 we are told that Podanemus was put in command of a fleet to counteract the Corinthian fleet, which had been equipped with the gold of Pharnabazus in 393 B.C. This cannot have occurred till after midsummer³, so that Podanemus' year of office must have been 393–392. Podanemus was however slain, and succeeded first by his secretary Pollis, who, being wounded, was in his turn succeeded by Herippidas. If then we suppose that at midsummer 392 Teleutias replaced Herippidas in the ordinary way, although Xenophon does not on this occasion call him ναύαρχος, we then get an important synchronism between the series of events by sea and land. For this would make Teleutias' year to have been 392–391, and it appears from the dates for the war by land already arrived at, that it was in the spring of 391 that Teleutias captured the docks of Lechaëum on the same day that his brother Agesilaus re-took the Long Walls of Corinth (Hell. iv. 4. 19).

Xenophon nowhere says that Ecdicus (iv. 8. 20) was Teleutias' immediate successor. Can it be proved that he was? Here our only resource is to reckon backwards from Antalcidas, whose year can be fixed with something like certainty to 388–387. For the Peace negotiated by him cannot for the reasons alleged by Clinton be put very late in the archonship of Theodotus, nor yet very early, as appears from the inscription about Clazomenae already

¹ Cp. Beloch, Rheinisches Museum, xxxiv. 1879; Philologus, xliii. 1884: Appendix, p. 344.

² ii. 1. 7.

³ Cp. supr. p. xlvii.

alluded to (CIA. 14 b). Further it appears from Xenophon's narrative¹ that the negotiations were carried on by Antalcidas during his year of office. Out of that time his journey to Susa and back, and his business there, cannot have occupied less than six months, and he appears in active command of his fleet both before and after his journey. On his return to the coast of the Aegean he found a contingent of Syracusan and Italian ships ready to help him, which, under the conditions of ancient navigation, cannot have reached the Hellespont before May. He then captured 8 Athenian ships, and further collected a fleet of 80 ships, with which he obtained so complete a command over the Hellespont that the Athenians in alarm once more became eager for peace. Finally a congress of Greek deputies met (probably at Sardis) to consider the terms offered by the King of Persia, and after this some considerable interval must have elapsed between this congress and the final acceptance of the Peace by the various Greek states about Nov. 387. All these proceedings must have required many months, so that, as Antalcidas seems to have undertaken his journey to Susa shortly after he entered upon his office, his year of command must, beyond all reasonable doubt, have been 388-387. His immediate predecessor was the admiral Hierax (v. 1. 3, 6), whose secretary was Gorgopas, and whose year must evidently have been 389-388. In that passage Xenophon relates with some detail under what circumstances Hierax took over the fleet from Teleutias; and in the previous chapter (iv. 8. 23) how Teleutias had in his turn succeeded or rather perhaps superseded the admiral Ecdicus. It seems therefore legitimate to infer that Teleutias must at any rate, whether he was entitled *ναύαρχος* or not, have held the ordinary year's command 390-389; while, if he superseded Ecdicus a few months after the latter's appointment, as an attempt will be made to show, he must then have been *de facto* commander-in-chief of the Spartan fleet for more than eighteen months. This would make Ecdicus' year of office to be 391-390; whence it follows from what has already been stated, that Ecdicus in his turn must have been Teleutias' immediate successor, shortly after the latter's capture of Lechaem in the early summer of 391.

¹ v. 1. 6-25.

The lists of Spartan admirals having been thus arrived at, the remaining events of the maritime war can be arranged with comparative ease.

393-392. Podanemus, admiral; Pollis, secretary.

Certain skirmishes took place this year in the Corinthian Gulf of which Xenophon gives no details¹, except the death of Podanemus and the wounding of Pollis, whereupon the command was taken by Herippidas.

392-391. Teleutias, admiral(?).

A priori and on the analogy of Lysander it would be natural to suppose that Teleutias was regularly appointed admiral this year, and that afterwards owing to his distinguished services and as the brother of King Agesilaus he was on the two subsequent occasions irregularly appointed to the supreme command. In the absence of all direct evidence however this must be left an open question.

This summer (392) Antalcidas' attempt² to bring about a general peace among the contending Greek states in the name of Tiribazus, the Persian satrap at Sardis, failed owing to the opposition of Athens, Thebes, and Argos.

In the autumn Tiribazus³, having first arrested Conon, who had come as envoy to his court to represent Athenian interests against Antalcidas, repaired to the Persian Court at Susa. After his arrival the Persian king sent down Struthas to succeed him at Sardis. Some six months must be allowed for these two journeys, which brings us to the spring of 391. This spring Teleutias captured⁴ the docks of Lechaëum on the same day that Agesilaus after his invasion of the Argolis re-took the Long Walls of Corinth. About the same time the Lacedaemonians, finding Struthas hostile to their interests in Asia, sent out Thibron to oppose him: but Thibron was soon defeated and slain.

391-390. Ecdicus, admiral.

The Lacedaemonians at one and the same time sent out their admiral Ecdicus to help their supporters in Rhodes, and Diphridas to collect the remains of Thibron's army and continue the war against Struthas. Diodorus (xiv. 97), it is to be noticed, synchronizes the

¹ iv. 8. 11.

² iv. 8. 12-15.

³ iv. 8. 16, 17.

⁴ iv. 4. 19.

invasion of the Argolis by Agesilaus (which however, as was noted above, he describes with some difference of detail as compared with Xenophon), and the expedition of Eudocimus (presumably Ecdicus?), Philodicus, and Diphridas. It is noticeable too that he records them both under the year of the archon Nicoteles 391-390. The synchronism is doubtless more reliable than the date; still they both confirm the present scheme of chronology, which puts the expedition of Agesilaus in the same natural year (391) as the admiralship of Ecdicus; for according to Diodorus' system of reckoning, which begins the year in mid-winter or early spring, 391 is the proper figure, whereby to denote the whole archonship of Nicoteles. Ecdicus, Xenophon tells us¹, finding the enemy too strong at Rhodes, remained inactive at Rhodes until his recall on the arrival of Teleutias *σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Δέχαιον κόλπῳ*. At this point, if we suppose that Teleutias simply succeeded Ecdicus in the ordinary way, we have to assume not only that Ecdicus remained inactive for the remainder of his twelve months' command at Cnidus, but that Teleutias also after his first year had remained a second year in command of these same 12 ships in the Corinthian Gulf, after his victory and the permanent occupation of Lechaeum by the Lacedaemonians had rendered his further presence there unnecessary. In favour of this hypothesis it might of course be argued that, if neither of the two commanders had done anything of importance within the year, Xenophon would, according to the principle which he laid down for himself in iv. 8. 1, have simply skipped over the interval. Still it seems to be more consistent with Xenophon's narrative here, and, as will appear hereafter, with the exploits of Thrasybulus, who was sent out against Teleutias, and of his successors, to suppose that the Spartan government, contrasting the victorious energy of Teleutias at Lechaeum in the spring with the unsuccessful inactivity of Ecdicus at Cnidus, decided to supersede the regular admiral after a few months only of his command had expired. If this hypothesis be correct, Teleutias must have sent (§ 23 ἀποπέμψαι) Ecdicus home in the autumn of 391, and must have continued for some twenty months or more (just like Lysander in

¹ iv. 8. 22; cp. iv. 4. 19.

405, 404 B.C.) *de facto* admiral of the Spartan fleet, whatever his title may have been. Soon after his arrival (i.e. late autumn of 391) Teleutias sailed to Rhodes and on the way captured¹ an Athenian squadron, which had been despatched under Philocrates to assist Evagoras in Cyprus. The Athenians thereupon made great exertions to counteract the activity of Sparta in the eastern Aegean, and sent a fleet of 40 vessels under Thrasybulus the Stirian to help the Rhodian democrats. Most of the winter of 391-390, we may well assume, was occupied in equipping this fleet, so that Thrasybulus probably sailed in the spring of 390. For fear of Teleutias, however, he directed his course to the Hellespont, where among other things he succeeded in winning over Byzantium to the Athenian side and in imposing the toll upon vessels passing through the Bosphorus once more for the benefit of Athens.

390-389. Teleutias, *de facto* admiral.

Diodorus², as it has already been said, chronicles these operations of Thrasybulus under the two years 392 and 390, leaving by some mistake the intervening year a blank. Now it appears from Lysias (xxviii and xxix), Demosthenes (xx. 59, lvii. 38), and various inscriptions³, as well as from Xenophon and Diodorus, that Thrasybulus' successes were wide and far-reaching in their results, so that his operations may well have extended over two years or rather parts of two years. Probably therefore he spent the whole of the summer of 390 on the Hellespont and Bosphorus, and the winter months at Lesbos, and undertook the disastrous raid upon Aspendus in which he lost his life in the spring of 389, i. e. in the latter half of the archonship of Demostratus. Diodorus, it will be noticed, also puts his death in the archonship of Demostratus, meaning thereby, however, our year 390. Still he is by no means particular under which year he arranges his events, so that the coincidence noted is some small confirmation of the present arrangement of events.

If then the spring of 389 be adopted as the date of Thrasybulus' death, the succeeding events may be put in the order narrated by Xenophon.

389-388. Hierax, admiral; Gorgopas, secretary.

¹ iv. 8. 24.

² xiv. 94, 97.

³ Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 1882, 174 ff., 312 ff.

Of this year's generals the Athenians sent out Agyrrhius¹ to take the command of Thrasybulus' ships, which had retreated to Rhodes; Iphicrates, the mercenary leader (there is no need to suppose that he had been regularly elected *στρατηγός*), to counteract the measures which the Lacedaemonians were taking to undo Thrasybulus' work upon the Hellespont; and Pamphilus² to put a stop to the piracy of the Aeginetans. After an encounter with Pamphilus at Aegina, Teleutias was succeeded by Hierax, the regular admiral for the year. Hierax at once sailed to Rhodes³, leaving his secretary Gorgopas behind at Aegina, who for five months besieged Pamphilus in a fortress which the Athenians had built upon the island: whereupon the Athenians removed Pamphilus and his troops. Aristophanes in the *Plutus* (174, 176; cp. *Eccles.* 184), which was exhibited about Feb. 388, has an obscure allusion to Agyrrhius and apparently to some legal process going on against a Pamphilus who may very reasonably be identified with the unsuccessful general at Aegina.

388-387. Antalcidas, admiral; Nicolochus, secretary.

After their removal of Pamphilus, the Athenians began once more to suffer from the depredations of the Aeginetans; so now they equipped a new squadron under Eunomus, probably one of the new generals for the year, against them. Shortly afterwards the new Spartan admiral Antalcidas arrived at Aegina.

The remaining events of the war seem to present little chronological difficulty. Antalcidas took Gorgopas with him as escort from Aegina to Ephesus, whence he immediately sent him back again, at the same time that he despatched his secretary Nicolochus to Abydos to succeed Anaxibius, who had been defeated and slain by Iphicrates in the previous year. Gorgopas on his return voyage fell in with Eunomus⁴, drove him back to Aegina, and next day defeated him, capturing four of his ships. Shortly afterwards, however, he was himself defeated by Chabrias, who was on his way to Cyprus to help Evagoras. Eteonicus⁵ was apparently appointed to succeed Gorgopas at Aegina. These events may all very well have occurred before or during the autumn of 388. Xenophon then

¹ iv. 8. 31; Diod. xiv. 99.

³ v. i. 5.

² iv. 8. 31; v. i. 1, 2.

⁴ v. i. 7-9.

⁵ v. i. 13.

goes on to say ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον.

If by ναύαρχος Xenophon here means the ordinary admiral for the year, we must suppose that the operations of Teleutias recorded in the following sections (v. i. 13-24) belong to the year 387-386, and that they are inserted out of their chronological order, because in § 25 Xenophon goes on to speak of Antalcidas, who appears to be still in his year of office (i.e. 388-387). It is, however, much simpler to suppose¹ that the designation ναύαρχος is here specially limited by the addition ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς, and that the Spartans, in the year of Antalcidas, were merely once more (αὖ) availing themselves of the services of their hitherto only successful commander at sea. In fact a continuous reading of Xenophon's narrative, especially § 20 ἐκείνος (Teleutias) γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργόπα ἀπολωλότες, seems to necessitate this hypothesis: for Gorgopas was slain about midsummer 388, and the exploits of Teleutias here recorded evidently followed close upon his death.

Meantime Antalcidas, having spent some six or eight months in his negotiations with the Persian king and in his journey to and from Susa, came down (c. March 387) again to the Aegean coast. There hearing that Nicolochus was besieged by Iphicrates at Abydos, he went by land to that city. Arrived at Abydos he collected a fleet of more than 80 ships, with which he drove Iphicrates and the other Athenian commanders out of the Hellespont, and soon reduced the Athenians at home to wish eagerly for peace. Then followed (c. May or June 387) the congress of Greek deputies, assembled under the presidency of Tiribazus (probably at Sardis), to listen to the terms dictated to them by the Great King. The next six months must have been occupied in the return of the deputies to their respective states, the opposition raised by Thebes, Agesilaus' threatened invasion of Boeotia, and the terrorizing of Corinth and Argos into submission, until at last probably about November of the same year the ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνη was finally accepted by all the Greek states.

¹ Cp. Breitenbach, note ad loc.

E. From the Peace of Antalcidas to the Battle of Leuctra,
386-371.

In this section the chronology of the first seven or eight years is extremely doubtful. We have to content ourselves with the dates and arrangement of Diodorus, except in so far as they can be corrected from the order observed by Xenophon in recording the same events. The chronology of the last eight years can be determined with much greater certainty, since we are here no longer mainly dependent upon Diodorus. Xenophon himself gives several definite marks of time, fixing the events of at least four successive years, 378-375. Two Attic inscriptions are of great importance; the first¹, dated the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, deals with the affairs of the Second Athenian Confederacy: the second², dated the archonship of Hippodamas 375-374, practically settles, as will be seen, the date of 'Timotheus' expedition round the Peloponnesus. The speech of Apollodorus (Dem. xlix) contra Timotheum fixes the date of Timotheus' second command to April 373, and his trial to November of the same year. The Pseudo-Demosthenes (lix. 1357) and Plutarch (Ages. 28) agree in assigning the battle of Leuctra to the year 371, the latter giving the day of the month as the fifth of Hecatombaeon, viz. July 6 or 8. The data for arranging the events of the successive years, where they differ at all from Clinton, are given under each year.

386-385 B.C. Sparta³ seems to have occupied the whole of this year in enforcing the provisions of the 'King's Peace,' of which she was the originator and had been constituted the champion.

385-384 B.C. Clinton is apparently right in assigning the siege⁴ of Mantinea by Agesipolis to this year, though the data are very unsatisfactory and even contradictory. Xenophon would seem to imply that the siege began in the year after the expiration of the 'Thirty Years' Peace between Sparta and Mantinea. Now we know from Thucydides⁵ that it was concluded in the winter 418-417, so that it must have expired in the winter 388-387. Xenophon ought therefore to mean that the war broke out in 386 at

¹ CIA. ii. 17.

⁴ v. 2. 1-7.

² CIA. ii. 49.

³ v. i. 36.

⁵ v. 81.

latest. It is noticeable that in § 4 he implies that the siege did not last a very long time.

Diodorus¹ puts the war in the archonship of Mystichides 386–385, i. e. in 386, thus agreeing with Xenophon. However he contradicts himself by saying² of the Spartans οὐδὲ δύο ἔτη φυλάξαντες τὰς κοινὰς σπονδὰς, since in this very chapter he assigns the declaration of war to the *first* year after the Peace of Antalcidas. Then he makes³ the siege end under the archonship of Dexitheus in the winter of 385–384, i. e. 385, thus regarding it as lasting some eighteen months. Probably therefore the best way out of the difficulty is to take 385 as the year for the whole campaign, the beginning of which may very well have been in the last months of Mystichides' archonship, May or June, and the end in the first half of Dexitheus' archonship, September or October. In this case we must not press too strictly the date of the termination of the Thirty Years' Peace: in fact Xenophon himself (§ 2) introduces it with an ἐλέγοντο. Moreover some eighteen months between the final ratification of the Peace of Antalcidas and the actual renewal of hostilities *a priori* does not appear too long.

The action of the Phliasian exiles to procure their own restoration was, Xenophon⁴ tells us, occasioned by the fate of Mantinea, which surrendered, as we have seen, in the autumn of 385. This event therefore falls most naturally into the winter months 385–384.

384–383 B. C. The historian records no events of this year.

383–382, 382–381 B. C. The events next related by Xenophon⁵, are (*a*) the appearance of Acanthian and Ambraciot envoys at Sparta to ask for help against Olynthus (which may probably be put in the winter or early spring), and the resolution of the Lacedaemonians and their allies to accede to the request; (*b*) the preliminary expedition of Eudamidas ὡς τάχιστα (§ 23) after this resolution and the surprise of the Cadmea by his brother Phoebeidas, while he was on his march, θέρους ἔντος (§ 29), to join him.

It is a question whether these events should be assigned to the Julian year 383 or 382.

E. Curtius, E. von Stern⁶, and others prefer the year 383.

¹ xv. 2, 5. ² xv. 5. ³ xv. 12. ⁴ v. 2. 8–10. ⁵ v. 2. 11–43.

⁶ Spartan. u. Theban. Hegemonie. Dorpat, 1884, p. 34.

Clinton and Grote the year 382. There seem to be only two arguments in favour of 383: (*a*) Xenophon is silent about any intermediate events between the Phliasian affair and the embassy of the Acanthians and Ambraciots; (*b*) Diodorus¹ records this embassy under the year of Phanostratus 383–382, i. e. 383. The first argument is of little or no weight. The second argument is quite valueless, because Diodorus² puts the capture of the Cadmea in the archonship of Evander 382–381, whereas it is plain from Xenophon's narrative that the two events must have occurred in the same Julian year: in fact the testimony of Diodorus ought rather to be used against this theory, the embassy falling in the last six months of Phanostratus and the capture of the Cadmea in the first six months of Evander—an arrangement which accounts for the confusion in Diodorus in the usual fashion.

On the other side, in favour of the year 382 may be urged (*a*) the passages in Diodorus already cited; (*b*) the testimony of the orator Aristides³, Πυθίων ὄντων ἡ Καδμεία κατελήφθη; (*c*) the fact that the succeeding events in Xenophon's narrative fall in better with the year 382 than 383. As to the first argument enough has already been said. From the passage in Aristides it would follow that the capture of the Cadmea took place about August 382; for it is generally agreed that the Pythian festival was held every third Olympic year, and the Delphian month⁴ Bucatius (c. August) is proved by an inscription to have been the time of the festival, simultaneous with the autumn meeting of the Pylagorae. This, it must be confessed, is not very consistent with Xenophon's θέρους ὄντος (v. 2. 29), and the preceding words τὰς γυναικας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν suggest that Aristides' memory has here failed him. For in the context he is dealing with the impiety of the Greeks in the course of these wars; and after citing the capture of the Cadmea Πυθίων ὄντων, goes on to speak with some inaccuracy of the fight⁵ over the Isthmian games in 390, and then alludes to the fight⁶ at the Olympic games in 364. It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aristides really means Phoe-bidas' disregard of the Thesmophoria. If this be so, the passage cannot on the one hand be used to fix the year to 382, nor on the

¹ xv. 5. 19.

³ CIA. ii. 545.

² xv. 20.

⁵ iv. 5. 1.

³ i. 258.

⁶ vii. 4. 28.

other need Xenophon's *θέρος ὄντος* be strained to square with the autumn of the Pythian games, but may be taken in its natural sense, viz. c. June. The date of the Theban Thesmophoria is quite unknown; in Athens the festival was held in October, but in Syracuse in the spring¹; but it is impossible to argue from one or the other to Thebes. We are thus thrown back mainly on the third argument—the order of events in Xenophon's narrative. The capture of the Cadmea, it appears, was followed in the same summer² (*ἐκ τούτου*) by the trial and execution of Ismenias. Then without any break Xenophon³ continues: *τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυνθον στρατιὰν συναπέστειλλον*. Accordingly they sent out Teleutias as harmost in command of *τὴν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν*, and after various military operations *τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε κ.τ.λ.* Stern, Curtius, &c., interpose the winter of 383–382 between the execution of Ismenias and the departure of Teleutias. Here not only is it much more natural to regard *τοῦτο τὸ θέρος* of § 43 as the same as the *θέρος ὄντος* of § 29; but it seems absurd to suppose that after solemnly resolving in the early spring that each state should send *τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα* for the summer's campaign, and after actually dispatching Eudamidas' force in advance, the Spartans and their allies waited a whole year before carrying their resolution into effect—especially when we read that after the Theban affair they all acted *πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον* § 37, and that Teleutias actually took with him this *τὴν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν*. Surely the narrative implies that immediately after sending out Eudamidas' preliminary expedition before the capture of the Cadmea—for Xenophon carefully notes that Phoebidas only followed his brother with *τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ* (i. e. Eudamidas) *προσ τεταγμένων*, not with the main army—steps were taken to organize the larger force, and this being ready to hand, Teleutias conducted it against Olynthus as soon as the affair of the Cadmea was settled.

381–380 B. C. Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρὶ ὑποφαινόμενῳ⁴ Teleutias began anew operations against Olynthus: then after several skirmishes *πρὸ οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ χρόνου* (§ 3) he was slain and the whole besieging force was obliged to disperse.

¹ Diod. v. 4.² v. 2. 35, 36.³ ib. § 37.⁴ v. 3. 1.

Diodorus¹ assigns the death of Teleutias to the archonship of Evander 382-381, i.e. to the same year as the capture of the Cadmea. Xenophon proves that this is too soon, though it is quite possible that his death may have occurred in the last month of Evander, i.e. circ. June 381. Diodorus goes on to attribute to Agesipolis a whole year (i.e. 381) spent in petty skirmishes. Xenophon leaves it indeterminate, whether Agesipolis set sail as soon as possible after the death of Teleutias, i.e. August or September 381, or whether he waited till the spring of 380. He implies² however that the Spartan government met the emergency with all possible vigour, so that, combining this with Diodorus, we can not go far wrong in preferring the earlier date.

380-379, 379-378 B.C. Xenophon³ marks exactly the time of Agesipolis' death with the words *κατὰ θέρου ἀκμήν*. This agrees with Diodorus⁴, who not only puts the occurrence under the archonship of Pytheas 380-379, but adds that he had reigned for fourteen years, and was succeeded by Cleombrotus, who reigned for nine years. Now Cleombrotus was slain at Leuctra in July 371, so that once more we arrive at the year 380. Polybiades⁵ was sent out as harmost to take the command at Olynthus: although he prosecuted the war with vigour, he was obliged to starve the town into a surrender. This must necessarily have been somewhat a lengthy process, so that the capitulation cannot well be dated earlier than the first half of 379. This date agrees well enough with Diodorus, who assigns it to the same archonship as the death of Agesipolis, i.e. Pytheas 380-379. Moreover it appears from Xenophon's narrative that it took place just after or simultaneously with the reduction of Phlius. This is an unusually safe inference, because it is evident from the way that Xenophon in this chapter leaves events at Olynthus to record what was going on at Phlius, then goes back to Olynthus, again to Phlius, and once more to Olynthus that he is strictly following their relative chronological order. In § 25 he definitely states that the Phliasian affair lasted twenty months. It appears from its order in his narrative, that the complication began between Agesipolis' departure for Olynthus circ. August or September 381 and his death in July 380. For the same reason⁶

¹ xv. 21, 22.

² v. 3. 8.

³ v. 3. 19.

⁴ xv. 23.

⁵ v. 3. 20.

⁶ v. 3. 17, 19, 21.

we gather that the actual siege of the town began before the death of Agesipolis and continued after it. If therefore we assume the complication to have arisen about October 381 and the surrender to have taken place about March or April 379, no very wide margin for error will be left. Olynthus, as we have seen already, fell at the same date or just afterwards. Diodorus¹ affords us no help for the Phliasian affair. He compresses it into one year 383 and dismisses it in a couple of lines.

It is beyond all doubt that the Cadmea was recovered from the Spartans about the winter solstice 379-378. Xenophon² records the event next in order after the surrender of Phlius and Olynthus. It occurred³ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. e. Boeotarchship, which expired⁴ about the time of the winter solstice. Immediately on receipt of the news the ephors sent out Cleombrotus μάλα χεიმῶνος ὄντος (§ 14). Plutarch also⁵ says ἦν νιφετός, and in another passage⁶, that it was a little after the surrender of Phlius. Moreover this date is indirectly confirmed by monumental evidence: for Xenophon affords us data, which exactly determine the four successive years 378-377-375-374, and the last of them is fixed by an inscription⁷. Diodorus⁸ therefore is manifestly wrong in putting the recovery of the Cadmea under the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, though, if it happened as late as January 378, which is quite possible, his mistake is easily accounted for: in fact on his system it is hardly a mistake at all.

378-377-375-374 B. C. Three passages in Xenophon determine these years exactly. In v. 4. 56 we read of the Thebans μάλα πιεζόμενοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Then § 58 ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος Cleombrotus led an expedition against the Thebans, which never reached its destination. Finally in § 63 we learn that the Thebans had leisure to subject their neighbouring cities ἄτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ Κλεόμβροτος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε. The two years alluded to in the first passage, it appears from the context, are the two years immediately following the recovery of the Cadmea, viz. 378-377, 377-376; and the two years of the last passage are 376-375, 375-374, the last of which, as

¹ xv. 19.² v. 4. 1.³ v. 4. 4.⁴ Cp. Böckh, CIG. i. 732.⁵ Pel. 9.⁶ Ages. 24.⁷ CIA. ii. 49.⁸ xv. 25.

before mentioned, is confirmed by an inscription. The events of these years can thus be fixed with ease.

378-377 B. C. v. 4. 20-24. Sphodrias' unsuccessful attempt upon the Piraeus.

v. 4. 35-41. Agesilaus' first invasion of Boeotia.

This chronology is indirectly but strongly confirmed by the inscription CIA. ii. 17. Xenophon¹ tells us that after the departure of Sphodrias οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε ἐνανηγοῦντο τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. This inscription, dated the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, shows the outcome of this activity in the enlistment of many new allies into the Athenian maritime confederacy, including the Thebans.

377-376 B. C. ἐπεὶ τὸ ξαρ ἐπέστη (§ 47), Agesilaus marched out on his second expedition into Boeotia.

Diodorus², it may here be noted, compresses Agesilaus' two expeditions into one, which he assigns together with the first declaration of war to the archonship of Callias 377-376.

376-375 B. C. ὑποφαίνοντος πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος (§ 58) Cleombrotus commanded the Lacedaemonian forces.

Chabrias (§ 61) defeated the admiral Pollis and the Lacedaemonian fleet—at Naxos according to Plutarch³ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος, c. Sept. 10.

Diodorus⁴ puts this victory a year too soon.

375-374. v. 4. 63-66. Timotheus sailed round Peloponnesus, winning Corcyra and τὰς περὶ ἐκείνα πόλεις over to the Athenian confederacy. This date is verified by the inscription (CIA. ii. 49) dated the archonship of Hippodamas, 375-374, which records the inclusion of the Corcyraeans, Acarnanians, and Cephallenians in the Athenian Confederacy. If Polyaeus⁵ is to be trusted and the festival of Σκίρα is the same as the Σκιροφόρια (Scirophorion is the name of the Attic month corresponding to June), Timotheus defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus off Leucas or, as Xenophon⁶ says, at Alyzia, about the month of June.

374-373, 373-372 B. C. From a comparison of Xenophon v. 4. 63 and vi. 1. 1, where it is implied that it was not until after the Thebans had completed the subjugation of their immediate neigh-

¹ v. 4. 34.

² xv. 28-32.

³ Camill. 19 and Phoc. 6.

⁴ xv. 34.

⁵ iii. 10. 4.

⁶ v. 4. 66.

bours, which had engaged them both during the year of Cleombrotus' expedition and that of Timotheus' circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus, that they attacked the Phocians—it follows that Cleombrotus' third expedition to help the Phocians falls in 374 and not as Clinton puts it, in the previous year.

Then *σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον* Polydamas the Pharsalian came to Sparta to ask for aid against Jason of Pherae.

After narrating this transaction with some detail, Xenophon¹ goes back to the Lacedaemonian expedition in support of the Phocians, and tells how the Athenians—doubtless in the same year—made a separate peace with the Lacedaemonians. Immediately afterwards orders were sent to Timotheus at Corcyra to return to Athens. On his way home he replaced certain Zacynthian exiles in their island. This was regarded by the Spartans as a violation of the new peace; whereupon *εὐθύς* (§ 3) they collected a fleet of 60 ships and despatched it under the admiral Mnasippus with orders to sail against Corcyra, and at the same time appealed to Dionysius of Syracuse for aid. Unfortunately Xenophon gives no more definite marks of time for this or the next three or four years. Diodorus² makes positive mistakes. He speaks of a preliminary expedition (which of course is quite³ possible) sent out by the Lacedaemonians under Alcidas, which was shortly followed by Mnasippus with his 60 ships. He then goes on to say, that the Athenians tried to counteract this move by sending Ctesicles to Zacynthus⁴ and by collecting a fleet, which was put under the command of Timotheus. All these events as well as the defeat and death of Mnasippus he puts in the archonship of Socratides 374–373, by which he means 374; whereas, as will shortly appear, Timotheus set sail in 373.

To return to Xenophon⁵: hard pressed by the ravages of Mnasippus, who finally succeeded in blockading their city, the Corcyraeans appealed to Athens for help. The Athenians decided *ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι*, sent Stesicles with 600 peltasts across the mainland, and *ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῦς πληροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν*. Fortunately the exact date of

¹ vi. 2. 1.

² xv. 46, 47.

³ Cp. Grote, ix. 358.

⁴ Probably a mere oversight for Corcyra, as in ch. 47 he speaks of Ctesicles as sent to Corcyra.

⁵ vi. 2. 8–11.

Timotheus' departure from Athens is preserved by Apollodorus (ps.-Dem. lix. 1186)—ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδου ἀρχοντος μουνυχιῶνος μηνός, i. e. April 373. Evidently therefore, as Mnasippus' operations must have taken some considerable¹ time and the Athenian fleet, we are informed, was very slow in its outfit, Mnasippus must have sailed in the autumn of 374; for he sailed as soon as possible (§ 3 εὐθύς) after the violation of the peace, and the Spartans would hardly have ventured on such extensive sea operations in the winter. Consequently Stesicles must have set out about midwinter.

Stern² has conclusively proved that Curtius and other scholars are mistaken in following Diodorus' dates and narrative in preference to that of the contemporary Xenophon, supported as it is by Apollodorus' (Demosthenes') oration against Timotheus. In accordance with the latter it is evident that Iphicrates replaced Timotheus in the early summer of 373 and sailed for Corcyra, after completing by his vigorous measures the outfit of the fleet, some time between midsummer and autumn. The defeat and death of Mnasippus happened before Iphicrates arrived at Corcyra. Timotheus' trial and acquittal is fixed by the same oration³ to the month of November 373. Here there is an apparent discrepancy between the oration and Xenophon's narrative. It might appear from the former⁴ that both Iphicrates and Callistratus were present at the trial. The language however does not necessitate this interpretation, and the presence of Callistratus at Athens is fully explained by Xenophon⁵ himself, who tells us that on Callistratus' representing to his colleague that, if he returned to Athens, he would either send supplies to the fleet or procure peace with Sparta, Iphicrates let him go.

372-371 B. C. Iphicrates stayed⁶ in Corcyra and the neighbourhood all through this year, maintaining his armament partly by hiring out his sailors to work in the fields for the Corcyraeans, partly by allowing his mercenaries to serve in the pay of friendly states, and partly by ravages in the enemy's country.

371 B. C. The dates of the peace congress in Sparta about June and of the battle of Leuctra, fought according to Plutarch⁷ twenty

¹ Cp. vi. 2. 16 δυνὸν μηνῶν: this only shows that the blockade must have lasted more than two months: it does not prevent its having lasted eight or nine months, which actually seems to have been the case.

² l. c. pp. 107-113.

³ p. 1190.

⁴ p. 1187.

⁵ vi. 3. 3.

⁶ vi. 2. 37, 38.

⁷ Ages. 28.

days later, are sufficiently well attested by the evidence collected by Clinton.

F. *From the Battle of Leuctra to the Battle of Mantinea, 371-362.*

371 B.C. In the few weeks following the battle of Leuctra, which was fought in July 371, must be placed the expedition of Archidamus¹, and the congress at Athens, in which the peace of the previous June was solemnly renewed. Xenophon² next relates the restoration of Mantinea, which was effected evidently before and not, as Pausanias³ says, after the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus.

370-369 B.C. The most important event of this year was the assassination of Jason of Pherae just at the moment when he was making great preparations to appear at the Pythian games (370 c. August), the mention⁴ of which satisfactorily fixes the date. His death freed the Greek world from a great danger, and enabled⁵ the Thebans to turn their attention with safety to affairs in the Peloponnesus. There the restoration of Mantinea, the formation of the Arcadian League and the foundation of Megalopolis in the winter of 371-370⁶ by the Arcadian democrats had given rise to great internal commotions. The Tegeate oligarchs had appealed to Sparta, and the Ephors had despatched Agesilaus to their assistance⁷ in the winter 370-369. All these dates are in harmony both with Xenophon and Diodorus. The retirement of Agesilaus to Sparta was immediately followed by the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus, which according to Diodorus⁸ lasted eighty-five days, and which ended while it was still winter⁹, i.e. early in 369.

369-370 B.C. τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει¹⁰, i. e. April 369 (for Xenophon, it must be remembered¹¹, always reckons the year to begin with the spring), a new alliance was concluded between Athens and Sparta. Then the Thebans made their second invasion of the Peloponnesus. The time of year is perhaps marked by the arrival and

¹ vi. 4. 17, 18; 5. 1.

² vi. 5. 4, 5.

³ ix. 14. 4.

⁴ vi. 4. 30.

⁵ Cp. Stern, l. c. pp. 163. 166.

⁶ Cp. Clinton. The foundation is not mentioned by Xenophon.

⁷ vi. 5. 20 ἦν μέσος χειμῶν.

⁸ xv. 67.

⁹ vi. 5. 50 ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν.

¹⁰ vii. 1. 1.

¹¹ Clinton, forgetting this practice, postdates the Second Theban Invasion and the following events.

departure of the troops, which Dionysius I of Syracuse sent to the aid of the Spartans : for under the conditions of ancient navigation they could hardly have arrived before May, and according to Diodorus¹ they returned at the end of the summer.

368–367 B.C. The words *ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια*² fix with tolerable accuracy the next events recorded by Xenophon. For Dionysius I died in the spring³ of 367. Their arrival was simultaneous with the congress at Delphi summoned by Philiscus, the envoy of the satrap Ariobarzanes. If Köhler's interpretation be correct, this date is confirmed by the inscription⁴ recording the honours voted by the Athenian assembly to Dionysius I towards the end of the archonship of Lysistratus, 369–368, which in lines 5 foll. seems to refer to this congress at Delphi. The so-called 'Tearless Victory'⁵ was gained this year by the Lacedaemonians over the Arcadians and Argives.

368–365 B.C. The chronology of the next three and a half years is most uncertain. It depends very much on the time assigned to the movements of Pelopidas, all of which, with the exception of his embassy to Susa, are unnoticed by Xenophon. Clinton omits them altogether. Grote departs⁶, without sufficient justification, from the ancient authorities and rearranges them on purely *a priori* principles.

Taking the events as they stand in Diodorus⁷ and Plutarch⁸, we may accept the date assigned by the former for the arrest of Pelopidas and Ismenias by Alexander of Pherae, and for the unsuccessful expedition of the two Boeotarchs, Cleomenes and Hypates to rescue them—viz. 368. Whether Epaminondas' expedition for the same purpose is to be put in the later months of 368 or in the early months of 367, is a doubtful question. Stern⁹ prefers the later date on the ground that Diodorus and Plutarch represent Epaminondas as once more elected Boeotarch and that the elections to that office usually were held about the time of the winter solstice—an argument at this point without much weight, as the two unsuccessful Boeotarchs were evidently deprived of their office and Epaminondas put in their place.

¹ xv. 70 τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος ; cp. Xen. vii. i. 22.

² vii. i. 28.

³ Cp. Clinton.

⁴ CIA. ii. 51.

⁵ vii. i. 32 ; Diod. xv. 72.

⁶ Cp. Stern, l. c. p. 201.

⁷ xv. 71.

⁸ Pel. 27.

⁹ l. c. 196.

367-366 B.C. Assuming then the early months of this year to be the correct date for Epaminondas' expedition into Thessaly, we must suppose that immediately on his return to Thebes Pelopidas was sent as envoy to the Persian court. Not less than five or six months must be allowed for the journey up to and down from Susa, and another month or more for the subsequent congress at Thebes and for the despatch of the Theban envoys after its failure to the various Greek States. This brings us at earliest to the autumn of 367; and it is natural to suppose that not until all these negotiations were over did Epaminondas¹ lead his expedition against the Achaeans—perhaps in November or December of this same year. This kind of dead reckoning is at this point our only resource, because Diodorus, though he mentions Epaminondas' expedition and puts it, as we assume, correctly under the archonship of Polyzelus 367-366, omits altogether the embassy of Pelopidas to the Persian Court, which must necessarily have occupied a long time, except for a brief allusion² in speaking of the exploits of the hero after narrating his death at Cynoscephalae.

One of the indirect results of Epaminondas' expedition into Achaea was the political revolution at Sicyon, which finally resulted in Euphron's seizing the tyranny—probably at the very beginning of 366.

366-365 B.C. In the next two chapters (2, 3) Xenophon records a number of simultaneous events more or less centring round the person of Euphron and the little town of Phlius. Euphron³ joined the Theban harmost of Sicyon in an attack upon Phlius. The Athenian Chares was sent to assist the Phliasians, and after various operations the Phliasians began to build a fortress at Thyamia. At this point Xenophon introduces a digression, describing the further career and assassination of Euphron. From vii. 4. 1 it appears that this happened before the departure of Chares from Phlius and therefore, notwithstanding Grote's⁴ remark that a year is too short for Euphron's career, his death must be assigned to this same year. Then the historian⁵ returns from his digression to the Phliasians fortifying Thyamia τοῦ Χάρητος ἐν τῷ παρόντι, when Oropus, at the time in the occupation of the

¹ vii. 1. 41.² xv. 81.³ vii. 2. 11-23.⁴ x. 26.⁵ vii. 4. 1.

Athenians, was seized by some exiles. The Athenians summoned Chares to help them to recover the town, but they were obliged to content themselves with leaving it in the hands of the Thebans, until the question of their claims should be settled by arbitration. With the departure¹ of Chares and the Athenian troops the Sicyonians were free to recapture their harbour, which Euphron just before his death had seized with the help of some Athenian mercenaries and handed over to the Lacedaemonians.

This date for the capture of Oropus agrees with Diodorus², who puts it under the archonship of Cephisodorus 366-365. Immediately afterwards, it would appear from the sequence in Xenophon's³ narrative, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and Epidaurians, weary of the long wars, with the consent of Sparta made a separate peace with Thebes. This must be the peace which Diodorus⁴ wrongly represents as a universal peace made through the intervention of the Persian king. His date for it, however, is to be accepted, viz. the archonship of Cephisodorus 366-365, which is further confirmed by his remark—*πόλεμος κατελύθη πλείον μείνας ἔτων πέντε, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν*, Leuctra having been fought in 371.

In this year too arrived⁵ the third reinforcements from Syracuse for the Spartans, sent this time by Dionysius II, his father having died, as already mentioned, in the spring of the previous year.

365-364 B.C. The chronology of this and the next year presents but little difficulty. We may take Xenophon's⁶ words *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον* as marking somewhere near the beginning of 365, when war broke out between the Eleans and Arcadians. To this year we may certainly assign all the events recorded in §§ 12-18; and though it is tempting to suppose that the words in § 19 *οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἥλιν* mark the beginning of the following year, it seems better to follow the chronology of Diodorus⁷ and to put this second campaign together with the capture of Cromnus by Archidamus under this same year 365. At the latest these events can hardly be placed

¹ Cp. vii. 4. 1 with vii. 3. 4 and 2.

³ vii. 4. 6-11.

⁶ vii. 4. 12.

² xv. 76.

⁴ xv. 76.

⁷ xv. 77.

⁵ vii. 4. 12.

later than January to March 364; for Xenophon ought to mean by the words ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους¹ about April 364.

364-363 B.C. The Arcadians in the spring² began to make great preparations for their celebration of the Olympic festival, which would take place in July.

This was the year of the death of Pelopidas at Cynoscephalae, which is fixed with something like certainty by the mention of an eclipse in Diodorus³ and Plutarch⁴. This must be the eclipse of July 13, 364.

364 July-362 July. The remaining sections of the Hellenica are occupied with the commotions in Arcadia, which arose from a dispute over the use of the sacred treasures of Olympia, and which culminated in the intervention of the Thebans and the battle of Mantinea in 362. Xenophon gives absolutely no marks of time, so that it is impossible to distribute the events which he records over this interval with any semblance of probability; and no help whatever can be gained from the confused narrative of Diodorus⁵.

The first event⁶ to which a date can be given is the treaty of the Arcadians, Achaeans, Eleans, and other Peloponnesian states with the Athenians, which is actually extant in an inscription⁷, dated the archonship of Molon, i.e. 362-361, who entered upon office about July. The battle of Mantinea occurred shortly after the conclusion of this treaty⁸ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης, probably at the end of July or the beginning of August, the harvest in the highland of Arcadia being late. Diodorus⁹ and Plutarch¹⁰ therefore must both be mistaken in putting the battle under the archonship of Chariclides, 363-362, the latter even giving the exact date, or rather that of the annual festival, which was held to commemorate the victory, as the 12th of Scirophorion (June). Diogenes¹¹ Laertius repeats the mistake. The date of the festival seems somehow to have been different from the day of the battle, how or why—cannot be explained. But the evidence of the inscription, backed up as it is by Xenophon's σίτου συγκομιδῇ, must be taken to outweigh¹² this

¹ vii. 4. 28.

² vii. 4. 28.

³ xv. 80.

⁴ Pel. 32.

⁵ xv. 82.

⁶ vii. 5. 1-3.

⁷ CIA. ii. 57 b.

⁸ vii. 5. 14.

⁹ xv. 82.

¹⁰ De glor. Ath. 850 a.

¹¹ ii. 54.

¹² Contrast Unger, Philol. N. F. iii. 121, who puts the battle in the year 363.

strange unanimity on the part of three authorities, each one of whom would by himself be of but little importance.

§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE HELLENICA.

The extant MSS. of the Hellenica are numerous, and of very varying importance for establishing the text. They are twenty in number, besides three papyrus fragments recently discovered; namely:—

- π'. A fragment from iii. 1. 3-7 among the Oxyrhynchus papyri.
- π''. A fragment from vi. 5. 7-9 also among the Oxyrhynchus papyri.
- Π. A fragment from 1 and 2. 2-5. 8 among the papyri now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.
- B D I C A E. Six MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.
- M. An Ambrosian MS. at Milan.
- V v v'. Three MSS. in St. Mark's Library at Venice.
- N n. Two Laurentian MSS. at Florence.
- P. In the city library at Perugia (E. 65).
- R. In the city library at Ravenna (131. 2. B).
- F. A Perizonian MS. at Leyden.
- P' V¹ V². A Palatine and two Vatican MSS. at the Vatican Library in Rome.
- X. A MS. in the library of the Oratorio Napolitano at Naples.
- H'. A MS. in the British Museum (Addit. 5110).

π' has been collated and published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I, London, 1898, and is by them assigned to the second century A.D. It contains fragments of three columns from a larger MS. The text is written in a 'nearly upright square uncial hand. . . . Iota adscript is commonly written. Both single and double dots are used to mark a pause in the sense, as well as the marginal *paragraphus*. Short lines are filled up by the usual angular sign. A rough breathing is inserted once. Collated with Keller's text (1890) the papyrus shows *προσελαβεν* for *προσέλαβε* in § 6, and probably *ἡτήσατο* for *ἡτήσατο* in § 4.'

π'' has also been collated and published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II, London, 1899, and is by them considered to belong at least to the second and possibly even to the end of the first century A. D. The fragment contains three short and narrow columns, of which the first two are nearly complete. The MS. is written in a medium-sized neat uncial, and is carefully punctuated, the high stop denoting a longer, the low stop a shorter pause. The variants are not many, nor important, e. g. § 7 ὁ Στάσιππος for τοιοῦτος ὁ Στάσιππος, § 8 κεύοντες βοηεῖν for βοηεῖν κεύοντες, [Μαντ]ινης for Μαντινείς, and § 9 καταφυγόντες for καταφεύγοντες.

Π has been collated and published by K. Wessely¹, and is by him referred to the first decades of the third century of our era. It contains fragments of four chapters in the first book, viz. 2. 2, 3; 6, 7; 10-13; 17-19; 3. 1-7; 9-19; 22; 4. 1, 2; 5-7; 10-15; 18, 19; 21, 22; 5. 3, 4; 7, 8. The text is written on the back of seventeen columns of a papyrus roll of an official list recording the names of persons liable to the Land Tax, dating about 200 A. D. Like the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, it is obviously only a private copy, carelessly written and full of blunders, e. g. με[ιλ]ητ[ου], i. 2. 2; πολειτιαν, i. 2. 10; συνφυγαδα, i. 2. 13; ενπεσοντος, i. 3. 1; οπλειτων, i. 3. 3; οπλε[ι]τας, i. 3. 6; ιδεν, i. 3. 6, 7; 4. 7, 14, 19, 22; χερρονησιτας, i. 3. 10; ομειισθαι, ομειται, i. 3. 11; ακροβολιζμος, i. 3. 14; γορδειω, i. 4. 1; κρεινεσθαι, i. 4. 14; καστρωματος, i. 4. 18. There are no accents; breathings and other symbols are rare: ὀρκους, i. 3. 9; οῖ, i. 3. 10; ἴδια, i. 4. 2; μετ' αυτων, κατ' ἴδεν, i. 4. 19; κατεκλεῖσαν, i. 4. 22; ἁ, ἴδιον, i. 5. 3.

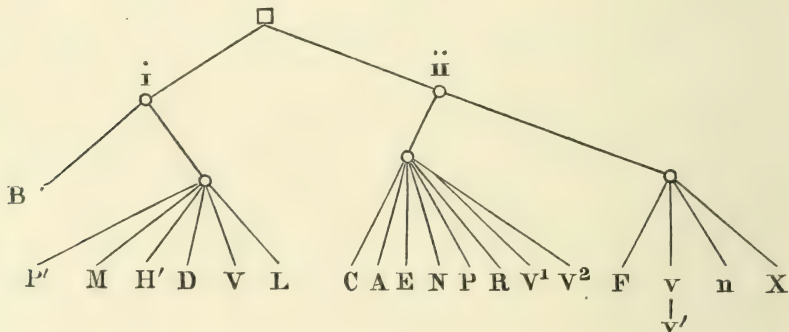
Iota adscript is sometimes written, sometimes not, e. g. ιδια, but βουλομενωι, i. 2. 10; ἐν μεθ[υμ]νη, i. 2. 12; τω πολεμω but τωι στρατ[οπεδ]ωι, i. 3. 1, 2; στρατια, i. 3. 5; θρακης, i. 3. 10; επιλιπη, i. 5. 3. The avoidance of hiatus is just as variable, e. g. δε α[θ]ην[αιο]ν, δε ανεψ[ιον], i. 2. 13; δε εξωθεν, i. 3. 5; δε ελων, i. 3. 10; δε αθηναιοι, i. 3. 5, 14; but δ' αθηναιοι, i. 3. 16; τ' ην, i. 3. 4; μετ αυτου, i. 4. 2; μετ' αυτων, i. 4. 19. Short lines are filled up either by a stroke or by angular signs. This papyrus goes far towards establishing the excellence of B above all the other MSS.: i. 2. 2 τω τειχει,

¹ Mitth. aus der Samml. der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer, vi. pp. 17-33.

Π Β Φ Μ Δ ; § 6 τισσαφερνής, Π Β ; i. 3. 2 καλχηδονι, Π Β ; i. 3. 5 αντιπαρεταξαντο, Π Β C Μ ; μεχρι, Π Β ; § 7 στενωποριαν, Π cp. Β ; § 10 μεχρι ελθοι, Π Β C ; § 19 απολλυμενους, Π Β ; i. 4. 14 υπερβαλλομενοι, Π Β Φ Μ ; § 21 λευκολοφιδου, Π Β Μ Δ V ; i. 5. 8 αθυμως μεν, Π Β Φ Μ Δ. However, besides errors of spelling and the obvious error κατ' ἴδεν for κατιδών, i. 4. 19, the papyrus gives but few peculiar readings : i. 2. 11 εὐθυ Λεσβου for ἐπὶ Λέσβου ; i. 3. 5 ἐξωθεν for ἔξω and εβοηθει for προσεβοήθει ; § 9 μηδε for μή ; § 10 οἱ ηκεν for ἦκεν and ιππεας for ἱππεῖς ; § 15 κοιραταδης for Κοιρατάδας ; § 17 ποιησουσαι for ποιούσαι ; § 18 επαγομενος for ὑπαγόμενος and απολογουμενος for εἰπών ; i. 4. 2 λεγοντες for καὶ ἔλεγον ; § 11 ἐπειδη δ' for ἐπεὶ δ' ; § 18 ευθυσ for εὐθέως.

The importance of this papyrus is that it proves that in the third century of our era the text of the Hellenica was essentially the same as that which we now possess (e.g. i. 3. 1), and that the chronological interpolations of the first two books—if interpolations they be—are of an earlier date.

The MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on which the text of the Hellenics mainly depends, have been proved by Riemann¹ to fall into two families, which can easily be distinguished according to the presence or absence of a remarkable series of lacunae in v. I. 5–13 : the better family exhibits three lacunae ; the second family, which is in other respects inferior, is here complete. The relationship of the better known among the twenty MSS. may thus be shown in a table.



¹ Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione, &c., Paris, 1879.

i. *Superior Family.*

B, Paris 1738, on bombycine paper, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its pre-eminence among all the extant MSS. has been universally recognized, and it has been taken as the foundation of almost all the printed editions. It has lost one leaf at vii. 1. 20 ἀκοντίζοντες—§ 31 ἔπιπτον, and several leaves at the end of the book, vii. 1. 38 ὁ δέ ad fin. ; and here and there single words or the ends of lines have become obliterated. The iota subscript is generally, but not always written. The accents are often wrong. Οὕτως is often written before a consonant, and so too is ν ἐφέλκυστικόν. The copyist, when he could not read his original, carefully noted all the letters that he could decipher, e. g. ii. 3. 34 ἐπιχει . ρ . ἦ . έ for ἐπιχειρήσειε ; ii. 4. 11 συν . ε . πειράθησαν for συνεσπειράθησαν, v. 3. 12 δια . πε . πρα . μένοι for διαπεπραγμένοι. This MS. not only preserves the proper spelling of many proper names and of the pluperfect indicative, but in many places alone preserves the true reading, and in many others, even when itself erroneous, alone retains traces of the true reading, where otherwise it could not be recovered. Its faults are chiefly the omission of words and even of whole lines, strange alterations of words, and sundry interpolations ; but its faults are mostly of such a nature that they can be easily corrected.

P', Palatine 140, is now in the Vatican Library. It is a bombycine MS. of the fourteenth century, containing only Xenophon's Hellenica on 174 leaves of the size 23 × 16 cm. I first consulted this MS. while on a visit to Rome in 1892, and found that it exhibits all the lacunae in bk. v. 1 of the better family of MSS. On testing it I further found that in 156 readings it agreed with B in 79 passages, with M in 132, with D in 120, with V in 106, with C in 103, and with F in 113, and that in these same 156 passages, if Keller's text of 1890 be taken as the norm, it exhibited 60 good readings, where B showed 67 and M only 52. It appeared to me therefore to stand in merit second only to B and to be of special importance in constituting the text of bk. vii, where B is defective. Accordingly in the following year Dr. Tschiedel at my request made a complete collation of bk. vii with the result that in 244 readings it was found to agree with M in 190, with D in 176, with V in 159, with C in 141, and with F in 159. It exhibited, however, only

11 peculiar readings : vii. 1. 8 καὶ τὰ μὲν for τὰ μὲν ; § 28 παρρουσίας for παρρασίους ; vii. 4. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ for ἐπειδὴ δὲ ; §§ 16, 26 ἐμέλησαν for ἐμέλλησαν ; § 18 Ὀλόρου for Ὀλούρου (but Ὀλουρον three lines above) ; § 25 σπεισομένους for σπεισαμένους ; § 35 οὕτως for οὕτω ; vii. 5. 23 ἀνίπων for ἀμίπων ; § 25 ἡττώμενοι for ἡττημένοι ; and § 26 συνεληλυθείας for συνεληλυθίας.

M, Ambrosian A. 4, at Milan, is a bombycine MS. dated 1344, containing Thucydides and Xenophon's Hellenics. It is very carefully and accurately written. The breathings and accents appear in their proper places, and the iota subscript is generally written. But the scholarly carefulness of the scribe in a way defeats itself, as it has led him laboriously to follow the erroneous rules of the grammarians of his age. Riemann has demonstrated the general excellence of the MS., and has shown that it preserves the best reading in more places even than B—with the difference however that, while B alone in many passages preserves the best reading or traces of it, there is no reading in M which could not have been supplied from other sources.

D, Paris 1642, of the fifteenth century, written on paper, contains the Hellenics among many other treatises. It is neatly and elegantly written, but was never revised. Consequently it abounds in *lapsus calami*: letters and words are often omitted, and accidental repetitions and other faults frequently occur. Though the MS. manifestly belongs to the better family, the scribe, however careful himself, seems to have copied from an original full of lacunae and arbitrary alterations. These lacunae, which do not appear in B C F M, he seems to have filled by mere conjectures, a few of which are good in themselves, but unsupported by any manuscript authority. The corrupt alterations he has in many passages marked with some sign, while in others he has added and commended conjectural emendations of his own.

V, Venice 368, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, written on paper, contains many of the works of Xenophon besides the Hellenics. It is very closely connected with D, and is carefully written and corrected by another hand. The scribe marks doubtful readings, and possessing a sound knowledge of Greek, writes the breathings and accents correctly, and suggests a number of good emendations. The most remarkable feature, however, of the MS.

is the presence here and there of wilful and arbitrary alterations of the text—some of considerable extent, e.g. i. 1. 35 ; iii. 2. 27 ; iv. 8. 4 ; v. 1. 13 ; v. 3. 18.

H', British Museum, Addit. 5110, of the fourteenth century, contains several of Xenophon's treatises besides the *Hellenica*, which are, however, written in a different hand. The lacunae in it, peculiar to this family, are filled up from an inferior MS., except v. 1. 5, 6, for which the scribe omitted to leave a lacuna. Mr. Marchant, who has recently collated it, pronounces it to be closely akin to B, M, and P'.

I, Paris 317, is a MS. of the fourteenth century, written on paper, and containing a fragment of Thucydides and Xenophon's *Hellenics* as far as vii. 1. 21. It abounds in lacunae, and is in other respects much inferior to the other MSS. of this family.

ii. *Inferior Family.*

C, Paris 2080, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, written on paper, contains Xenophon's *Hellenics* on pp. 41–202 among several other treatises of Plutarch, &c. This MS. is very carelessly written from dictation ; it is full of mistakes of spelling, and wrong breathings and accents, which in many cases have been corrected either by the same scribe or by another hand. It is, however, of importance because it alone of all the MSS. hitherto collated here and there preserves the true reading, e.g. iv. 2. 4 δὲ ; 5. 1 τῆς ; vi. 3. 13 and 4. 21 θάλατταν ; vii. 1. 21 διεσκεδασμένοι, and because it best enables us rightly to fill in the lacunae of the superior family occurring in v. 1. 5 ff.

A, Paris 1793, is a late MS. of the sixteenth century, written on paper, and has evidently been influenced by the Aldine edition, to which it is subsequent. It is of no critical value.

E, Paris 1739, is similarly a late MS. of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. It exhibits traces of the same influence and is equally valueless.

N, Laurentian lxix. 12, is a MS. of the fifteenth century. It is described by Riemann and declared by him to be of the inferior family, akin rather to C than to F, but to be of no critical importance.

R, Ravenna 131. 2. B, of the fifteenth century, was used by

Sauppe in his edition of 1866, and has since been tested by Riemann, who pronounces it to be of no great value.

V¹, Vatican 988, fifteenth century, is written on paper of the size 21 × 14 cm.; and V², Vatican 1293, of the fifteenth century, is written on paper of the size 28 × 20 cm. These two MSS. I tested in 1892, and found them both to belong to the inferior family and to be closely akin to C. They seemed to be of no critical importance.

F, Perizonian 6, written on paper, is dated 1456. It contains several treatises besides the Hellenics. This MS. though it is closely allied to C, yet exhibits many readings found only in the superior family. Keller, therefore, conjectures that it was copied from an original, which had itself been corrected from a MS. of the better family. F exhibits many conjectures, sometimes good, but mostly bad, written in a later hand, which Keller would refer to a scholar of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

v and v', Marcian 365 and 364, are vellum MSS., the one dated 1453, the other 1469, and have never been completely collated. Riemann considers them both akin to F, and conjectures that v' was copied from v, as they both have nearly the same text. Dindorf collated them both at v. i. 1-19, and Riemann at i. 1. 1-18, but neither scholar seems to have attributed any great value to their readings.

n, Laurentian lxi. 15, of the fifteenth century, was tested by Dindorf at iii. 3 and by Riemann at i. 1. 18; 7. 34, 35; iii. 3; v. 1. 1-17. Riemann assigns it to the inferior family and thinks it more akin to F than to C.

X, Oratorio Napolitano xxii. 1, of the fifteenth century, has been recently (1892) collated by Professor E. Jorio, who assigns it to the inferior family and regards it as more akin to F than to C. The most important peculiar readings are ii. 1. 9 οἰκείαν for λίαν; iii. 3. 2 ἀλλ' εἶπον ἢ πολὺ κάλλιον κ.τ.λ. for ἀλλ' ἢ πολὺ κ.τ.λ.; iii. 5. 24 τῶν χωρίων τούτων for τῶν χωρίων του; iv. 3. 12 Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ for Κόνωνος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ; iv. 6. 1 αὐτῇ for αὐτῷ. Its title Ξενοφῶντος τὰ παραλειπόμενα ἅπερ καὶ ἑλληνικὰ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς ὀκτὼ βιβλία διαιρούμενα is specially worthy of notice¹.

Besides these extant MSS., five others, H, I, K, O, Y, must be mentioned, the readings of which are noticed in the margins of the old editions. The readings of H are preserved in the margin of

¹ Cp. Introd. p. xiii.

a copy of the Aldine edition in the library at Munich described by P. Victorius. Riemann assigns it doubtfully to the F type of the inferior family.

The readings of I were transcribed by Valcknär into the margin of a copy of Stephen's edition from the margin of a copy of the Aldine edition in the library at Leyden (No. 923). Riemann would assign it doubtfully to the inferior group of the better family.

K is also an unknown MS., the readings of which Valcknär transcribed from the margin of a copy of the Basle edition in the Leyden Library (Perizon. t. 28) to the margin of another copy in the same library (Perizon. 85).

O is an unknown MS., which Valcknär now and again notices in the margin of his copy of Stephen's edition.

Y is a lost MS., the readings of which are noticed by Gail in his edition of Xenophon's works (Paris 1797-1814).

So few readings of K, O, Y, are preserved that Riemann refuses even to conjecture to what family they belonged.

Besides these MSS., some slight help in constructing the text of the *Hellenica* can be derived from Harpocration and the quotations of scholiasts and grammarians; and also from the MSS. of the *Encomium Agesilai* (Vatic. 1335, twelfth century; Vatic. 1950, fourteenth century; Urb. 93, fifteenth century); for where the text of it is identical with that of the *Hellenica*, in many places they agree with the peculiar readings of B.

Editions.

The principal editions of the *Hellenica* are as follows:—

Two Aldine, the first of 1502, the second of 1525.

Two Juntine, the one dated 1516, the other 1527.

Editio Halensis, printed at Halle, 1540.

Editio Brylingeriana or Basiliensis, printed at Basle, 1555.

Editio Castalionea, undated.

Two editions of H. Stephanus, the one dated 1561, the other 1581.

Editio Leonclavii, 1594.

Editio Wellsii, edited by C. A. Thieme, Leipsic, 1764.

Editio Mori, Leipsic, 1778.

Two editions of Schneider, Leipsic, 1791 and 1821.

Editio Weiskii, Leipsic, 1799.

Editio Gailii, by J. B. Gail, Paris, 1808-1815.

Editio Parisiana, published by Didot, Paris, 1847.

Two editions of L. Dindorf, the one dated Oxford, 1853, the other Leipsic, 1866.

Editio Breitenbachii, Leipsic, 1853-1863.

Editio Cobeti, Amsterdam, 1862.

Editio Sauppii, Leipsic, 1866.

Editio Kurzii, Munich, 1873.

Editio Büchsenschützii, Leipsic, 1860-1876.

Two editions of Otto Keller, Leipsic, 1890 and 1893.

Breitenbach has noticed that in the ancient editions of the sixteenth century the readings in many places are of special importance as representing MSS. now lost. By collation he found that before H. Stephanus' editions they agree mostly with A and F, but that Stephanus and Leonclavius based their text rather on the Paris MSS. of the better family.

§ 4. LIFE OF XENOPHON¹.

c. 430. Birth².

c. 410-401. Friendship³ with Socrates.

401, 400. Xenophon accompanied⁴ Cyrus on his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and after the battle of Cunaxa conducted the retreat of the Ten Thousand to Trapezus, and then to Chrysopolis.

400-399. Entered⁵ with many of the Ten Thousand the service of Seuthes, King of Thrace.

399. Handed⁶ the Ten Thousand over to Thibron, the Lacedaemonian general in Asia.

¹ For details, cp. Roquette, *De Xenophontis vita*; Dakyns, *Works of Xenophon*, vol. i.

² Xenophon speaks of himself as a young man in 401 B.C. at the time when he was elected to the command of the Ten Thousand: cp. *Anab.* iii. 1. 14, 25; 2. 37; iv. 2. 16; vii. 3. 46. The story of Diogenes Laertius (ii. 5. 22; cp. *Strab.* ix. 405; *Macrob.* 21), that Socrates saved Xenophon's life at the battle of Delium 424 B.C., probably rests on a confusion between Xenophon and Alcibiades (*Plat. Symp.* 221). If it were true, he must have been born some time between 450 and 444 B.C.

³ Cp. *Memorabilia*; *Diog. Laert.* ii. 6. 48.

⁴ Cp. *Anabasis*, esp. iii. 1. 5.

⁵ Cp. *Anab.* vii. 3.

⁶ *Anab.* vii. 7. 57; 8. 26, and *Hell.* iii. 1. 6.

Married ¹ Philesia.

399-396. Accompanied ² Thibron and his successor Dercylidas in their campaigns against the Persians.

Exiled ³ from Athens.

396-395. Became ⁴ the intimate friend of King Agesilaus in Asia, and accompanied him on his campaigns.

394. Returned ⁵ with Agesilaus to Europe, and was present in all probability ⁶ at the battle of Coronea.

394-387. Lived at Sparta and accompanied ⁷ Agesilaus on his various campaigns.

386-371. Lived ⁸ at Scillus.

c. 384. Xenophon built ⁹ a shrine to Artemis at Scillus.

371. Expelled ¹⁰ by the Eleans from Scillus.

371-354. Lived ¹¹ at Corinth.

c. 369. Edict ¹² of exile revoked.

362. Gryllus, Xenophon's son, was slain ¹³ in a cavalry skirmish at Mantinea.

354. Death ¹⁴ at Corinth.

¹ Cp. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 51. Xenophon states (Anab. vii. 6. 34) that in 399 he had no children. But about 392 he seems to have sent his sons Gryllus and Diodorus to Sparta to be educated (Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 54; Plut. Ages. 20), and Spartan boys began their training at seven years old.

² This is an inference from the vivid details of Xenophon's narrative in Hell. iii.

³ Cp. Anab. vii. 7. 57 (cp. v. 3. 6) οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. These words seem to imply that Xenophon was exiled not very long after 399. So Dio Chrys. viii. p. 130 m. διὰ τὴν μετὰ Κύρον στρατείαν; Paus. v. 6. 5 and Epigram ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 58. Roquette dates his exile after Coronea 394, citing Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 51 παρ' ὃν καιρὸν (Xenophon's friendship with Agesilaus) ἐπὶ Λακωνισμῷ φυγῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων κατεγνώσθη.

⁴ Anab. v. 3. 6: vivid details in Hell. iii and iv.

⁵ Anab. v. 3. 6.

⁶ Plut. Ages. 18.

⁷ This is an inference from the vivid details given of Agesilaus' campaigns in Hell. iv *passim*.

⁸ Anab. v. 3. 7.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 53; Paus. v. 6. 7. Cp. Hell. vi. 5. 2, 30; vii. 1. 26.

¹¹ Diog. Laert. *ibid*.

¹² Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 59.

¹³ Ephorus, ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 53.

¹⁴ Stesicrides, ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 56, puts his death in the archonship of Callidemides 360-359. But Xenophon was certainly writing (Hell. vi. 4. 34) as late as 358-357, and probably wrote the *De Vectigalibus* in 355 (cp. Roquette, p. 31).

§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK I.
BOOK I.	
411 c. Sept. Winter.	i. 1. Agesandridas defeated the Athenian fleet. i. 2-9. ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος battles at Rhoeteum and Abydos. Thrasyllus went to Athens: μετὰ ταῦτα Tissaphernes at the Hellespont arrested Alcibiades.
410-409.	i. 10-13. ἡμέραις τριάκοντα ὕστερον Alcibiades escaped and sailed to Proconnesus. i. 14-19. Battle of Cyzicus. i. 20-22. Alcibiades recovered the Athenian dominion over the Bosphorus, &c.
409-408. Summer.	i. 23-37. ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ sundry contemporary events. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον revolt of Thasos to Athens. περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους sally of Agis from Decelea. Clearchus was despatched to the Bosphorus. Sicilian affairs. ii. 1-13. τῷ ἄλλῳ ἔτει Thrasyllus ravaged the coast of Ionia, suffered a severe repulse at Ephesus, retired to Notium and sailed thence to the Hellespont.
Winter.	ii. 14-17. χειμῶν ἐπῆει Thrasyllus joined Alcibiades at Lampsacus, where the two generals wintered and defeated Pharnabazus. ii. 18, 19. τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ the Spartans recovered Coryphasium.
408-407. Summer.	iii. 1-13. τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους the Athenians sailed from Lampsacus to Proconnesus, then invested Chalcedon, and compelled Pharnabazus to conclude an armistice with them and to promise a safe escort for some Athenian envoys to the Persian king.
Winter.	iii. 14-22. Siege and capture of Byzantium. iv. 1. τὸν χειμῶνα the Athenian and other envoys met Pharnabazus at Gordium.
407-406. Summer.	iv. 2-7. ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος the envoys heard of the appointment of Cyrus to be satrap. Cyrus arrived and persuaded Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys. iv. 8-12. Alcibiades sailed to Samos, while Thrasyllus sailed with the main fleet to Athens; and then hearing of his election to be general, entered Piræus in June, ἡμέρᾳ ἣ Πλυντήρια ᾗγεν ἡ πόλις.
	iv. 13-20. Reception of Alcibiades in Piræus and Athens. His escort of the Eleusinian festival. [v. 1. Lysander appointed to be Spartan admiral, πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ.]
Winter.	iv. 21-23. τετάρτῳ μηνί Alcibiades set sail with his

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOKS I, II.
<p>406-405. Summer.</p> <p>c. August, 406.</p> <p>Winter.</p>	<p>newly equipped fleet first to Andros, and then to Samos, which he made his head quarters for winter operations against the Peloponnesians.</p> <p>v. 1-10. Lysander collected a fleet of 90 vessels at Ephesus, negotiated with Cyrus, and made preparations for renewing the war by sea.</p> <p>v. 11-19. Alcibiades joined Thrasybulus at Phocaea: in his absence Antiochus his lieutenant was defeated at Notium. Alcibiades returned to Samos, and soon afterwards withdrew in disgrace to the Chersonese. Conon succeeded him in the command of the fleet.</p> <p>v. 20. Conon ravaged the neighbouring territory of the enemy.</p> <p>vi. 1-12. τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει Callicratidas succeeded Lysander, and failing to get money from Cyrus, obtained supplies from the Milesians.</p> <p>vi. 13-23. Callicratidas stormed Methymna, and blockaded Conon in the harbour of Mytilene.</p> <p>vi. 24-28. The Athenians sent out a fleet of 110 vessels to the rescue, which Callicratidas attempted to intercept.</p> <p>vi. 29-36. Battle of Arginusae.</p> <p>vi. 37-38. Eteonicus despatched his ships to Chios and retired himself to Methymna. The Athenian fleet sailed first to Mytilene, and then to Samos.</p> <p>vii. 1-35. ἐγένετο Ἀπατούρια trial of the generals, who had fought at Arginusae.</p>
	BOOK II.
	<p>i. 1-5. ἐπεὶ χειμῶν ἐγένετο Eteonicus suppressed a mutiny among his troops at Chios, and obtained money from the Chians.</p> <p>i. 6, 7. The Spartans appointed Lysander to command their fleet for a second time.</p> <p>i. 8, 9. Cyrus was summoned to the presence of his father Darius.</p> <p>i. 10-14. τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει Lysander arrived at Ephesus, where he fitted out his fleet with money supplied him by Cyrus, who soon afterwards set out to meet Darius, having first entrusted him with the revenues of his province. The Athenians made counter-preparations at Samos.</p> <p>i. 15-21. Lysander sailed to Caria and Rhodes, and thence past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians set out from Samos, ravaged the Persian territory, touched at Chios and Ephesus, and then at Elaeus on the Hellespont: whence, hearing that Lysander had</p>

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK II.

	taken Lampsacus, they took up a position opposite to him near Sestos.
c. August.	i. 22-29. Battle of Aegospotami. i. 30-32. Lysander captured the whole Athenian fleet and executed all the prisoners. ii. 1-4. Lysander entered Byzantium and Chalcedon. Dismay at Athens. ii. 5-9. Lysander sailed to Lesbos, where he reorganized the government of the several states and despatched Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. General revolt of all the Athenian allies except Samos. Lysander restored the Aeginetan, Melian, and other exiles to their native cities, and afterwards blockaded Piraeus.
Winter.	ii. 10, 11. Siege of Athens : proclamation of an amnesty. ii. 12-15. Fruitless negotiations for peace first with Agis and then with the Ephors. ii. 16-20. Mission of Theramenes to Lysander <i>τρέις μῆνας καὶ πλείω</i> . Afterwards Theramenes returned and headed an embassy to Sparta. Council of the Peloponnesian allies upon the fate of Athens. The Athenians accepted the offered terms. Lysander entered Piraeus, and began the demolition of the Long Walls.
c. June, 404-403. Summer.	iii. 1-10. <i>τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει</i> appointment of the Thirty. Lysander sailed to Samos, and Agis evacuated Declea. Lycophron of Pherae (<i>περὶ ἡλίου ἐκλείψιν</i>) defeated the Larisaeans. Lysander reduced Samos and returned in triumph to Sparta.
Winter.	iii. 11-56. The Thirty began a reign of terror, supported by the Spartan harmost and garrison. Accusation and execution of Theramenes. iv. 1-22. <i>ἐπιγίγνεται . . . χιῶν παμπληθής</i> the democratic exiles, headed by Thrasybulus, seized Phyle and marched upon Piraeus, where they defeated the Thirty in battle, Critias being among the slain (<i>ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσίν</i>). iv. 23-27. The Thirty were deposed and the Ten appointed in their place, with whom constant war was waged by Thrasybulus and the democratic exiles. iv. 28-38. At the invitation of the oligarchs the Spartans sent Lysander and Libys to their aid. But Pausanias intervened and after some slight military operations effected a reconciliation between the contending factions. iv. 39-42. Pausanias disbanded the Peloponnesian army. Thrasybulus marched up to Athens, and restored the democratical constitution.
c. February, 403. 403-402.	iv. 43. <i>ὕστερῳ χρόνῳ</i> final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, and proclamation of an universal amnesty.
401-400.	

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK III.

BOOK III.

401-399.

i. 1-3. *ἐκ τούτου* expedition of the Ten Thousand.

399-398.

i. 4-7. Thibron sent to Asia as harmost : joined by the Cyreans : captured Pergamos and other cities in Asia.

Autumn.

ii. 21-24. *τούτων πρατιομένων* the Spartans declared war against the Eleans. Agis invaded Elis, but retired on the occurrence of an earthquake.

i. 8-28. Thibron was superseded by Dercylidas, who came to terms with Tissaphernes and marched against Pharnabazus.

ii. 25, 26. *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ* (Feb. or Mar. 398) Agis invaded Elis for the second time, sacrificed at Olympia, and ravaged the country as far as the suburbs of Elis.

ii. 1-5. *ἐν ὁκτῶ ἡμέραις* Dercylidas took nine cities : made a truce with Pharnabazus, and *διεχέμαζεν* in Bithynia.

398-397.

ii. 27-30. Agis having penetrated as far as Cyllene, recrossed the Alpheus and left Lysippus with a garrison at Epitalium, who ravaged Elis (§ 30) *τὸ λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα*.

ii. 6-9. *ἅμα τῷ ἦρι* Dercylidas marched to Lampascus, where he heard that his command had been prolonged for *τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν* : renewed the truce with Pharnabazus, and crossed to the Chersonese, where (§§ 10, 11) *ἀπὸ ἡρινου χρόνου πρὸ ὀπώρας* he rebuilt the wall across the isthmus.

On his return to Asia Dercylidas captured Atarneus after a siege (§ 11) *ἐν ὁκτῶ μηνί* (c. August 398-March 397).

397-396.

ii. 30, 31. *τοῦ ἐπιόντος θέρους* the Spartans again threatened war, whereupon the Eleans submitted and entered the Lacedaemonian alliance.

ii. 12-20. *μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου* peace had prevailed between Dercylidas and Tissaphernes : now Dercylidas advanced towards Caria and met the two satraps in the plain of Maeander, when (§ 17) *ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σίτος*. There a truce was concluded.

c. June.

iii. 1-3. *μετὰ τοῦτο* death of Agis. Agesilaus succeeded him through the influence of Lysander.

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. Book III.

396-395.

iii. 4-11. οὐπω ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου the conspiracy of Cinadón was discovered and suppressed.

Spring.

iv. 1-15. μετὰ ταῦτα on news coming of a Persian fleet being fitted out in Phoenicia Agesilaus gained the consent of the Spartans and their allies to lead an expedition into Asia. The Boeotians prevented Agesilaus from sacrificing at Aulis. The king crossed to Ephesus. Truce with Tissaphernes. Quarrel with Lysander, who retired to the Hellespont and won over Spithridates as an ally. Tissaphernes, reinforced by the Persian king, broke the truce and declared war. ἐκ τούτου (§ 11) Agesilaus advanced into Phrygia, but after an unsuccessful cavalry skirmish returned to the sea (i.e. to Ephesus), where he reorganized his cavalry.

395-394.

iv. 16-19. ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε Agesilaus drilled his troops at Ephesus.

iv. 20-27. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει the king marched upon Sardis and defeated the Persian cavalry on the Pactolus. Tithraustes superseded and executed Tissaphernes. Then he made a truce with Agesilaus, persuading him to march into Pharnabazus' territory.

v. 1-25. Timocrates of Rhodes, being commissioned by Tithraustes to stir up war against Sparta, distributed 50 talents in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos. Quarrel between the Locrians and Phocians: the Thebans inciting the former, while the latter appealed to Sparta. Sparta declared war against Thebes. Defensive alliance between Thebes and Athens. Lysander slain at Haliartus. Pausanias, arriving too late, retired, and on his return, being condemned to death, fled to Tegea.

iv. 27-29. On his march Agesilaus collected a new fleet of 120 ships and appointed his brother Pisander admiral. [IV. i. 1-40 ἅμα μετοπώρῳ he reached Pharnabazus' Phrygia, ravaged the country, won over many cities and proceeded towards Paphlagonia. Story of Otys. Agesilaus (§ 16) διεχίμαζε in Dascyleum. Skirmish with Pharnabazus. Three days later (§ 20) Herippidas captured the satrap's camp. A quarrel over the spoils led Spithridates to desert to Sardis, much to Agesilaus' annoyance. Interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.]

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK IV.

BOOK IV.

394-393.

- ii. 1. The Spartans resolved to recall Agesilaus, and prepared for war against the Thebans and their allies.
- iv. 9-23. *ἐν τούτῳ* Aristodemus led out the Spartan army: the enemy assembled in Corinth, and thence advanced to the Nemea, when they were met by the Lacedaemonians. Battle of the Nemea, the victory resting with the Lacedaemonians.
- iii. 10. On the Boeotian frontier Agesilaus heard of Pisander's defeat at Cnidus.
- iii. 13-23. Battle of Coronea: after the victory Agesilaus dedicated a tithe of his spoils at Delphi, while Gylis led the army through Phocis into Locris.
- iv. 1. *μετὰ τοῦτο* Agesilaus disbanded his army and sailed home. *ἐκ τούτου* the war was continued from Sicyon and Corinth as bases.
- i. 41. *εὐθύς* the king left the satrap's territory; *σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἕαρ ἥδη ὑπέφαιεν*. In the plain of Thebe Agesilaus collected large forces for another expedition against the Persians.
- ii. 2-8. Agesilaus obeyed the summons home; and leaving Euxenus with 4,000 men in Asia crossed the Hellespont with the rest of his army and marched along the coast.
- iii. 1-9. Dercylidas met Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the battle of the Nemea.
- iii. 10-12. Conon defeated Pisander and the Peloponnesian fleet at Cnidus a few days before an eclipse of the sun (August 14, 394).
- viii. 1-6. Conon and Pharnabazus expelled the Spartan harmosts from the islands and coast towns. From Ephesus Pharnabazus went by land, Conon by sea to Abydos, which was held by Dercylidas. The satrap left Conon on the Hellespont with orders to collect a large fleet for the next campaign, *καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντες διήγον*.

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK IV.

393-392.

iv. 1. The Corinthians saw their own territory being wasted, whilst their allies enjoyed the blessings of peace: discontent of the oligarchs amongst them.

iv. 2-6. On Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν [February 392?] the Corinthian democrats massacred many of the oligarchs and united the city with Argos.

392-391.

iv. 7-13. [Summer 392?] Some Corinthian oligarchs admitted Praxitas into the Long Walls of Corinth. Battle at Lechaeum. Praxitas pulled down parts of the Long Walls, captured Sidus, Crommyon and Epiicia, and then returned to Sparta.

Autumn?

iv. 14. ἐκ τούτου large armaments were given up on both sides, the war being carried on only by the mercenaries stationed respectively at Corinth and Sicyon.

391-390.

iv. 15-18. ἐνθα exploits of Iphicrates' peltasts at Phlius and in Arcadia. Rebuilding of the Long Walls of Corinth with the help of the Athenians.

iv. 19. Agesilaus ravaged Argolis, and retook the Long Walls of Corinth, while Teleutias captured the docks.

viii. 7-11. ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι Conon and Pharnabazus crossed to Melos, ravaged the Spartan coasts, garrisoned Cythera, and supplied the allies at Corinth with money. Pharnabazus returned to Asia, but Conon sailed to Athens and helped to rebuild the Long Walls and the Wall of Piraeus. The Corinthians equipped a fleet, whereby they asserted their mastery over the Corinthian Gulf; (§ 11) μετὰ τοῦτο summer 392 Teleutias dispossessed them.

viii. 12-15. The Spartans sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus at Sardis, at the same time that the Athenians and their allies sent Conon and others envoys to counteract his influence. Failure of Antalcidas' negotiations.

viii. 16. Tiribazus gave money to Antalcidas, arrested Conon, and went up to Susa.

viii. 17-19. Struthas, a phil-Athenian, replaced Tiribazus at Sardis. The Spartans sent out Thibron to make war on him. προΐοντος τοῦ χρόνου (§ 18)

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK IV.
Late Autumn.	<p>Thibron was defeated and slain.</p> <p>viii. 20-22. The Spartans sent out Diphridas to replace Thibron and Ecdicus to help the Rhodians against the Athenians. Ecdicus remained inactive at Cnidus.</p>
390-389.	<p>viii. 23, 24. Teleutias, leaving the Corinthian Gulf, superseded Ecdicus at Cnidus, and on his way to Rhodes captured an Athenian squadron sailing to Cyprus.</p> <p>viii. 25-27. The Athenians sent out Thrasybulus with 40 ships to help the Rhodians: but for fear of Teleutias he sailed to the Hellespont, where he persuaded Medocus and Seuthes to become allies of Athens, set up a democracy at Byzantium, and at Chrysopolis a toll on vessels passing through the Bosphorus, and won over Chalcedon.</p> <p>v. 1-10. ἐκ τούτου on an expedition into Piræum Agesilaus surprised the Argives celebrating the Isthmian games [καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μῆν ἐν ᾧ Ἰσθμία γίγνεται (c. June 390), cp. § 4 οἷα θέρους], and gained much booty in Piræum.</p> <p>v. 11-17. Iphicrates destroyed a Lacedæmonian <i>mora</i> returning to Lechaëum at the time of τὰ Τακίνθια c. July 490.</p>
Autumn?	<p>v. 18, 19. Thereupon Agesilaus retired hastily to Sparta. Iphicrates captured Sidus, Crommyon, and Oenoe.</p>
389-388.	<p>vi. 1-11. μετὰ τοῦτο expedition of Agesilaus against the Acarnanians to help the Achæans in Calydon.</p> <p>vi. 12-14. ἡνίκα δὲ ἤδη ἐπερίγινετο τὸ μετόπωρον, he left the country, promising to return the next summer.</p> <p>viii. 30. ἐκ τούτου on his way to Rhodes he made a descent on Aspendus to extort money, but was slain by the Aspendians.</p> <p>viii. 31-34. The Athenians sent out Agyrrhius to take over Thrasybulus' ships at Rhodes. The ephors sent out Anaxibius to supersede</p>

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK V.

Dercylidas at Abydos, whereupon the Athenians despatched Iphicrates to the Hellespont.

viii. 35-39. § 35. *προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου* Iphicrates surprised and slew Anaxibius.

BOOK V.

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| <p>388-387.</p> | <p>i. 1-4. The Athenians to prevent piracy blockaded Aegina, but Teleutias raised the blockade. Hierax, his successor, sailed to Rhodes, leaving his secretary, Gorgopas, in Aegina.</p> <p>i. 5. <i>ἐκ τούτου</i> the Aeginetans besieged the Athenians on the island, until <i>πέμπτῃ μηνί</i> they were rescued. The piracy being then renewed, the Athenians sent Eunomus with 13 ships against Gorgopas.</p> <p>IV. vii. 1. <i>παρελθόντος τοῦ χειμῶνος . . . εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἤρος</i> Agesilaus prepared to renew the invasion; but the Acarnanians sent an embassy to Sparta, made peace with the Achaeans, and became the allies of the Lacedaemonians.</p> <p>IV. vii. 2-7. <i>ἐκ τούτου</i> Agesilaus, having consulted the gods at Olympia and Delphi, invaded the Argolis, advancing to the very gates of the city.</p> | <p>i. 6. Antalcidas sailed to Ephesus to succeed Hierax, and sent the fleet under his secretary Nicolochus to the Hellespont.</p> <p>i. 7-9. Gorgopas defeated Eunomus off the Attic coast.</p> <p>i. 10-12. Chabrias on his way to Cyprus defeated and slew Gorgopas. § 13. <i>ἐκ τούτου</i> the Aeginetans stopped their depredations.</p> <p>i. 13-24. <i>ἐκ τούτου</i> Teleutias, appointed admiral at Aegina, made a descent upon Piraeus.</p> |
| <p>c. March 387.
387-386.</p> | <p>i. 25-31. Antalcidas came down with Tiribazus, bearing terms of peace from the Persian king. He relieved Nicolochus from his blockade at Abydos, surprised an Athenian squadron, and gained full command of the sea. The envoys from the various states eagerly obeyed the summons of Tiribazus and gladly listened to the terms of peace negotiated by Antalcidas.</p> | |
| <p>Winter.</p> | <p>i. 32-36. All the Greek states agreed to the King's Peace, except the Thebans, who however under threat of invasion submitted. The Corinthians dismissed their</p> | |

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK V.
	Argive garrison. § 35. ἐκ τούτου all armed forces were disbanded. Great power of Sparta as champion of the King's Peace.
386-385.	ii. 1-3. The Lacedaemonians determined to chastise such states as had proved unfaithful to them in the late wars. (?) Expiration of the σπονδαὶ τριακονταετείς with Mantinea.
385-384.	ii. 4-7. Siege and surrender of Mantinea: § 7. ἐκ τούτου the Spartans split up the city into villages and set up an oligarchy over them.
Winter.	ii. 8-10. The Spartans restored the oligarchical exiles to Phlius.
382 early.	ii. 11-23. Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia came to Sparta to seek help against the Olynthians. The Spartans and their allies voted to send an army of 10,000 men, and § 23 ὡς τάχιστα despatched a force of 2,000 men under Eudamidas.
382-381.	ii. 24-36. Phoebidas, marching with the rest of Eudamidas' troops, encamped at Thebes. Leontiades betrayed (§ 29 θέρως ὄντος) the Cadmea to Phoebidas, and went to Sparta to justify the deed. Trial and execution of Ismenias.
	ii. 24. Eudamidas won over Potidaea.
	ii. 37-43. The Spartans sent out Teleutias with the 10,000 men. Teleutias marched slowly forwards, collecting forces from every quarter as far as Potidaea. He ended the campaign (§ 43 τοῦτο τὸ θέρος) with an indecisive victory at the gates of Olynthus.
381-380.	iii. 1-7. ἅμα τῇ ἡρὶ ὑποφαινομένῳ skirmishes at Olynthus. Teleutias being slain, the whole besieging force was obliged to disperse.
Autumn.	iii. 10-17. Dissensions at Phlius. The Lacedaemonians under Agesilaus laid siege to the city.
	iii. 8, 9. Agesipolis sailed against Olynthus with a still larger armament.

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. Book V.

380-379.

iii. 18-20. Shortly after the capture of Torone Agesipolis died of fever (§ 19 *κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν*). His place was taken by Polybiades.

c. March 379.

iii. 21-25. After 20 months (§ 25 *ἐν ὅκτῳ μηνὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ*) the Phliasians came to terms. Agesilaus set up a provisional government and left a garrison in the city.

iii. 26, 27. Polybiades starved the Olynthians into a surrender: they entered the Spartan Confederacy.

379-378.
Winter.

iv. 1-9. Liberation of Thebes (§ 4 *ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς*) by Melon and other conspirators: the Spartan harmost surrendered the Cadmea. Cleombrotus marched upon Thebes (§ 14 *μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος*), but returned after a few desultory operations, leaving Sphodrias at Thespieae. The Athenians put their two generals to death, who had been privy to Melon's conspiracy.

378-377.

iv. 20-33. Sphodrias attempted to surprise Piraeus. His trial and acquittal through the influence of Agesilaus.

iv. 34. The Athenians equipped their fleet and supported the Thebans.

iv. 35-41. Agesilaus invaded Boeotia with varying success, left Phoebidas as harmost at Thespieae, and then returned home.

iv. 42-46. *ἐκ τούτου* after many skirmishes Phoebidas was slain and his troops routed. The Lacedaemonians sent a Polemarch with a *mora* by sea to guard Thespieae.

377-376.

iv. 47-57. *ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη* Agesilaus led a second expedition into Boeotia, again without any decisive result. Revolt of Oreus from Sparta.

376-375.

iv. 58-61. *ὑποφαίνοντος πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος* Agesilaus being ill, Cleombrotus marched out against Thebes, but finding Cithaeron strongly guarded at once disbanded his forces. The Spartans manned a fleet of 60 triremes under their admiral Pollis to check the growing power of Athens. Defeat of Pollis by Chabrias.

375-374.

iv. 62-66. While the Thebans were subduing the Boeotian towns the Athenian Timotheus sailed round the Peloponnesus with 60 ships, won over Corcyra, and defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus at Alyzia.

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK VI.

BOOK VI.

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| 374-373. | <p>i. 1. Cleombrotus was despatched to help the Phocians against the Thebans.</p> <p>i. 2-19. <i>σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον</i> Polydamas the Pharsalian applied to Sparta for help against Jason of Pherae: the Spartans confessed that they were unable to give it. Jason became <i>tagus</i> of all Thessaly.</p> <p>ii. 1-7. On the approach of Cleombrotus the Thebans retired within their own frontiers. The Athenians made peace with Sparta and recalled Timotheus from Corcyra. On his way home he reinstated some exiles in Zacynthus. The Spartans regarded this as a breach of the peace, and <i>εὐθὺς</i> (§ 3) despatched their admiral Mnasippus with 60 ships to Corcyra.</p> |
| Autumn?
or
Winter? | <p>ii. 8-11. The Athenians despatched Stesicles with 600 peltasts across the mainland to Corcyra, and resolved to send a fleet under Timotheus.</p> |
| 373-372. | <p>ii. 12-26. Timotheus sailed from Athens, but lingered among the islands. The Athenians replaced him by Iphicrates. The Corcyreans defeated and slew Mnasippus. The Lacedaemonians abandoned the island.</p> <p>ii. 27-36. On the voyage Iphicrates heard of the death of Mnasippus at Sphagiae: he sailed on to Cephallenia, which he reduced, and then arrived at Corcyra, where he captured 10 triremes sailing from Dionysius to help the Spartans.</p> |
| 372-371.
371-370. | <p>ii. 37-39. Operations of Iphicrates round Corcyra.</p> <p>iii. 1-20. The Athenians, annoyed at the conduct of the Thebans, sent envoys to Sparta to negotiate a general peace. Congress at Sparta. The terms of peace were generally accepted, but when the Thebans claimed to sign it for all the Boeotians, Agesilaus disallowed the claim.</p> |
| July. | <p>iv. 1-3. The Athenians carried out the conditions of the peace: the Lacedaemonians, though they withdrew their harmosts and garrisons, ordered Cleombrotus, then in Phocis, to march against the Thebans.</p> <p>iv. 4-16. Battle of Leuctra: defeat and death of Cleombrotus. The news reached Sparta (§ 16) <i>γυμνοπαιδιῶν οὐσης τῆς τελευταίας</i>, c. July.</p> <p>iv. 17-27. The Lacedaemonians sent out a new army under Archidamus. The Thebans applied in vain to Athens for help, but were more successful with Jason of Pherae. Arrived at Leuctra Jason dissuaded the Thebans from attacking the Spartan camp. A truce was</p> |

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK VI.

- made : the Lacedaemonian army retired, and fell in with Archidamus in the Megarid. Jason returned to Thessaly.
- v. 1-3. Archidamus disbanded his forces. Congress at Athens, at which all the states present, with the exception of Elis, swore anew to the King's Peace.
- v. 4, 5. Restoration of Mantinea.
- 370-369. iv. 28-32. Death of Jason of Pherae (τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον, c. August).
- v. 6-22. Dissensions at Tegea : the Mantineans supported the democrats, who were in favour of the Pan-Arcadian League : 800 of the oligarchs fled to Sparta. Agesilaus marched out against the Mantineans (§ 20 ἦν μέσος χειμῶν), but quickly returned.
- Winter. v. 23-32. First Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus : against their own wishes the Thebans joined the Arcadians in an incursion into Laconia, ravaging the country and penetrating as far as Gythium.
- v. 33-49. The Athenians, after a long debate, decided to help the Lacedaemonians, and sent Iphicrates with a large army to Corinth.
- v. 50-52. The Thebans and Arcadians returned from Laconia (§ 50 ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν), the former passing the Isthmus without serious opposition from Iphicrates.

BOOK VII.

- 369-368. i. 1-14. τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει negotiations at Athens to arrange the terms of the new alliance with Sparta.
- i. 15-22. Second Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus : the Spartans and their allies guarded the Isthmus at Oneum. The Thebans forced a passage, attacked Sicyon and Pellene, and ravaged the Epidaurian territory. After some skirmishes round Corinth they turned homewards. Return of the Sicilian troops, which Dionysius had sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians.
- iv. 34. Polyphron of Pheron murdered and succeeded by Alexander.
- i. 23-26. Discontent of the Arcadians, fomented by Lycomedes of Mantinea, against the Thebans and Eleans.
- 368-367. i. 27. Ariobarzanes' envoy, Philiscus, summoned the Greeks to Delphi to make a general peace : his attempt failed.
- i. 28-32. With the aid of a second reinforcement from Dionysius of Syracuse Archidamus took Caryae and ravaged Parrhasia. Archidamus defeated the Arcadians and Argives in the so-called 'Tearless Victory.'
- 367-366. i. 33-40. Meeting of Greek envoys at the Persian Court :

YEAR.
April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK VII.

- on the proposal of Pelopidas the king dictated terms for a new peace. The Thebans summoned deputies to Thebes to hear the king's terms: the deputies, headed by the Arcadians, refused to swear to them. Then the Thebans sent round messengers to the various states to induce them to swear: the Corinthians refused, and the rest followed suit.
- Winter. i. 41-46. Third Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: Epaminondas persuaded the Achaeans to join the Theban Confederacy. The Thebans at home reversed his policy, sent out harmosts, and set up democracies in the Achaean states. The oligarchs quickly effected their return and supported Sparta. Euphron effects a democratical revolution at Sicyon, and then makes himself tyrant.
- 366-365. ii. 1. The Sicyonians and Argives annoyed the Phliasians from their strongholds at Thyamia and Tricaranon. Fidelity of the Phliasians to Sparta.
- ii. 2-10. Xenophon recounts the fortunes of the Phliasians from the battle of Leuctra (371) to this time.
- ii. 11-23. The Theban harmost at Sicyon, together with Euphron, made an unsuccessful inroad into Phlasiā. Again the Phliasians, with the help of Chares, successfully attacked the Sicyonians at Thyamia.
- iii. 1-12. *σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον* Euphron was driven out of Sicyon, but soon again made himself master of the city. He repaired to Thebes to persuade the authorities to recognize his supremacy in Sicyon. To Thebes he was followed by his enemies and murdered. Trial and acquittal of Euphron's murderers.
- iv. 1-5. The Athenians lost Oropus: left by their allies in the lurch, they accepted the Arcadian offers of alliance. The Athenians planned a surprise upon Corinth: but the Corinthians dismissed their Athenian garrison and refused to admit Chares and his fleet.
- iv. 6-11. The Corinthians, Phliasians, Argives, and others, weary of the long wars, with the consent of Sparta, made peace with the Thebans.
- iv. 12. *σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον* troops sent by the younger Dionysius of Syracuse helped the Spartans to recover Scellasia.
- 365-364. iv. 13-18. *μετὰ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον* the Eleans seized Lasion: the Arcadians, supported by the Elean democrats, invaded Elis, captured many cities, garrisoned the Cronion, and penetrated as far as the market-place of Elis. The Achaeans prevented the Arcadians in another attempt to capture Elis. Struggle at Olurus.

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK VII.
364-363.	iv. 19-27. Once more the Arcadians invaded Elis; whereupon the Lacedaemonians seized Cromnus. Struggle round Cromnus. The Eleans captured Pylos, putting all the democratical exiles there to death. Cromnus was retaken by the Arcadians.
363-362.	iv. 28-32. ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους the Arcadians prepared with the Pisatans to celebrate the Olympic games: the Eleans bravely attempted to expel them from Olympia, but in vain. iv. 33-40. The Mantineans refused to handle the Olympian treasures: their example spreading, the other Arcadians invited Theban interference. Then the Arcadians made peace with the Eleans, and restored to them the presidency over the temple of Zeus. While they were celebrating the peace at Tegea, the Theban commandant arrested all the oligarchs he could lay hands on, but next day at the demand of the Mantineans released them. An accusation was brought against the commandant at Thebes.
362.	v. 1-3. Fearing Theban interference the Mantineans and their allies appealed for aid to Athens and Sparta. v. 4-17. Fourth Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: after waiting a while at Nemea Epaminondas went on to Tegea. Epaminondas made a rush on Sparta; but Agesilaus, warned just in time, was able to repulse the attack. Epaminondas returned to Tegea, where he rested his hoplites, but sent on his cavalry, hoping to surprise Mantinea (§ 14 σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης). Mantinea was saved by the accidental arrival of the Athenian cavalry. v. 18-25. Epaminondas, feeling a general engagement to be necessary, led his army to the mountains west of Mantinea, surprised the enemy, and threw their whole army into confusion. But his own death in the moment of victory utterly paralyzed his troops, so that both sides claimed the victory. v. 26. After the battle the confusion and disorder in Greece were worse than before.

NOTES



BOOK I

CHAPTER I

§ 1. *In a second sea-fight Agesandridas the Lacedaemonian defeated the Athenians.* §§ 2-8. *Doricus trying in vain to enter the Hellespont, Mindarus put out from Abydos to escort him, but was met by the Athenians. The two fleets engaged, and on the arrival of Alcibiades, the Athenians drove the Peloponnesians back to Abydos with a loss of 30 ships. The Athenians left only 40 ships at Sestos: the rest dispersed to collect money, while Thrasyllus sailed to Athens to ask for reinforcements.* §§ 9-13. *Alcibiades visited Tissaphernes, who had now reached the Hellespont, but was arrested by him and sent to Sardis. A month afterwards he escaped to Clazomenae, and thence to Cardia, whither the Athenians had retreated from Sestos. Meantime the Peloponnesian ships, 60 strong, had sailed to Cyzicus. Alcibiades returned to Sestos, and led the combined Athenian fleet, 86 strong, to Proconnesus.* §§ 14, 15. *He took measures to conceal his arrival, and exhorted his troops to fight bravely; for they had no money, while their enemies had plenty from the Persian king.* §§ 16-22. *Alcibiades surprised the Peloponnesian fleet manœuvring outside the harbour, and after a hard fight by sea and land captured the whole of it. Mindarus was slain. Cyzicus surrendered to Alcibiades. He exacted money from its citizens, and from other neighbouring states, and established a toll-house on the Bosphorus.* §§ 23-26. *The despatch of Mindarus' secretary was captured and carried to Athens. The satrap Pharnabazus armed the Peloponnesian fugitives to guard his coasts, and urged their commanders to build new ships at Antandros.* §§ 27-31. *Story of the exile of the Syracusan commanders at Antandros, and of Hermocrates' accusation against Tissaphernes and expedition against Syracuse.* § 32. *The Spartan harmost Eleonicus was expelled from Thasos. The admiral Cratesippidas took command of the ships that Pasippidas had collected.* §§ 33, 34. *Agis made a sally from Declea, but retreated hastily before Thrasyllus. In reward the Athenians voted Thrasyllus 50 triremes and considerable reinforcements.* §§ 35, 36.

Agis sent Clearchus with a small squadron to the Bosphorus to cut off the Athenian corn supply. Clearchus lost three ships in the Hellespont, but with the rest safely reached Byzantium. § 37. *Contemporary events in Sicily.*

411-410 B. C.

§ 1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα. For the interval that must have elapsed between the points where Thucydides' narrative ends and Xenophon's begins, see *Introd.* pp. xvi, xvii.

ἦλθεν, i. e. to the Hellespont: cp. following notes.

Θυμοχάρης: a few months earlier this general had lost twenty-two out of thirty-six ships, when he was defeated by Agesandridas and the Peloponnesians off Eretria in Euboea: *Thuc.* viii. 95.

αὔθις, in a second battle; the Athenian victory at Cynossema being apparently the first (*Thuc.* viii. 106). Xenophon does not specify the place, but it appears from the context that it must have been the Hellespont.

Ἀγησανδρίδου. According to *Diod.* xiii. 41 after the battle of Cynossema Mindarus sent the Spartan Epicles to conduct Agesandridas' fleet from Euboea to reinforce him in the Hellespont. But on the voyage the whole fleet was destroyed by a storm off Mount Athos, only twelve men escaping. Agesandridas must have been one of the twelve, if *Diodorus'* story is true: cp. *Thuc.* viii. 107 fin.

§ 2. Μετ' ὀλίγον . . . τούτων: cp. ὕστερον τούτων.

Δωριεύς: cp. i. 5. 19.

ἐκ Ῥόδου. For the positions of Dorieus, Mindarus, Tissaphernes, and Alcibiades at this time see *Introd.* pp. xvi, xvii. According to *Diod.* xiii. 38 Mindarus had sent Dorieus with thirteen ships, which had come from the Italian Greeks to aid the Peloponnesians, to Rhodes in order to suppress a threatened uprising in the island.

τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, i. e. Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus (*Thuc.* viii. 104).

ἀνεβίβαζε. The imperfect tense expresses the attempt.

ὥς ἤνοιγε. This, the reading of most MSS., to which the commentators, comparing i. 5. 13; 6. 21, give the meaning, 'as soon as he got clear,' i. e. of the narrow strait of the Hellespont, suits neither Dorieus' action in beaching his ship, nor the geographical position of Rhoeteum, which is well within the strait some five or six miles from the narrow entrance. *Diodorus* xiii. 45 even says εἰς Δάρδανον, which is still higher up the strait.

μὴ 205 κόποι
day ...

row up a ship

It is better to read *ὡς ἤνυε*, 'as best he could'; cp. Critical Note and Append. p. 359.

§ 3. *εἰς Μάδυτον*, in the Thracian Chersonese not far from Sestos : cp. Her. vii. 33.

§ 4. *Μίνδαρος*, the Spartan admiral for 411-410: cp. Thuc. viii. 85.

ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, i.e. to Abydos; cp. Diod. xiii. 45 *εὐθὺς ἐξ Ἀβύδου μετὰ παντὸς ἀνήχθη τοῦ στόλου*.

§ 5. *ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ*. Mindarus had moved his fleet from Elaeus to Abydos (cp. Diod. xiii. 45), so that, since Ilium is twenty miles from Abydos, and since he saw Dorieus entering *ἅμα ἡμέρα*, in all probability the fight must have been renewed the day after Dorieus' arrival in the Hellespont. Moreover the Athenian ships seem (cp. §§ 2, 3) to have sailed from Madytus, fought against Dorieus and returned to Madytus again before the second battle—a process, which, considering the twenty or thirty miles thus traversed, must have occupied several hours. Further, since Madytus was nearly opposite to Abydos, the second battle must have been fought somewhere between the two cities, and consequently much higher up the Hellespont than the first. Diodorus (l. c.) speaks of one battle only, making Mindarus sail down from Abydos to the support of Dorieus at the Dardanian promontory. Accordingly Breitenbach and others, wishing to reconcile the two accounts, regard *ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ* as an interpolation.

§ 6. *Φαρνάβαζος* was satrap of Phrygia Minor and Bithynia, and was now in league with the Peloponnesians (Thuc. viii. 80, 99).

μέχρι, temporal: 'as long as.'

§ 7. *συμφράξαντες*, 'having formed in close order.'

ἀς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν: Xenophon's brevity is obscure; but cp. Plut. Alc. 27 *τῶν μὲν πολεμίων τριάκοντα λαβόντες, ἀνασώσαντες δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν, τροπαῖον ἔστησαν*.

§ 8. *ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν*: cp. § 14. Since the revolt of the allies after the Sicilian disaster the Athenians had been hard pressed for money.

§ 9. *Τισσαφέρης*. Satrap of Lydia and Ionia: his policy had hitherto been to wear out both the Peloponnesians and Athenians by temporizing: cp. Thuc. viii. 109.

συλλαβών. Though after this Alcibiades could never again hope to delude the Athenians with promises of Persian aid (Thuc. viii. 82), his own naval successes round Samos and now in the

Hellespont seem to have been sufficient to secure for him their confidence. Tissaphernes evidently wanted to retrieve his position in the opinion of the Peloponnesians: cp. Plut. Alc. 27 *κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ φοβούμενος αἰτίαν λαβεῖν ἐκ βασιλείως*.

§ 10. *μετὰ Μαντιθέου*: Mantitheus is mentioned again i. 3. 13. *εὐπορήσαντες . . . ἀπέδρασαν*, plural *κατὰ σύνεσιν*.

410-409 B.C.

§ 11. *οἱ δ' ἐν Σητῳ*, κ.τ.λ. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. xl.

ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα, according to Diod. xiii. 49 Mindarus had received reinforcements from the Peloponnesians and the other allies.

εἰς Καρδίαν. On the west coast of the Chersonese.

Κύζικον, this city had revolted from the Athenians, but had been recovered after their victory at Cynossema, Thuc. viii. 107. It was now besieged by Mindarus and Pharnabazus and taken by storm. Diod. xiii. 49.

περιπλεῖν, from Cardia to Sestos.

§ 12. *Θηραμένης*: cp. Diod. xiii. 47, 49. After trying in vain to prevent the Euboeans and Boeotians from uniting Euboea with the mainland by a bridge across the Euripus, Theramenes had sailed to the Aegean islands in order to replace the democracies in the various states, had then lent aid to king Archelaus of Macedon in the siege of Pydna, and finally joined Thrasybulus (cp. i. 1. 2, 8) on the Thracian coast.

Θρασύβουλος, one of the generals elected by the Athenian fleet at Samos (Thuc. viii. 76): he had commanded the right wing at Cynossema (ibid. 105) and had afterwards sailed to Thrace (Diod. xiii. 49).

§ 13. *ἐξελομένους τὰ μέγала ἱστία*, i. e. the sails of the greater of the two masts. So too, vi. 2. 27, Iphicrates leaves his large sails behind to make his ships lighter and more manageable for fighting.

εἰς Πάριον. On the Asiatic coast at the E. entrance to the Propontis.

Προκόννησον, an island in the W. part of the Propontis.

§ 14. *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. *τοῖς στρατιώταις* in the *ἐκκλησία*.

§ 15. *ὠρμίσαντο*, i. e. at Proconnesus in the Propontis.

§ 16. *ῥοντος*, gen. abs. without the noun *Διός* being expressed:

cp. Ar. Nub. 370 ὄντα; Hom. Il. xii. 25 ἦε δ' ἄρα Ζεύς; Goodwin, M. T. 848.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγύς, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix i. on the battle of Cyzicus, where the divergent accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch are given.

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, i. e. by Alcibiades. Cobet and others conjecture ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, 'from the harbour'; an idea already sufficiently expressed by ἀπειλημέναις.

§ 18. ταῖς εἴκοσι. The article is accounted for by the previous mention of the Athenian fleet (cp. i. 6. 26). There is no need to suppose that ἀρίσταις has dropped out of the text (cp. Plut. Alc. 28).

ἀπάσας. The Peloponnesians did not succeed in collecting a fleet again till Lysander was appointed admiral in 407 B. C.; cp. Plato, Menex. 243 μιᾷ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες ναῦς.

Συρακοσίων. Thucydides (viii. 26) relates that the Syracusans had sent a squadron of twenty-two ships under Hermocrates to aid the Lacedaemonians.

§ 19. ἐδέχοντο, cp. § 11 note: the city was unwallled: Thuc. viii. 107.

§ 20. Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν. Both on the European coast of the Propontis.

§ 22. Χρυσόπολιν, on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, opposite Byzantium.

δεκατευτήριον. The establishment of this custom-house was of the greatest importance to Athens now that her treasury was exhausted, and she had lost so many of her subject allies, more especially Euboea: cp. Thuc. viii. 95; cp. also the similar action of Thrasybulus in 390-389, iv. 8. 27, 31.

κατεσκεύασαν: cp. Appendix, p. 359.

καὶ φυλακὴν: καί = also, i. e. besides the officials whose duty it was to collect the tithes, they also left as a garrison, &c.

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, the infinitive expresses purpose: Goodwin, M. T. 770.

§ 23. Ἰπποκράτους, cp. Thuc. viii. 35, 99, 107. In 411 Mindarus had sent him with Epicles to bring up reinforcements from Euboea: cp. supr. § 1 note.

ἐπιστολέως: this officer held the second command in the Lacedaemonian fleet: cp. vi. 2. 25 and Appendix, p. 346.

κᾶλα. This is Bergk's conjecture for the MS. καλά. The

word is equivalent to ξύλα and is used by Aristophanes, Lys. 1253, to denote ships. τὰ καλά = 'our honour is gone' hardly seems to suit the passage.

ἀπεισσύα. Doric form of ἀπείσῳ, aor. pass. of ἀποσεύω, is explained by Eustathius (ad Iliad. i. 117 p. 63) as ἀφώρμησε, ἀπῆλθε, τέθνηκε.

πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομεν. Doric for πεινῶσιν οἱ ἄνδρες. ἀποροῦμεν. For the offers of peace apparently made by the Spartans at this time cp. Appendix, p. 314.

§ 24. Φαρνάβαζος. Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that the Peloponnesians fled to his camp.

§ 25. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγούς, i.e. the generals from the several states in the Peloponnesian confederacy: cp. iii. 4. 20 and Resp. Laced. 13. 4.

ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ, cp. Thuc. iv. 52 ναὺς τε γὰρ εὐπορία ἦν ποιεῖσθαι αὐτόθεν (from Antandros) ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐπικειμένης.

§ 26. ναυπηγούμενων. Genitive absolute, sc. αὐτῶν: cp. § 29 δεομένων, and Goodwin, M. T. 848.

εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία, i.e. the Antandrians voted the Syracusans the privileges and honours of being εὐεργέται and πολῖται: cp. vi. 1. 4 and Demos. xx. 60 ἐψηφίσασθ' ἅπερ οἶμαι φεύγουσιν εὐεργέταις δι' ὑμᾶς προσῆκε, προξενίαν, εὐεργεσίαν, ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων.

Καλχηδόνα, on the Asiatic coast opposite Byzantium.

§ 27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ. This and the similar formulae in §§ 31, 32, 33 seem to mean that all the events here mentioned occurred in the year 410-409, the next year 409-408 beginning at i. 2. 1.

Ἑρμοκράτους. The leader of the oligarchical party at Syracuse: after the defeat of the Athenians he had in 412 urged the Sicilians to assist in completing their overthrow, and accordingly had brought a fleet of twenty Syracusan and two Selinuntine ships to aid the Peloponnesians on the Asiatic coast: cp. Thuc. viii. 26, 29, 45, 85.

§ 28. μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσιν. With this the MSS. reading the phrase λόγον διδόναι has to bear the unusual sense 'to give an opportunity of speaking,' and the words μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσιν must then be an appeal made by the generals to their soldiers to give them a fair hearing, when they returned to Syracuse,—an appeal quite uncalled for after the loyalty which these soldiers had just shown them. If however the words be transposed, with Dindorf, to a position

before ἐλέσθαι, the passage at least becomes intelligible. 'When the soldiers,' it will then mean, 'refused to elect new generals, notwithstanding the news that the present generals had been exiled, and entreated the latter to continue in command, Hermocrates told them that for him and his colleagues to assent to their demand would be an act of rebellion against the home government; but that if any one had any charge to make against himself or his colleagues, both he and they were in duty bound to give an account of their commands. As however no one brought any accusation against them, they consented to continue in command till their successors arrived.' Even with Dindorf's transposition the sense is lame and unsatisfactory. This and the sudden transition to *oratio recta* together with the irregular use of connecting particles (παρήνεσάν τε . . . ἐλέσθαι δὲ . . . οἱ δ' . . . οἱ δ') point perhaps to a lacuna or lacunae of unknown dimensions: cp. Critical Note.

νεκικήκατε. Parallels may be found for this abrupt change to the *oratio recta*: cp. i. 4. 14, vi. 5. 35, &c.

ἡμετέραν . . . ὑμετέραν. There is no need to transpose these words: ἀρετή can very well mean courage and skill in commanding; προθυμία, sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν, 'zeal in obeying.'

§ 29. δεομένων. Genitive absolute, sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν: cp. § 26 note.

ἕως ἀφίκοντο, indic. as referring to a definite past action; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 913.

Γνώσιος. Ionic genitive: cp. iii. 1. 10 Ζήνιος.

κατάξειν, 'would bring them back from exile.'

§ 30. προσομιλοῦντες. The pres. part. expresses frequency or use.

ῶν for οὔς, genitive by a kind of attraction from τριηράρχων . . . ἐπιβατῶν.

ἀνεκοινοῦτο: Suidas (s.v.) quotes this passage with the Doric form ἀνεξυνοῦτο.

§ 31. κατηγορήσας. Thucydides (viii. 85) narrates how in 411 B.C. Hermocrates had accused Tissaphernes at Sparta of playing a double game between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. He is mentioned (i. 3. 13) as accompanying some Spartan envoys, who, at the same time as some Athenian envoys, were to meet Pharnabazus at Cyzicus, 408 B.C. Since Diodorus (xiii. 63) puts his expedition against Syracuse in 409-8 B.C., it must have been shortly after this meeting that he obtained from Pharnabazus the

assistance described in this passage. Tissaphernes was the personal enemy of Pharnabazus.

Ἀστυόχου, the Spartan admiral, who preceded Mindarus: cp. Thuc. I. c.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον, cp. § 29 ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο . . . ἀπεπέμψαντο. The chronological sequence of events here seems to be hopelessly confused. How could the old generals have at the same time waited for the new ones to arrive and been sent on their way (§ 29 ἀπεπέμψαντο) with promises of future help? Why in § 31 does Xenophon tell the story already narrated by Thucydides (viii. 85) of what had already happened to Hermocrates early in 411, and couple with that his visit to Pharnabazus, which must certainly have been subsequent to his exile, mentioned in § 27 as apparently occurring in 410 B.C.? and why does he insert at this point his preparations for his attack upon Syracuse, which was not made till 409-8 B.C. according to Diodorus (xiii. 63)? How too could Hermocrates have been in Sicily in 409 (or at latest in 408, if Diodorus' date be, as so often, a year wrong), and again with Pharnabazus at Cyzicus in 408? (Cp. i. 3. 13; Freeman, Sicily, iii. p. 727.) Again, to what interval of time does ἐν τούτῳ refer? for the new ships must have taken some considerable time to build. In any case it can have nothing to do with Hermocrates' visit to Pharnabazus and attack on Syracuse, which must be regarded as a parenthetical digression, anticipating the events of the next two years. Perhaps then ἐν τούτῳ may be interpreted to mean the time following the agreement made between the old generals and the army, inclusive of the time required for building the ships. ἦκον must therefore be translated as a pluperfect, 'had arrived.'

εἰς Μίλητον. This agrees with the anticipatory remark of Thucydides (I. c.), who gives the same names.

§ 32. Ἐν Θάσῳ. Thasos had revolted from Athens in 411 B.C., two months after Diotrephes, an Athenian oligarch, had put down the democracy, then existing, in favour of an oligarchy (cp. Thuc. viii. 64), and had since submitted to the government of a Spartan harmost. Now it appears that the popular party under Ecphantus had expelled Eteonicus the harmost and his supporters, and admitted Thrasybulus with an Athenian force just after the battle of Cyzicus: cp. this section with § 12 note, and with Demosthenes (xx. 59), who

adds that this affair further led to τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον entering the Athenian alliance.

ἄρμοστής. In 423 B.C. the Spartans appointed governors in Thrace (Thuc. iv. 131), and in 413 king Agis made Alcamenes harmost of Euboea (Thuc. viii. 5). But it was not till the admiralship of Lysander, 407 B.C., that it became a principle of the Lacedaemonian hegemony to appoint these officers backed up by oligarchies of ten in all the subject states; cp. Diod. xiv. 10 καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Λύσανδρον τούτῳ προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἐκάστῃ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένους ἄρμοστὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα· ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόποντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. Other instances of harmosts in the Hellenica are (i. 2. 18) Labotas in Heraclea, (i. 3. 5) Hippocrates in Chalcedon, (i. 3. 15) Clearchus in Byzantium, (ii. 3. 14) Callibius at Athens, (iii. 1. 9) Dercylidas in Abydos, (iv. 8. 29) Therimachus in Methymna, &c.

Πασσιππίδης. It is impossible to determine whether Pasippidas was actually ναύαρχος in succession to Mindarus, or whether he merely filled his place till the newly appointed successor Cratesippidas arrived: in either case, since Lysander did not succeed him till 407 (i. 5. 1), Cratesippidas must have held office for at least two years. This long tenure may perhaps be explained by the paucity of Peloponnesian ships after the destruction of the fleet at Cyzicus, which naturally made the admiralship of very little importance, until Lysander, backed by Persian gold, built a new fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 65) dates Cratesippidas' appointment in the year 409, and narrates that he sailed with twenty-five ships collected from the allies to the Ionic coast οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πρίξας: that then he was supplied with money by some Chian exiles, reinstated them in the island and occupied the acropolis.

§ 33. Δεκελείας. Agis had commanded this ἐπιτειχισμός ever since its fortification in 413 B.C. (Thuc. vii. 19).

Θράσυλλος had returned to Athens immediately after the battle at Abydos (supr. § 8) to procure reinforcements.

τὸ Λίκειον, east of Athens in front of the gate of Diochares: cp. Strabo, ix. 397.

§ 34. τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, 'of those in the rear.' ἐπί = ὀπισθεν; cp. ii. 4. 11; Cyrop. viii. 3. 16-18.

§ 35. *πλοῖα . . . σίτου*, cp. *Cyrop.* ii. 4. 18 *ἀμάξας σίτου*. These corn-ships would come from the Hellespont: cp. *Demos.* xx. 31 *ἴστε γὰρ δὴ πον τοῦθ' ὅτι πλείστῳ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπείσάκτω σίτῳ χρώμεθα*. *πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν*.

σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν, 'should also occupy the places from which, &c.' *καὶ Κλέαρχον*. *καί* is to be retained: the passage means that, just as Agis prevented provisions coming into Athens by land, so also Clearchus was to do the same by sea. Clearchus had been designated to command a squadron in the Hellespont in 412 B.C., and on his arrival there in 411 B.C. Byzantium had revolted to him (*Thuc.* viii. 8, 39, 80). Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that he fought in the battle of Cyzicus. Nothing is known of his subsequent movements.

§ 36. *Μεγάρων*, the Megarians had just recovered Nisaea from the Athenians: cp. *Diod.* xiii. 65.

αὐτοῦ, ἰ. ε. τοῦ Κλέαρχον.

εἰς Σηστόν. Sestus was at this time occupied by the Athenians (cp. *supr.* § 11), so that it has been proposed to read *εἰς Ἀβυδον*.

§ 37. *Ἀννίβα*. This Hannibal was the son of Gisco, and according to the narrative of Diodorus (xiii. 54-62) he captured Selinus and Himera in 409 B. C. For this reference to Sicilian affairs and the similar ones in i. 5. 21, ii. 2. 24, as well as the references to Persian history, i. 2. 19, ii. 1. 8-9, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-5. *Thrasyllus sailed with his fleet to Samos: he made numerous descents upon the Ionian coast, till he was stopped by Stages the Persian.*
 §§ 6-10. *Thrasyllus attacked Ephesus, but was defeated with great loss by the citizens, Syracusans, and the troops of Tissaphernes.* §§ 11-13. *The Athenians retreated to Notium, and sailed thence to Lesbos, where they fell in with the Syracusans, and chased them back to Ephesus with the loss of four ships. Thrasyllus joined the Athenian squadron at Sestos, and the combined force then crossed to Lampsacus.* §§ 14-17. *The unconquered troops of Alcibiades refused to associate with the defeated troops of Thrasyllus, until in combination they won a brilliant victory over Pharnabazus at Abydos.*

§§ 18, 19. *The Lacedaemonians recaptured Coryphasium (i.e. Pylos). Massacre of the Spartan colonists at Heraclea. Revolt of the Medes.*

409-408 B.C.

§ 1. Ὀλυμπιάς, κ.τ.λ. For the chronology see Introd. p. xli. Olympiad xciii. was really 408.

προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρίς: cp. Pausanias v. 8. 10.

Εὐβώτας: cp. Pausanias vi. 8. 3.

Θορικόν. On the S.E. coast of Attica.

Θράσυλλος (supr. i. 1. 8) was sent to obtain reinforcements for the Hellespont, but now, for some unexplained reason, he takes his new fleet to Ionia. Probably the Athenians were already completely masters of the Hellespont, and so could afford to use their forces elsewhere.

τὰ ψηφισθέντα: cp. i. 1. 34.

ὥς ἅμα καί, κ.τ.λ.: the MSS. reading is unintelligible: probably the phrase is a gloss on τῶν ναυτῶν πελαστὰς.

§ 2. Πύγεια. A small town five miles S.W. of Ephesus.

§ 4. εἰς Νότιον. The harbour of Colophon, N.W. of Ephesus: cp. Thuc. iii. 34.

προσεχώρησαν, i.e. joined the Athenians voluntarily.

ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, 'when the corn was ripening,' i.e. about June.

§ 5. Στάγης. Thucydides (viii. 16) calls him ὑπαρχος Τισσοσφέρνης.

§ 6. τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. The famous temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

§ 7. Κορησσόν, a hill four and a-half miles S.W. of Ephesus: cp. Diod. xiv. 99.

πρὸς τὸ ἔλος, on the north side of Ephesus: cp. Strab. xiv. 642.

§ 8. †σφίσιν,† i.e. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς = ipsi sibi: cp. Critical Note.

ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν, i.e. the ships destroyed at Cyzicus: cp. i. 1. 18, 25.

Εὐκλέους—Ἡρακλείδου, perhaps the same as the Syracusan generals of 414 mentioned by Thuc. vi. 103.

Σελινούσiai δύο: cp. Critical Note. οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Σελινουσίων δυοῖν would be the natural construction: the anacoluthon is perhaps explicable by the preceding αἱ ἔτυχον. For their presence on the Asiatic coast cp. Thuc. viii. 26: εἴκοσι νῆες Συρακοσίων ἦλθον καὶ Σελινούνται δύο.

§ 9. ὥσεί ἐκατόν, 'about a hundred': cp. ii. 4. 25.

§ 10. καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, i. e. the Ephesian state as a whole and Ephesian citizens as individuals.

ἀτέλειαν : cp. Appendix, p. 359.

τῷ βουλομένῳ αἰεί, 'to any one who at any time should desire it.'

ἀπωλώλει : cp. i. i. 37 note. Diodorus puts its destruction in 409 ; this is perhaps a slight confirmation of the chronology : cp. Intro. p. xxxviii.

§ 11. ἐνθὺ : for this prepositional use cp. i. 4. 11, and Thuc. viii. 88 ἐνθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος.

τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς, i. e. the ships newly built at Antandros, together with the five new arrivals, § 8.

§ 12. αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, 'crews and all.'

§ 13. κατέλευσεν ; if this Alcibiades be Alcibiades the Phegusian, who, according to Andocides (i. 65), was a relative of the famous Alcibiades, and had fled from Athens, when it was discovered that he had persuaded the informer Diocles to give false evidence against the Hermocopids, the base part that he then played may account for his summary execution by Thrasyllus, notwithstanding his relationship to Thrasyllus' friend Alcibiades : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

§ 14. καὶ χείμων . . . Μέγαρα : cp. Appendix, p. 359.

§ 15. ὄντες . . . ἤκοιεν, instead of εἶεν . . . ἤκοιεν : the optative of oratio obliqua. Plutarch (Alc. 29) gives an elaborated version of the same story.

§ 16. ἵπποις πολλοῖς, i. e. ἵππεῦσι πολλοῖς : cp. i. 3. 5.

Ἀλκιβιάδης as the commander-in-chief alone is mentioned, though it appears from Plut. Alc. 29 that Thrasyllus also took part.

§ 18. Κορυφάσιον. Xenophon here gives rather a one-sided version of the recapture of Coryphasium or Pylos on the Messenian coast by the Spartans, which the Athenians had held ever since it was seized by their general Demosthenes in 425 B.C. Diodorus (xiii. 64) says that the place was at this time garrisoned by some Messenians, and when they were attacked by the Spartans, the Athenians sent a fleet of thirty vessels under Anytus to raise the siege. Anytus, however, was unable to weather Cape Malea, and therefore returned to Athens ; whereupon the Messenians shortly after surrendered. Xenophon omits altogether to notice the impor-

tant recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians about the same time (Diod. xiii. 65).

τοὺς ἐποίκους, to be construed with ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ. It appears from Thuc. iii. 92, viii. 3 that when the Spartans in 426 B.C. settled 6000 colonists at Heraclea, they refused to allow any Achaeans to join in the settlement; and that in 413 B.C. king Agis had extorted money and demanded hostages of the Achaeans of Phthiotis. The Achaeans now had their revenge.

§ 19. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτός, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii, and Appendix, p. 359.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-7. *The Athenian fleet sailed from Lampsacus to Proconnesus and the Bosporus. Alcibiades invested Chalcedon, and successfully resisted a joint attack made on his lines by Hippocrates from within and Pharnabazus from without. Hippocrates was slain.* §§ 8, 9. *While Alcibiades was absent collecting money on the Hellespont, the Athenians came to terms with Pharnabazus, who agreed to send Athenian envoys to the Persian king, and to allow Chalcedon again to become tributary to Athens. The Athenians agreed to suspend all hostilities till their return.* §§ 10-13. *After some delay Alcibiades swore to the treaty at Chrysopolis and Pharnabazus at Chalcedon. Pharnabazus went to Cyzicus, where he was met by the Athenian envoys, and also by some Spartan envoys.* §§ 14-22. *The Athenians besieged Byzantium. While Clearchus the Spartan harmost was away collecting forces to raise the siege, some Byzantines betrayed the city to Alcibiades. The garrison, unable to resist, surrendered. Story of Anaxilaus at Sparta.*

408 407 B. C.

§ 1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxxix.

παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, i.e. the united forces of Alcibiades and Thrasyllus, who had wintered at Lampsacus, supr. 2. 15.

§ 2. Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον, now in possession of the Lacedaemonians (cp. i. 1. 35).

λείαν, i.e. all that the enemy might seize as booty: cp. Thuc. viii. 3.

Βιθυνοὺς Θράκας: the Bithynians had migrated into Asia from Thrace.

§ 3. ἀπέδοσαν: cp. Plut. Alc. 29 οἱ δὲ (Βιθυνοὶ) τήν τε λείαν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ φιλίαν ὡμολόγησαν.

§ 4. *πίστεις πεποιημένους*, i. e. *πρὸς τοὺς Βιθυνούς*.

§ 5. *Ἰπποκράτης* : cp. i. 1. 23.

§ 6. *Ἀλκιβιάδης*. According to Plutarch's account (Alc. 30), Alcibiades had been previously engaged in repelling Pharnabazus' attack on the outside of the Athenian siege works.

§ 7. *στενοπορίαν*. The narrow passage in between the river and the Athenian lines.

§ 8. *οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοί*. Thrasyllus and Theramenes (cp. Diod. xiii. 66).

§ 9. *τὸν φόρον . . . ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν*. There is no evidence to show whether this *φόρος* was the *εἰκοστή* or five per cent. duty on all imports and exports, for which the Athenians in 413 B.C. commuted the tribute originally assessed by Aristides (Thuc. vii. 28); or whether in the interval they had returned to the old system; or whether this was a special arrangement made with the Chalcedonians. Cp. iv. 8. 27-30 notes, and CIA. ii. 14 b p. 423.

§ 10. *Σηλυμβρίαν* : cp. i. 1. 21 : cp. Diod. xiii. 66 *διὰ προδοσίας εἶλεν* ; Plut. Alc. 30.

§ 12. *κοινὸν . . . ἰδίᾳ*, i. e. Alcibiades and Pharnabazus entered both into an official agreement as representatives of their respective states and into relations of private friendship. Pharnabazus afterwards procured the assassination of Alcibiades : cp. ii. 3. 42 note.

§ 13. *Πασσιπίδας* was exiled (i. 1. 32) on suspicion of treachery at Thasos. In the interval therefore he must have been recalled. These Spartan envoys, who were evidently sent to counteract the influence of the Athenian envoys, are not to be confused with those who (i. 4. 2) met Pharnabazus at Gordium with the news of Cyrus' appointment to be satrap of Sardis. There is no need to bracket *πρέσβεις*.

ἤδη φεύγων (cp. i. 1. 27-32). Xenophon apparently inserts these words to denote that Hermocrates was not with the envoys as commissioned by the Syracusan government, but hoping to gain, as he actually did, some aid for the expedition which he was preparing against his country. The doings of Hermocrates, however, seem involved in hopeless obscurity : for Diodorus (xiii. 63) represents him as returning to Sicily in 409-8 with a large sum of money given by Pharnabazus, wherewith he raised troops to effect his return to Syracuse. Moreover he puts his death in the following

year about September (xiii. 75), though by that time according to Xenophon (i. 4. 1) the embassy had got no further than Gordium. Polybius (xii. 25) even states that he fought on the Lacedaemonian side at Aegospotami (405). Dindorf in despair brackets the whole passage: cp. *Intro.* p. xxxviii, and *supr.* i. 1. 31 note.

§ 15. Κλέαρχος: cp. i. 1. 35.

νεοδαμώδων. The name given to newly manumitted Helots: what their privileges were, cannot be ascertained (cp. *Thuc.* iv. 26, 80, vii. 58): cp. *Appendix*, p. 335.

§ 17. ἄλλαι. There seems no need to change the manuscript reading to ἄλλαι ἄλλη. The construction ἄλλαι—καί—καί—καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι is somewhat irregular, but the meaning is plain.

Ἀγησανδρίδας: cp. i. 1. 1. ἐπιβάτης here, as in *Thuc.* viii. 61, and perhaps in i. 1. 28, seems to denote, not a marine, but a subordinate officer in the Spartan navy.

§ 18. οἱ προδιδόντες. An anacoluthon: the nominative has no verb. The interrupted sentence is taken up again at § 20 with ἐπεὶ δέ.

§ 19. θανάτου: cp. ii. 3. 12.

ὕστερον. Byzantium surrendered a second time to the Lacedaemonians in the autumn of 405 B.C. (cp. ii. 2. 1), when Anaxilaus probably was made prisoner.

εἰσεσθαι, from εἰσίστημι.

§ 20. ἀνοίξαντες. Diodorus (xiii. 66) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 31) give a much fuller and somewhat different account of the capture of Byzantium, detailing an elaborate stratagem of Alcibiades, and speaking of a hard-fought battle within the town.

τὸ Θράκιον. This square is described in *Anab.* vii. 1. 24 τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἶον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαι ἐστὶ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν.

§ 22. ἀποβαινόντων, gen. abs.: cp. i. 1. 26, 29.

εἰς Δεκέλειαν: cp. i. 2. 14.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-3. *Pharnabazus and the envoys were met at Gordium by some Spartan envoys with the news that Cyrus had been appointed satrap at Sardis with orders to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war.* §§ 4-7. *Cyrus on his arrival persuaded Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys on*

various pretexts, so that they did not return till three years afterwards. §§ 8-10. Alcibiades designed to return to Athens. Thrasybulus reduced Thasos and the rebels in Thrace. Thrasyllus led the main fleet back to Athens. Meantime the Athenians elected Alcibiades general. §§ 11, 12. Alcibiades sailed from Samos and on hearing the news with some hesitation entered Piraeus on the day of the Plynteria. §§ 13-17. Various feelings of the Athenians towards him: some said that he was the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had contrived his exile to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others, that he was the cause of all the Athenian misfortunes. §§ 18-23. Alcibiades landed and was escorted to the city by his friends. His defence before the Senate and Assembly was favourably received. He was chosen commander-in-chief, and conducted the sacred procession to Eleusis safely by land. Then having equipped 100 triremes and large reinforcements, he sailed with them to Andros. He gained a slight success over the Andrians, and then sailed to Samos.

§ 1. οἱ πρέσβεις: cp. i. 3. 13.

Γορδείω, on the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major.

407-403 B. C.

§ 2. οἱ τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις. Although Xenophon introduces these envoys with the article οἱ, as if already mentioned, they evidently cannot be the same as those mentioned in ch. 3. 13 as journeying to Persia. Probably therefore they had been despatched previously by the Spartans to procure the dismissal of Tissaphernes from Sardis. Xenophon is equally reticent about οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι.

[ὄνομα]: probably a gloss to explain that Βοιώτιος is a proper name.

ὦν . . . πάντων by attraction for πάντα ὦν.

§ 3. καὶ Κῦρος: also a nominative to ἀπήντησαν: cp. i. 2. 8.

πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. In the Anabasis (i. 9. 7) Xenophon describes Cyrus more exactly as σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων . . . οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι.

σφράγισμα: cp. v. i. 30; vii. i. 39; and Schol. on Thuc. i. 129: ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως εἶχε κατὰ μὲν τινὰς τὴν βασιλείῳ εἰκόνα, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς τὴν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, δι' ὃν χρεμετίσαντα ἐβασίλευεν.

κάρανον. Doric for κάρηνος, 'chief.' Segaar (Epist. ad Valckenar. p. 41) however considers it to be a Persian word, to account apparently for Xenophon's explanation of the term: he quotes a MS.

Lexicon κατὰ Πέρσας κάρανος, τουτέστι δεσπότης, τῇ δὲ Σύρῳ διαλέκτῳ ἀνδρείος, πολεμιστής, δυνατώτατος. Cp. Appendix, p. 359.

Καστωλόν: Kiepert identifies this town with Strabo's (xiii. p. 902) Cyropedion, situated in E. Lydia, on a plateau on the south border of the Catacecaumene. It was the ground for the yearly muster of ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζονται, Anab. i. 1. 2; 9. 7.

§ 5. μὴ εἰδέναι. For the success of this measure cp. § 8 note.

§ 6. μέμψησθε. This is the reading of Π: for the sudden change to *oratio recta* cp. i. 1. 28 note. The other MSS. read μέμψηται sc. ὁ Κῦρος. Some commentators have conjectured μέμψονται sc. οἱ πρεσβεῖς. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 7. ἐνιαντοὶ ἦσαν τρεῖς, i. e. since the envoys started in the summer of 408 (i. 3. 13) they must have returned to the Athenian forces on the Hellespont in 405 B. C. just before the battle of Aegospotami.

οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. Some word like ἀναγάγοι must be supplied from ἀπάξειν immediately preceding.

Ἀριοβαρζάνει. The same probably as the successor of Pharnabazus, v. 1. 28.

Κίον: the site has not been identified.

§ 8. βουλόμενος, κ.τ.λ. Cyrus' measures to prevent the news of his own arrival, and of the intention of the Persian king to aid the Lacedaemonians from reaching the Athenians, must have proved successful. Otherwise it is hard to believe that Alcibiades would have chosen this moment to return to Athens; whereas, supposing him to have been in ignorance, no moment could have seemed more propitious. He had restored the Athenian dominion over the Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont (with the exception of Abydos: cp. Diod. xiii. 68), had concluded a favourable treaty with Pharnabazus, and had sent an embassy to the Persian king in the hope of bringing him over to the side of Athens.

§ 9. Θρασύβουλος here reappears in Xenophon's narrative, nothing having been said of him since the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B. C.: cp. i. 1. 32 note. From this passage it would seem that the Lacedaemonian party had once more gained the upper hand in the island.

§ 10. στρατηγοὺς ἐῖλοντο. It is not to be supposed that only three generals were elected instead of the usual ten. Xenophon probably names the three who were to command the fleet.

φεύγοντα. Thucydides (viii. 97) says that the people ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . κατιέναι in the year 411 B. C., but Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission, so that perhaps now the decree may have been renewed. The curse pronounced over him by the priestly family of the Eumolpidae was certainly not recalled till his return in 407 B. C. : cp. Plut. Alc. 33.

τῶν οἰκοθεν : cp. οἱ ἔνδοθεν, iii. 1. 18.

§ 11. Γυθείον. The Spartan arsenal on the southern Laconian coast : cp. vi. 5. 32.

τοῦ . . . κατάπλου. The genitive may be made to depend on κατασκοπήν, or be regarded as a sort of partitive genitive dependent on ὅπως. The meaning is the same in either case : cp. ii. 1. 14 ὡς εἶχε φιλίας.

§ 12. Πλυντήρια. The washing of the statue of the goddess took place on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. about the end of May : cp. Mommsen, Heortologie.

ἀνεπιτήδειον. So Plutarch, Alc. 34 δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι ἀπόρρητα, τὸν τε κόσμον καθελόντες, καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες. ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἄπρακτον Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσιν· οὐ φιλοφρόνως οὖν οὐδ' εὐμενῶς ἐδόκει προσδεχομένη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἡ θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελάυνειν ἐαυτῆς.

§ 13. ὄχλος . . . θαυμάζοντες, a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν.

ἡθροίσθη : cp. Plut. Alc. 34 ; Diod. xiii. 68, 69.

οἱ μὲν corresponds to οἱ δὲ § 17.

μόνος, if retained in the text, must mean 'alone' of those who had been banished at the same time.

[ἀπελογήθη ὡς.] Brückner and Dindorf inclose the words in brackets as a gloss : ἀπελογήθη, to be translated at all, must be taken passively : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ : 'from the resources of the state' ; cp. i. 6. 7 κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν.

§ 14. ἐθέλοντος δὲ . . . ἐστέρησαν. This hopelessly corrupt and involved sentence now passes into *oratio recta*.

ὑπερβαλλόμενοι : literally 'putting off that which seemed to be just to another time' ; i. e. the demand for an immediate trial, which seemed to be just. For the facts cp. Thuc. vi. 29.

§ 15. δουλεύων is appropriate as expressing the relation between

Alcibiades as a subject, and the Persian king as a master : cp. iii. 1. 26 ; vi. 1. 12.

τοὺς ἐχθίστους, i. e. the Spartans and Persians : cp. Thuc. viii. 45.

§ 16. τῶν . . . εἶναι. A contracted expression for τῶν ὄντων τοιούτων οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς ἦν εἶναι, 'they denied that it was the part of men who were such as he was, to need, &c.' αὐτοῦ would be more usual than αὐτός in such a contraction : cp. ii. 3. 25 γνόντες μὲν τοῖς ὅοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι ; the nominative, however, is found in the MSS. in Arist. Achar. 601 νεανίας δ' οἴους σὺ διαδεδρακότας, and Demos. xxiv. 185 οὐδ' οἷοισπερ συγχρώμενοι συμβούλοις, where some commentators have altered the text.

καινῶν πραγμάτων for νεωτέρων πραγμάτων (cp. v. 2. 9) otherwise occurs only in later authors : cp. Polyb. iv. 2 ; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 30.

†τοιούτοις . . . πρότερον.† The words, as they stand in the text, are a correction, almost universally adopted, of the unintelligible MSS. τοιούτος οἶος. But even so corrected it is very hard to extract any meaning out of them. τοῖς . . . ἐχθροῖς is the dat. depending on ὑπάρχειν, and οἷοισπερ is the dat. instead of the nom. by attraction after τοιούτοις : the sequence of cases δυνασθεῖσιν . . . λειφθέντας is very irregular, and the clauses ὕστερον δὲ . . . βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ . . . ἀγαπᾶσθαι . . . εἶχον χρῆσθαι, which are manifestly a mere recitation of the acts of the Four Hundred in 411, have neither logical nor grammatical connexion with what precedes. Probably, therefore, there is a considerable lacuna after πρότερον. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 17. τῶν τε φοβερῶν, κ.τ.λ. γενέσθαι is the infinitive dependent on φοβερῶν. Translate : 'and that there was a danger that he alone would be the author of the evils that it was feared would befall the state' : φοβερῶν . . . γενέσθαι = φοβερῶν μὴ γένηται.

§ 19. Εὐρυπτόλεμον, to be distinguished from Euryptolemus (i. 3. 13), one of the Athenian envoys to the Persian king. In 406 the former advocated the cause of the generals after Arginusae, i. 7. 12.

παρεσκευασμένων to be construed with μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.

§ 20. αὐτοκράτωρ. For a parallel cp. Thuc. vi. 8, when Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were appointed στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες. Cp. also Diodorus' account (xiii. 69) αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες αὐτοκράτορα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐνεχέρισαν αὐτῷ.

σῶσαι, i. e. to secure what remained and to recover what was lost of the Athenian power. ἀνασῶσαι would rather be expected.

πρότερον μέν. For the first time since the ἐπιτείχισις was established at Declea in 413, Alcibiades now conducted the procession to Eleusis, as of old, along the Sacred Way. He evidently meant it to be not only a military demonstration, but an act of atonement to the priestly party, whose hatred he had so deeply incurred (cp. Thuc. viii. 53). Plutarch (Alc. 34) indeed says that he roused such enthusiasm among the common people, that they hoped that he would make himself tyrant (cp. Thuc. vi. 15).

ἐποίησεν, sc. ἄγεσθαι.

§ 21. τρίτῳ μηνί. The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated on the 20th of Boedromion, i. e. about the end of September: the Plynteria on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. about the end of May. Alcibiades therefore must have stayed at Athens within a week of four months. Accordingly Cobet reads τετάρτῳ. Cp. Critical Note.

Ἀδείμαντος, called ὁ Λευκολοφίδου to distinguish him from Adimantus, the son of Ariston, Plato's brother: cp. i. 7. 1.

ἡρμημένοι κατὰ γῆν, i. e. Alcibiades selected them out of the college of generals to command the troops on board his fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 72) erroneously mentions Adimantus and Thrasybulus; for the latter was still absent from Athens (cp. Hell. i. 4. 9; 5. 11). It appears from i. 4. 22; 5. 18 that Conon must have accompanied Alcibiades as second commander of the fleet, as he was left by him to carry on the siege of Andros. This Aristocrates may be the same as the one mentioned by Thuc. viii. 89.

§ 22. τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας. This failure to capture Andros was made a matter of reproach against Alcibiades by his enemies at Athens (Plut. Alc. 35).

§ 23. ἐπολέμει. Diodorus (xiii. 69) and Plutarch (Alc. 35) state that Alcibiades made plundering expeditions to Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, apparently in the winter 407-406 B. C.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1, 2. *Lysander was appointed Spartan admiral and collected a fleet of 70 ships at Ephesus, where he waited till Cyrus' arrival at Sardis.*

§§ 3-7. *Lysander obtained from Cyrus promises of vigorous support and increased pay for the Peloponnesians.* §§ 8-10. *The Athenians in despair sent*

envoys to Cyrus, but he refused to see them. Lysander had now 90 ships at Ephesus. §§ 11-14. Alcibiades crossed to Phocaea to visit Thrasybulus, leaving his fleet at Samos, in charge of Antiochus, with strict orders not to fight. But Antiochus disobeyed, and drew on a general engagement at Notium, in which he was defeated by Lysander with a loss of 15 ships. § 15. On his return to Samos Alcibiades tried in vain to renew the battle and avenge the defeat. §§ 16, 17. On hearing of this affair the Athenians at home chose ten other generals in place of Alcibiades, who, finding himself unpopular also with his fleet, sailed away to the Chersonese. §§ 18-20. Canon succeeded Alcibiades at Samos; he manned only 70 ships out of 100, and with them ravaged the neighbouring coast. § 21. Contemporary events in Sicily.

§ 1. *πρότερον τοῦτων*, i.e. a little before Alcibiades sailed for Andros and Samos, in the autumn of 407 B.C. Xenophon now proceeds to bring his account of the doings in the enemy's camp up to the same date.

τῆς ναυαρχίας : cp. Appendix, p. 343.

ἐβδομήκοντα. This was the first fleet the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C. (cp. i. 1. 18).

εἰς Σάρδεϊς : from Gordium in Phrygia Minor (cp. i. 4. 3), where he had been in the spring of 407.

§ 2. *τοῖς . . . πρέσβεσιν*. Xenophon leaves it quite uncertain who these envoys were—whether the same as those mentioned in i. 4. 2, or a different body.

ἀ πεποικώς εἶη : for Tissaphernes' policy cp. i. 1. 9 note.

§ 3. *τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν* : cp. Tissaphernes' promises to the Athenians, Thuc. viii. 81 *μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τροφῆς, οὐδ' ἦν δέη τελευτῶντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν ἐξαργυρίσαι*.

§ 4. *δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν*. The Attic drachma was worth six, the Aeginetan ten obols. The Athenians were accustomed to pay their men only half a drachma : Thuc. viii. 45.

§ 5. *τὰς συνθήκας* : for these treaties cp. Thuc. viii. 29, 45, 58, in which, however, no fixed rate of pay was stipulated. One mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols, or three obols a day for every sailor in a crew of 200.

§ 6. *ὅτι . . . προσθείης* : for *ὅτι* introducing *oratio recta* cp. Sauppe, Lexil. s. v. ; Goodwin, M. T. 711.

§ 8. *ἀθύμως . . . εἶχον* : according to Plut. Lys. 4 many of their sailors deserted.

§ 9. ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου : cp. Thuc. viii. 46.

μηδὲ οὔτινες = μηδένες οὔτινές εἰσι : 'none of the Greeks whatever.'
 Cp. Plat. Leg. 919 D μήτ' ἔμπορος μήτε διακονίαν μηδ' ἦντινα κεκτημένος.

§ 11. Cp. Introd. p. xlii for the date.

Θρασύβουλον. Xenophon does not relate how Thrasybulus sailed from Thrace and Thasos (cp. i. 4. 9), nor why he was now fortifying Phocaea. This town was occupied by the Spartan admiral Astyochus 412 B. C. (cp. Thuc. viii. 31), and after Arginusae, 406 B. C., the Peloponnesians fled to it for refuge. But, like Cyzicus, it may have been unwallled, and so liable to occupation by either side, so that there is no need to change *τειχίζειν* into *ἀποτειχίζειν* or *περιτειχίζειν*. Diodorus (xiii. 73) has a different story altogether, that Alcibiades sailed not to Phocaea, but to Clazomenae. Plutarch (Alc. 35) again makes him sail to Caria ἀργυρολογήσων.

Ἀντίοχον. Plutarch (Alc. 35) says of him ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τὰλλα καὶ φορτικός. In ch. 10 he relates a story of the manner in which, as a boy, he gained the friendship of Alcibiades.

§ 13. ὥς ἕκαστος ἦνοιξεν : better ἦνυσεν, 'as fast as each could' : cp. i. 1. 2 note.

§ 15. Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡΐονα : Delphinium was in Chios (cp. Thuc. viii. 38) and Eion on the Strymon in Thrace. Diodorus (xiii. 76) ascribes the capture of Delphinium and Teos to Callicratidas, so that Schneider here conjectures Τέων for Ἡΐονα.

§ 16. ἡγγέλθη. Plutarch (Alc. 36) makes a certain Thrasybulus, son of Thraso [to be distinguished from the famous Thrasybulus], return to Athens immediately after the battle, and there formally impeach Alcibiades for general misconduct. Diodorus (xiii. 73, 74) here again gives quite a different account : the general discontent at Athens was, according to him, increased by the accusations of some Cymaeen envoys, who complained that, after the battle of Notium, Alcibiades had made a descent upon Cyme and ravaged its land, notwithstanding that it was an allied state. But something must be wrong in Diodorus' account, because Thucydides (viii. 31, 100) distinctly states that Cyme was on the Peloponnesian side. Nepos (Alc. 7) has yet another version, that Alcibiades was accused at Athens, not for the defeat at Notium, which he does not mention, but for his failure in an attempt upon Cyme.

ἄλλους δέκα. Since the battle of Notium must have taken place in the early months of 406, and elections were held at Athens about April, it would seem that Xenophon must mean, not an extraordinary election of generals to replace Alcibiades, but the ordinary elections for the year 406-405, at which Alcibiades failed to secure re-election: indeed Conon and Aristocrates, now re-elected, had been his colleagues (i. 4. 10, 21) in 407-406. Otherwise we should expect to hear not of ten, but only of two or three new generals appointed to supersede him in command of the fleet. Cp. *Introd.* p. xlii, and *Lysias* xxi. 7.

Λέοντα: cp. i. 6. 16 note.

Περικλέα: a bastard son of the great Pericles: *Plut. Per.* 24, 37.

§ 17. τὰ αὐτοῦ τείχη. *Cor. Nep. Alc.* 7 and *Diod. xiii.* 74 call this fort Pactye. But *Plut. Alc.* 36 puts the castle at the Thracian town of Bisanthe much further E. on the Propontis. It appears from *Anab. vii.* 3. 19 that other Athenians also possessed τείχη in this district.

§ 18. τῆς Ἀνδρου, where apparently he had been left by Alcibiades (i. 4. 23).

Φανοσθένην: since the name of Phanosthenes does not occur in the list of the new generals, it would seem that he was one of the generals of the preceding year, and that he was sent to replace Conon at Andros in the interval which elapsed between the election of the new generals in April, and their entering on office in July. According to *Plato (Ion 541 d)* he was himself an Andrian.

§ 19. Θουρίαν: for Thurian ships in the Peloponnesian fleet. cp. *Thuc. viii.* 35, 61, 84.

Δωριέα: cp. i. 1. 2, *Thuc. viii.* 35, 84. *Pausanias (vi. 7. 4)* relates with considerable detail how the Athenian Assembly, though greatly incensed against him, set him free out of pity at seeing so famous an athlete, who had won victories at Olympia and the other contests, in the guise of a suppliant before them: cp. *Thuc. iii.* 8.

ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Rhodes was one of the subject allies of Athens, and therefore under her jurisdiction.

παρ' αὐτοῖς, i. e. at Thurii.

§ 20. ἐβδομήκοντα. *Plutarch (Lys. 4)* speaks of the impoverishment of Athens at this juncture: cp. *Diod. xiii.* 77 Κόνων. . εἶχε

μὲν ἑβδομήκοιτα ναῦς οὕτως ἐξηρτυμέναις τὰ πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν πρότερον στρατηγῶν ἦν κατεσκευακός.

§ 21. εἰς Σικελίαν : cp. Diod. xiii. 80-90, and Introd. p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER VI

§§ 1, 2. Callicratidas succeeded Lysander at Ephesus. His answer to Lysander's empty boast. §§ 3-5. He increased his fleet to 140 vessels, and prepared for battle; but finding himself traduced by Lysander's friends, he assembled the Lacedaemonians and told them that he had come only in obedience to the Spartan government, and was ready to return if they so wished. §§ 6-11. The malcontents thus quieted, he tried to get supplies from Cyrus, but failing, appealed to the Milesians for help, till money should come from Sparta. §§ 12-15. With the supplies so obtained, he sailed to Chios and Lesbos, where he took Methymna by storm, and captured many prisoners; all the Greeks he set free except the Athenians. §§ 16-18. He chased Conon, returning towards Samos, into the harbour of Mytilene, where he captured 30 of the Athenian ships, and blockaded the rest. Cyrus thereupon sent him money. §§ 19-24. Conon by a stratagem contrived to send a ship to Athens with the news. In 30 days the Athenians equipped a fleet of 110 vessels, manned by both slaves and free. §§ 25-28. The Athenian fleet sailed to Samos, and anchored at the Arginusae islands, mustering more than 150 strong. Callicratidas left 50 ships under Eteonicus at Mytilene, and sailed to Cape Maiea with 120 ships to meet the Athenians. §§ 29-34. Callicratidas refused to flee before the superior numbers of the Athenians. The fight began; and when Callicratidas fell into the sea and was drowned, the Peloponnesians fled to Chios and Phocaea with a loss of 69 ships. The Athenians retired to Arginusae with a loss of 25 ships. § 35. The Athenian generals commissioned Theramenes and other officers to rescue the crews of their sunken vessels with 47 vessels, while they themselves sailed against Eteonicus at Mytilene. But both projects were prevented by a storm. §§ 36, 37. Eteonicus, by spreading false news of a victory, succeeded in despatching his fleet to Chios, and in marching himself to Methymna. § 38. Conon met the Athenian fleet with the news about Eteonicus. The fleet sailed to Mytilene, made an attempt on Chios, and finally returned to Samos.

§ 1. ἡ σελίγη, κ.τ.λ. On the chronological data see Introd. p. xxxvi. This eclipse occurred on April 15, 406 B.C.

406-405 B.C.

ὁ παλαιός, κ.τ.λ. Probably the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, called 'old' in opposition to the newer Parthenon.

παρεληλυθός : cp. Appendix, p. 344.

§ 3. *φαμένον*: the middle form is rare in Attic prose, and occurs nowhere else in Xenophon, unless it be in *Cyrop.* vi. 1. 21, where some MSS. read *ἔφατο*.

§ 4. *καταμαθὼν . . . καταστασιαζόμενος*: for the participial construction cp. *Anab.* v. 8. 14 *κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις*: Goodwin, M. T. 884.

τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. Diodorus (xiii. 70) states that Lysander during his period of office organized the various oligarchical clubs in the Ionian states in his own favour, promising them the government of their cities (cp. ii. 2. 2).

διαλλάττειν: for the law against holding the office twice cp. ii. 1. 7 and Appendix, p. 345.

ἀνεπιτηδείων. Translate: 'since often unsuitable men were appointed, who had only just studied naval matters, and did not know how to employ men.' The text (cp. Critical Note) is manifestly corrupt: the clauses *ἀπείρους . . . τοῖς ἐκεῖ* merely repeat *πολλάκις . . . γινωσκόντων*, and in the MSS. the verbs *παράπιπτειν* and *κινδυνεύειν* are not combined by any conjunction.

§ 5. *πρὸς ᾧ ἐγὼ τε, κ.τ.λ.*, 'in relation to those matters for which I am myself ambitious (i. e. my appointment as admiral) and our country is accused,' i. e. for changing its officers, &c.

§ 7. *ἂν σωθῇ*: the subjunctive of *oratio directa* is retained and not changed to the optative, as it might be: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 689.

§ 8. *πέμψας τριήρεις*. Xenophon nowhere relates the result of their mission.

§ 11. *ἐκεῖνα*: the money from Lacedaemon.

θαυμάζειν: a stronger word than *θεραπεύειν*.

§ 12. *οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι*, 'those who were accused of opposing him.'

εἰσηγοῦντο, i. e. proposed a grant of public money.

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, sc. *δοῦναι*, 'promising themselves to give money from their private means.'

ἐφοδιασάμενος, κ.τ.λ., 'having had his seamen paid five drachmae apiece.'

§ 13. *ἐμφροῦρων*: this word nowhere else occurs in this sense: cp. *Resp. Lac.* 5. 7 and Critical Note.

τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχόντων, 'those who were in power.'

§ 15. *τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουρούς*. Grote (vii. 406) overlooks the fact that Callicratidas allowed the Athenians to be sold.

μοιχῶντα. Plutarch (Mor. 1100 A) explains: αἰσχροῦς καὶ κρύφα πειρᾶν καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι τὴν θάλατταν.

ἀναγόμενον: Diod. xiii. 77, says that Conon with his seventy ships had sailed to the support of the Methymnaeans, but finding the town already captured he had anchored for the night at one of the islands known as the Hecatonnesi.

§ 16. εἰς ὀλίγας: cp. i. 5. 20.

Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. The brevity, if not the carelessness, of Xenophon makes the passage, if genuine, almost unintelligible, when compared with § 29. From Lysias xxi. 8 it appears that Archestratus was also with Conon at Mytilene and died there, and that Erasinides, who fought at Arginusae (infr. § 29), escaped in one of the two fast-sailing vessels mentioned in § 19. Again, Leon is mentioned only here and i. 5. 16, while at the battle of Arginusae (i. 6. 30 and 7. 1, 2) Lysias appears in his place. Diodorus too (xiii. 74, 99, 101) speaks of Lysias. The name Leon, however, in this passage of Xenophon is attested by the Scholiast on Aristid. Pan. 162. 19, so that we can only conjecture with Riemann that Leon was on board the ship captured by the Lacedaemonians (§ 21), and that afterwards Lysias was chosen general in his place.

εἰς τὸν λιμένα: the old town of Mytilene lay on a little island separated by a narrow channel from the shore, which formed the connexion between the northern and southern harbours. The southern harbour was deep enough only for small boats, so that here the northern harbour must be meant, the entrance to which was protected by a mole: cp. Diod. xiii. 77, 79; Strab. xiii. p. 617.

ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα: the thirty Athenian ships captured § 17 seem to be reckoned by anticipation: for according to § 3 and Diod. xiii. 76 the number was now 140.

§ 17. κατακλυνθεῖς, i. e. prevented from beaching his ships under the city walls.

§ 18. τὸν ἔκπλουον, i. e. of the northern harbour: the channel (εὕριπος) between the two harbours was too shallow to admit of Conon's escape in that direction.

§ 19. εἰς κοίλην ναῦν, 'into the ship's hold,' instead of on deck, their usual place.

τὰ παραρύματα: cp. Suidas, δέρρεις, σκεπάσματα and ii. 1. 22. What particular kind of coverings these were, is unknown.

Apparently the crews remained below during the day-time to escape the notice of the enemy, and to fit out the ships. They had to wait five days before they caught the Peloponnesians off their guard.

§ 20. ὥς . . . εἶναι : ὥς is here used with the infinitive, like ὥστε : cp. iii. 4. 27, v. 2. 38 ; Goodwin, M. T. App. 4.

πέμπτη . . . ἡμέρα : for the omission of the article cp. ii. 2. 17.

§ 21. ὥς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον. Better ἤνουν : cp. i. 1. 2 note and Appendix, p. 359. The logical order of ideas appears to be somewhat confused in the phrases ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες . . . ἐγειρόμενοι . . . εἰσβάντες.

The detail with which Xenophon narrates this incident of personal skill and courage is noticeable.

τυχόντες . . . ἀριστοποιούμενοι : for the supplementary participle cp. Goodwin, M. T. 887.

§ 22. Διομέδων. Xenophon does not say from whence he was coming—perhaps it was from Samos : from the context it would appear that it was not from Athens.

τὸν εὐριπον : cp. §§ 16, 18 notes. It is difficult to understand how Diomedon effected an entrance.

§ 24. δούλους. To enrol slaves, even as rowers in the fleet, was a very exceptional measure. These slaves who fought at Arginusae were rewarded with their freedom, and were given allotments of land together with the same political privileges as the Plataeans enjoyed at Athens (cp. Arist. Frogs 190, 693 ; Hellanicus Fr. 80 (Müller)).

τῶν ἱππέων : the Knights formed the second of Solon's five classes and were usually exempt from naval service (cp. Thuc. iii. 16).

§ 26. Ἐτεόνικον : cp. i. 1. 32.

[ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης] : it is impossible to reconcile these words with the geographical features of the country.

§ 27. ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις : three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

[ἀντίον τῆς . . . ἄκρα] : cp. Critical Note : ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρα seems to be a copyist's careless repetition of § 26, and ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου a gloss on ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης.

§ 28. ἀνέσχευ, sc. ὁ χειμῶν, 'when the storm ceased.' Cp. Bekk. Anec. 400 ὥς λέγομεν, ὁπότε ὁ ὑετὸς παύεται.

§ 29. *παρατεταγμένοι ὦδε*: Diod. xiii. 98 agrees with Xenophon on the whole in his description of the arrangement of the Athenian fleet, and also explains why it was left weak in the centre and strengthened on the wings: the reason was that the Arginusae islands were taken into the line, so that the ten Samian ships and the ten ships of the taxiarchs ἐπὶ μιᾶς posted in front of the islands were sufficient to secure the centre. Their line, drawn up ἐπὶ φάλαγγος (cp. vi. 2. 30), must have faced NW.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, i.e. next in line with these: cp. infr. *παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα*.

ἐπετέτακτο, 'was posted behind.'

Ἑρασινίδης. Xenophon nowhere relates how he escaped from Mytilene, in which, according to § 16, he was blockaded together with Conon and Leon: he may have been on one of the two ships that Conon despatched to Athens (i. 6. 1), especially as Lysias (xxi. 8) states that on the death of the general Archestratus at Mytilene he went on board his ship as the fastest-sailing vessel in the fleet: cp. § 16 note.

ὀνόματι: cp. Appendix, p. 359.

ταξιάρχων: the taxiarchs, like the strategi, to whom they were subordinate, were ten in number, and each of them commanded one of the ten tribal divisions of the hoplites.

ἐπὶ μιᾶς, 'in single line.'

ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις, i.e. 'behind,' so as to form a double line on the two wings, the line in the centre being left single (cp. supr. *ἐπετέτακτο*).

νανάρχων: the position of these officers in the Athenian navy is not known: cp. i. 7. 30. The title is applied in v. 1. 5 to the commander of a squadron of thirteen Athenian vessels.

§ 30. *Λυσίας* is not mentioned in the list of the ten generals, whose election is related in i. 5. 16. He may have been appointed in the place of Archestratus, who had already been killed at Mytilene (cp. Lysias xxi. 8), or, still more probably, in place of Leon: i. 6. 16 note.

§ 31. *διέκπλουν*, i.e. the Athenian line was doubled on the two wings to avoid the manœuvre of the *διέκπλους*. In this manœuvre the object was first to row rapidly past the enemy's ship, breaking his oars in the passage, and then to turn rapidly round and bear

down upon his disabled side. The *περίπλους* was the same manœuvre executed round the enemy's flank.

§ 32. *εἴη . . . ἔχον*. *εἴη* is here used as an auxiliary verb with a participle: for the periphrasis cp. iv. 8. 4.

οὐδὲν μή: the double negative is emphatic: cp. Critical Note.

οἰκεῖται: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

§ 34. *πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν*. The number is said to be twelve in i. 7. 30, but thirteen may have sunk in the interval.

§ 35. *Θηραμένην*: according to Diod. xiii. 98, though now only an *ιδιώτης*, he had been given a command on the right wing. This is not inconsistent with Xenophon: for a trierarch (cp. Dict. of Antiq.) only commanded the ship which he had fitted out. Thrasybulus (i. 5. 11), one of the generals of the previous year, was in the same position.

ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις, sc. *πλείν*: the subject which must be the generals themselves, is not repeated, because it is the same as that of the principal sentence *ἔδοξε*, κ.τ.λ.

διεκώλυσεν. From this passage it would appear that the storm stopped both projects; but i. 7. 5, 31, and ii. 3. 35, would seem to imply that the rest of the fleet at least made a start for Mytilene, though perhaps the imperfect tenses there used might be interpreted to mean no more than the wish, here expressed by *βουλομένους*.

§ 37. *ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια*: cp. the similar action of Agesilaus on the receipt of the news of the Lacedaemonian defeat at Cnidus, iv. 3. 13.

τοῖς ἐμπόροις cp. vi. 2. 23; 4. 9. There was no proper commissariat attached to a Greek armament: the custom was for merchants to follow in its train, who sold the necessary provisions and bought the spoils, which were captured.

οὐριον. Though the wind was favourable for sailing SW. towards Chios, Conon thought it better to wait till it was more moderate (§ 38), before he sailed E. to meet the Athenian fleet.

Arist. *Ἀθην. πολ.* 34. 1, quoted by the Scholiast on Arist. *Ran.* 1532, represents the Lacedaemonians after this defeat to have again offered terms of peace to the Athenians, which were again rejected through the influence of Cleophon. Grote (viii. 1) thinks that Aristotle has confused together the two battles of Cyzicus and Arginusae. Cp. Appendix, p. 321.

τὴν ταχίστην, sc. *ὁδὸν ἀποπλεῖν*.

CHAPTER VII

§§ 1, 2. *The Athenian generals were replaced by ten others, Conon alone being re-elected. Of the six who returned to Athens, Erasinides was accused by Archdemus of corrupt practices, and sentenced by the court to imprisonment.* § 3. *The other generals also, after informing the Council about the battle and the storm, were arrested by its order.* § 4. *Before the Assembly Theramenes and others attacked the generals for not having rescued the shipwrecked crews, alleging as evidence the official despatch.* §§ 5, 6. *In defence the generals recounted the facts, bringing forward some of the sailors as witnesses.* § 7. *The defence was favourably received, but, it being dark, the Assembly adjourned without a vote being taken, after commissioning the Council to bring forward a proposal as to the procedure of the trial.* § 8. *Theramenes availed himself of the Apaturia to excite the Athenians against the accused.* §§ 9-11. *At the second meeting of the Assembly Callixenus introduced the proposal of the Council, that the people should decide, without further hearing, upon all the accused at once by a single vote.* §§ 12, 13. *Euryptolemus and others threatened to indict Callixenus' proposal as unconstitutional, but were compelled to withdraw their threat.* §§ 14, 15. *The Prytanes refused to put the question to the vote, but were all frightened into submission except Socrates.* §§ 16-33. *Speech of Euryptolemus.* §§ 16-18. *'Pericles and Diomedon were chiefly to blame, because they had persuaded their colleagues not to mention in their despatch the orders they had given to Theramenes and others to rescue the crews.'* §§ 19-22. *Two courses were open to the Athenians: the generals might be tried, either before the Assembly according to the decree of Cannonus, or before a court according to the law against sacrilege and treason.* §§ 23-29. *But in either case they ought to be tried fairly and separately. Undue haste ought to be avoided, especially in the case of generals who had deserved so well of their country.* § 29. *To return to the facts: Diomedon had proposed to rescue the crews, Erasinides to sail against the enemy, Thrasyllus to do both by dividing the fleet.* §§ 30-32. *According to Thrasyllus' proposal 47 vessels were told off to rescue the crews, and the rest were to sail against the enemy, but the storm prevented both projects. Many survivors would witness to the truth of this.* § 33. *On all grounds therefore the generals ought to be acquitted.'* §§ 34, 35. *At first the people accepted Euryptolemus' proposal to try the generals separately, according to the decree of Cannonus; but at a second vote the Council's proposal was preferred, and the eight generals were condemned and six of them executed. Not long afterwards the people repented of the injustice.*

§ 1. *ἔπανσαν*. According to Diod. (xiii. 100) the generals from Samos ravaged the territory of the enemy: then Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus returned to Athens and spread defamatory reports about the conduct of the generals at Arginusae. On hearing this the generals drew up a letter to the Assembly in reply. For a time the people were satisfied with their defence, but shortly afterwards, persuaded by the representations of Theramenes and Thrasybulus, they summoned the generals home. All this must have taken some time, so that since the Apaturia (§ 8) occurred early in November, the battle of Arginusae must have been fought some time in August: cp. Appendix, p. 321.

Ἀδείμαντον: cp. i. 4. 21.

οὐκ ἀπῆλθον: cp. Diod. xiii. 101 *φοβηθέντες τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἔφυγον*. Leon, the general not here accounted for, may have been with Conon at Mytilene: i. 6. 16 note and Critical Note.

§ 2. *προεστηκώς*. It is extremely doubtful whether the designation *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* was ever used as an official title in any state, and it was certainly not so used at Athens. The term *προστάτης* in its legal signification means a patron chosen from among the citizens by an alien (*μέτοικος*) to represent him before the law courts or elsewhere, where he had no legal right to appear himself. But though this legal signification is sometimes implied in the phrase *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, it seems to be more often used in its simple etymological sense of 'leader' or 'champion,' and as such is used indifferently side by side with different parts of the verb *προίστημι*. Thus Herodotus (i. 59, 69) speaks of Megacles the Alcmaeonid *προεστὼς τῶν παράλων*, of Sparta *προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, and of a man gaining a tyranny through *προστὰς τοῦ δήμου*. Thucydides (ii. 65) says that Pericles *προὔστη τῆς πόλεως*, and in the same passage traces the ruin of Athens after his death to the quarrels of inferior men *περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας*. Pericles (Schol. on Arist. Pax 681) was in fact the last Athenian to unite successfully in his own person the two positions of *στρατηγός* and *δημαγωγός* (in the better sense). Cp. Plut. Phoc. 7. Henceforward, though members of the aristocratical families were as a general rule elected to be *στρατηγοί*, they were distrusted by the people on account of their Lacedaemonian proclivities.

Men of lower stamp and humbler origin, sprung directly from

the masses, were therefore preferred before them and contrasted (Lysias, xiii. 10) with them. This new class of demagogues rose to eminence by winning the ear of the Public Assembly: and though they were seldom elected to fill any of the higher offices, yet they exercised an enormous political power chiefly by proposing and carrying *ψηφίσματα* in the Assembly. Sometimes, however, when they chanced to be members of the Council (Arist. Eq. 774), they had a still more direct control over the executive officers and the financial administration, besides bringing forward *προβουλεύματα*, which, if passed, were afterwards submitted to the Assembly. But perhaps their most favourite method of showing zeal in the popular cause was their institution of prosecutions against generals and other magistrates (Thuc. vii. 48, viii. 65; Plut. Cimon 15) who failed to pass a satisfactory *εὔθυνα* or who were otherwise unsuccessful, or against persons who were suspected of being involved in oligarchical (Arist. Eq. 861) conspiracies.

Usually one such demagogue, like Cleon (Thuc. iii. 36; iv. 21) or Hyperbolyus, was pre-eminent over the rest, but it is not to be supposed that the designation *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* was confined to one person only: for Thucydides (viii. 65, 89; iii. 75) speaks of Androcles as *τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προεστῶτα*, of different persons aspiring to be *πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, and of *οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται* at Corcyra. And at the very time when Xenophon in this passage tells us that Archedemus was *ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις*, we learn from Lysias (xix. 48) that the demagogue Cleophon *πολλὰ ἔτη διεχείρισε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πάντα*.

διωβελίας. The most probable explanation seems to be that this was a public dole of two obols first given to poor citizens on the proposal of the demagogue Cleophon (Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 28), to relieve the distress caused by the war and the occupation of Decelea (cp. Busolt. Griech. Gesch. iii. 1. p. 264). Other commentators have identified it with the *θεωρικά*, the institution of which is ascribed by Plutarch (Per. 9) to Pericles: cp. Philoch. fr. 85. In 410-409 numerous payments were made *ἐς τὴν διοβελίαν*, cp. CIA. i. 188. Beloch, however (Gr. Gesch. ii. 77 note), refers it to the *μισθὸς δικαστικός*, on the ground that the amounts recorded in the inscriptions (16 to 17 talents) were quite insufficient to meet such a public dole, and that Aristophanes in the Frogs 1466 (date

406 B. C.) complains of the *μισθὸς δικαστικός* as the crying evil of Athenian finance.

ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλῶν: all Athenian magistrates seem to have had the right of summary jurisdiction within their own spheres of office—in most cases to the extent only of a small fine: if the person so condemned refused to pay, it was the magistrate's duty to bring him before a *δικαστήριον* for trial: cp. Lys. ix. 11, xxx. 3; Dict. Antiq. i. 745.

φάσκων . . . δῆμον: cp. Schol. on Arist. Frogs, 1196 *Δημήτριος δέ φησι περιττότερόν τι γενέσθαι τῷ Ἐρασινίδῃ, τὸ καὶ κλοπῆς κατηγορηθῆναι τῶν περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον*.

δῆσαι, the story of Erasinides seems to be told by Xenophon as the exciting cause of the accusation against all the generals at Arginusae; cp. *κατηγόρει καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας*.

§ 3. *βουλῇ*, the Council of Five Hundred: cp. Appendix, p. 328.

Τιμοκράτους. Timocrates, Callixenus (§ 8), Lyciscus (§ 13), and Menecles (§ 34), who take a prominent part in the proceedings of the trial, are otherwise unknown men.

ἔδρασε, the Council was competent to imprison persons accused of *προδοσία* (§ 22) or other serious crimes: cp. Dem. xxiv. 144.

§ 4. *ναυαγούς*, living as well as dead: cp. Appendix, p. 326.

ἐπιστολήν, cp. Appendix, p. 327.

§ 5. *σφίσι* for *αὐτοῖς*, cp. vi. 5. 35.

κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which appointed a definite time, in which every accused person could make his defence: cp. Aesch. c. Ctes. 197 ff.

πλέοιεν, the pres. opt. represents the imperf. ind. of *oratio recta* Goodwin, M. T. 673.

Θρασυβούλῳ. Thrasybulus, for some reason or other, does not seem to have taken an active part against the generals.

§ 6. *δέοι*, sc. *αἰτιάσασθαι*.

ἔχειν αὐτούς: *αὐτούς* is the subject of *ἔχειν*: notwithstanding the accusative it seems best to refer it, with Breitenbach, Büchsen-schütz, &c., to *οἱ στρατηγοί*. Blake in his note ad loc. regards it as equivalent to *ὕμεῖς* of *oratio recta*.

τὸ μέγεθος: an affirmative verb must be supplied from *ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες*.

ἔπειθον, 'tried to persuade': cp. iii. 5. 18.

§ 7. *ἀναβαλέσθαι* must refer to the voting as to whether there was

any *prima facie* case against the generals or not. The reference of the procedure back to the Council seems to have been a ruse of the accusers to prejudice the case, and was, we may perhaps infer, in the darkness carried unanimously.

οὐκ ἂν καθέωρων, the protasis is unexpressed; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 245.

προβουλεύσαν: cp. Plut. Solon, 19, μηδὲν εἰὼν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεισθαι.

§ 8. Ἀπατούρια, celebrated in the month of Pyanepsion (Oct.-Nov.), was peculiarly a family festival, because the young men were enrolled in the φρατρίαι at it.

ὥς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες: 'pretending that they were kinsmen.' For ὥς δὴ cp. v. 4. 3 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, and similar passages in Cyrop. v. 4. 4; vii. 4. 3; Symp. 8. 4. Diodorus (xiii. 101) represents these men, who attended the assembly in great numbers in the garb of mourners, to have been the real kinsmen of the deceased: accordingly Breitenbach (note ad loc.) proposes to translate ὥς δὴ—ὄντες, 'quippe qui essent,' 'since they were'; with which might be compared Cyrop. vi. 2. 4 ὁ Κῦρος . . . ὥς δὴ οὐδὲν σμικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν. But if that were Xenophon's meaning, he would probably have written παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων instead of παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους. Cp. Grote, vii. 434.

§ 9. δύο ὑδρίας. Probably this was the ordinary method of voting in judicial cases, which however is not accurately known until the fourth century B.C. Where the interests of individuals were concerned, the voting was by secret ballot; and although it is difficult to understand how with two urns as described secrecy could be maintained, yet it appears from Lycurgus (Leocr. 146, 149) that even so the votes could still be kept secret. Cp. ii. 4. 9, and Dict. Antiq. ii. 517.

§ 10. τοῖς ἑνδεκα. The eleven magistrates whose duty it was to superintend the safe custody and execution of condemned prisoners.

τῆς θεοῦ, Athena.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους. Diodorus (l. c.) speaks as if the generals had neglected only to bury the dead, not to rescue the living.

§ 12. προσεκαλέσαντο, i. e. summoned on a γραφή παραιόμων: cp. vii. 4. 38.

παράνομα : cp. Appendix, p. 331.

συγγεγραφήναι, a term usually applied only to proposed legislation : cp. ii. 3. 2, and Critical Note.

δεινόν κ.τ.λ. : cp. [Demos.] lix. 88 ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων κυριώτατος ὢν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούληται.

§ 14. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων. The πρυτάνεις of the φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα had special seats assigned them, and the whole assembly was presided over by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, who was chosen by lot for one day only. On this occasion Socrates was ἐπιστάτης : cp. Mem. i. 1. 18.

τὴν διαψήφισιν. This can only refer to putting the Council's proposal to the vote : cp. Appendix, p. 331.

αὐτῶν, i. e. Euryptolemus and his friends.

οἱ δέ, sc. ὁ ὄχλος.

καλεῖν, sc. εἰς δίκην.

§ 15. Σωκράτους : cp. Plat. Apol. 32 b, Xen. Mem. i. 1. 18 ; Appendix, pp. 331, 333. Socrates' opposition gave Euryptolemus an opportunity of bringing in an amendment to the προβούλευμα.

§ 16. κατηγορήσων : Euryptolemus does not adhere to this proposed order : his accusations are in §§ 17-19, his advice in §§ 19-29, his defence in § 29 ff.

§ 17. ἐπεισαν, i. e. μετέπεισαν, 'persuaded them to give up their intention' : cp. Thuc. iii. 32.

§ 18. ἐκείνων . . . ἐκείνων ; the context seems to require the first ἐκείνων to be interpreted of Pericles and Diomedon, whose fault it was that all the generals were accused ; and the second ἐκείνων of Theramenes and Thrasybulus. The transition is so very harsh, that perhaps it is better (with Büchschütz, &c.) to understand ἐκείνων in both cases of Theramenes and Thrasybulus. This gives an intelligible though not so pointed a meaning.

§ 19. οὐκ, i. e. οὐ κινδυνεύουσι, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ ὅθεν, i. e. καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἐξ ὧν, κ.τ.λ., 'doing those things by means of which.'

σφᾶς αὐτοῦς = ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς.

ἐν οἷς, the antecedent is the object to be supplied as accusative to συμβουλεύω : ἐν οἷς must be supplied again before τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας . . . κολάσσεσθε.

§ 20. Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα : cp. Appendix, p. 332.

βάραθρον, a precipitous ravine outside the West gate of Athens in the deme of Ceiriadae.

τῆς θεοῦ, i. e. Athena.

§ 22. τόνδε τὸν νόμον. Antiphon and Archeptolemus were tried under this law : cp. ps.-Plut. v. Antip. § 24.

§ 23. ὁποτέρῳ . . . τῷ νόμῳ, for the article cp. Plat. Men. 87 b διαφερέτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ὁποτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ὀνόματι χρώμεθα.

κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον : i. e. separate trial ought to be given to the accused, whether they were tried κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα before the Assembly, or κατὰ τὸν νόμον against sacrilege and treachery before a δικαστήριον.

διηρημένων . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι, probably an interpolation. Leonclavius corrected the MSS. διηρημένης, comparing Resp. Lac. 2. 4 μόρας διεῖλε ἕξ καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν and Cyrop. i. 2. 4 διήρηται αὕτη ἡ ἀγορὰ τέτταρα μέρη. εἰάν τε . . . εἰάν τε cannot in Attic Greek introduce an indirect question : cp. Goodwin, M. T. §§ 493, 689. Moreover there seems to be no trace in other authorities of this threefold division of the day, and the division of the day itself is logically absurd : cp. Critical Notes, and Appendix, p. 359.

§ 24. ἀδικοῦντες : cp. Critical Note.

§ 25. εὐορκοῦντες : a reference to the dicasts' oath : for its formul cp. Gilbert, Gk. Const. Antiq. (E. T.), p. 392.

ἐβδομήκοντα : cp. i. 6. 34.

§ 26. ἢ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς, κ.τ.λ. : supply δέδιτε from δεδιότες.

οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, κ.τ.λ. denies the preceding clause : 'Are you afraid, that you will not, &c., *but not afraid* [sc. that you will not put to death whomsoever you like], if you condemn him contrary to the law, &c.,' i. e. οὐ δέδιτε, ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε.

§ 27. †ἀποκτείναιτε† . . . ἡμαρτηκότες : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359. The simplest way out of the difficulty seems to be to read with Dindorf ἀποκτείναιτε, and to adopt Peter's conjecture μεταμελῆσαι. The latter alteration overcomes the difficulty of beginning a new sentence at ἀναμνήσθητε without a connecting particle, and makes the infinitive μεταμελῆσαι the subject of ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελές.

§ 28. Ἀριστάρχω. For his conduct cp. Thuc. viii. 90, 92, 98. Lycurgus (Leocr. 115) says that he was condemned and executed, but for a different reason.

ἀπολογήσασθαι, infin. to express a purpose : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

§ 29. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, sc. ποιεῖτε ταῦτα.

ἐαυτῶν = ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, 'the laws which are your own': cp. § 19.

ἐπὶ κέρως, 'in column.'

πρὸς Μυτιλήνην, the accusative instead of the dative on account of the near neighbourhood of the verb of motion πλεῖν.

γενέσθαι, for the aorist cp. v. 1. 32.

§ 30. δοξάντων τούτων, i.e. ἐὰν ταῦτα δόξη.

τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας : this can only refer to the division of the fleet commanded by each strategus, since the well-known system of Symmoriae at Athens for providing money for war expenses was not introduced till 377 B.C.

ὀκτώ : cp. i. 6. 29, 30.

δώδεκα : cp. i. 6. 34, where 25 ships, with their crews, are stated to have been lost. The two passages may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that 13 ships went down during the battle and that thus only 12 wrecks were left afloat.

§ 31. τριηράρχων. Probably the word is interpolated from i. 6. 35, as taxiarchs were left behind as well : cp. Critical Note.

ἔπλεον. The imperfect must mean that the attempt failed : cp. i. 6. 35 and ii. 3. 35.

τὰ μὲν . . . παραχθέντα is dependent on ὑπέχειν λόγον, and ought therefore to be in the genitive, the construction being κατὰ σύνεσιν, not grammatical : cp. vii. 5. 12.

§ 32. εἰς, probably Lysias : cp. Diod. xiii. 99.

ἦπερ, sc. ψήφῳ κελεύουσι κρίνεσθαι.

τὰ προσταχθέντα ; these words seem inexplicable, because Thrasybulus and Theramenes, who had received the orders, were not accused, while the accused generals had themselves given the orders. There is the same difficulty in § 33 with τὰ προσταχθέντα : cp. Critical Notes.

§ 33. ἀγνωμονεῖν . . . οὐχ ἱκανούς. Two constructions are possible : (1) sc. αὐτούς. 'Do not think that they were wanting in right feeling (or judgment), who were unable,' &c., i.e. do not attribute to a want of feeling on the part of *men*, what was really due to a necessity imposed by the *gods*. The passage would be much easier if we had τοὺς οὐχ ἱκανούς. (2) 'Do not show yourselves to

be unreasonable by convicting of treachery,' &c. Breitenbach, while adopting the first construction, takes ἀγνωμονεῖν as meaning 'to act unfairly,' i. e. treacherously, on the analogy of Demosthenes, xviii. 94; cp. Critical Notes: most probably οὐχ ἱκανοὺς . . . προσ-ταχθέντα is a gloss on ἀδυναμίας.

πειθομένους, agreeing with ὑμᾶς, the subject of ζημιῶν.

§ 34. ὑπομοσασμένον: cp. Appendix, p. 332.

οἱ παρόντες ἕξ: cp. § 2.

§ 35. μετέμελε. Cp. Plato, Apol. 32 b τοὺς δέκα στρατηγούς, τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ἐβουλεύσασθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν, παρὰ νόμῳ, ὥς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν.

προβολάς. A προβολή was a complaint laid before the Assembly against any individual before a formal indictment was brought. If the people decided that it was made with just grounds, then the complainant had greater hopes of success, if he followed it up with a legal accusation; cp. Dict. Antiq. ii. 492.

Κλεοφῶν: cp. i. 1. 23, note. According to Lysias (xiii. 12) the oligarchical party contrived his execution on a charge of λιποστρατία during the siege of Athens, because he had vehemently opposed the proposal to demolish part of the Long Walls, which formed one of the conditions offered by the Lacedaemonians. Theramenes at the time was absent in Lysander's camp. Nothing is known of the particular στάσις here referred to.

ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, sc. κατῆλθον, in the autumn 403 B. C.; cp. ii. 4. 39.

λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν, cp. Suidas s.v. ἐναύειν. Καλλίξενος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διὰ συκοφαντίαν ἄθλα ἀπηνέγκατο τῆς ἀναισχυντίας καὶ ἀσεβείας ἐν ᾗ στείμιστος καὶ πενόμενος καὶ ἀποκλειόμενος λιμῷ ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπεὶ μήτε ὕδατος ἐκοινώνουν αὐτῷ μήτε πυρὸς ἐναύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὥσπερ οὖν κοινωνεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ δεομένοις; and Schol. ad Aristid. Panath. iii. 245 (Dindorf).

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

§§ 1-5. *The Peloponnesian soldiers at Chios, hard pressed by want, formed a plan to sack the city. Eteonicus discovered the plot, and by prompt measures put it down. He asked and obtained from the Chians a contribution of money.* §§ 6, 7. *On the appeal of her Asiatic allies, supported by envoys from Cyrus, Sparta appointed Lysander to be secretary and Aracus to be admiral of the fleet.* §§ 8, 9. *Cyrus, having put Autoboesaces and Mitraeus to death, was summoned before Darius to answer for his conduct.* §§ 10-12. *Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus, collected all the ships he could from Chios, Antandros, and elsewhere, got a fresh supply of money from Cyrus, and refitted his fleet. The Athenians made similar preparations at Samos.* §§ 13, 14. *Cyrus, before going up to his father in Media, left Lysander in charge of all the tribute of his satrapy, and warned him against fighting with the Athenians.* §§ 15, 16. *Lysander took Cedrae in Caria by storm, and then set out for Rhodes. The Athenians sailed to Chios and Ephesus, and chose three additional generals.* § 17. *Lysander sailed past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians put out to sea from Chios.* §§ 18-21. *Lysander took Lampsacus by storm. The Athenians, 180 strong, sailed in pursuit, first to Elaeus, then to Sestos, where they anchored off Aegospotami, opposite Lampsacus, and offered battle.* §§ 22-26. *For four days they tried in vain to draw Lysander out of his harbour. Alcibiades pointed out to them the disadvantages of their position, but their generals scorned his advice and refused to move.* §§ 27, 28. *On the fifth day, at a given signal from his scouts, Lysander suddenly rowed across the strait with his whole fleet, and surprised the Athenians while they were scattered along the shore obtaining provisions. He captured without a blow the entire Athenian fleet, except Conon's squadron and the Paralus, and most of the crews.* §§ 29, 30. *Conon escaped to Cyprus. The Paralus carried the news to Athens. Lysander brought his prisoners to Lampsacus, and sent Theopompus to Sparta to announce his victory.* §§ 31, 32. *Lysander summoned a meeting of his allies at Lampsacus at which they made many complaints of Athenian cruelty. In revenge he executed all the Athenians among his captives, except the general Adimantus.*

§ 1. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ, κ.τ.λ. After the battle of Arginusae, Eteonicus, left in chief command by the death of Callicratidas, had led the Peloponnesian fleet from Mytilene to Methymna, and then on to Chios; cp. i. 6. 38. For the Lacedaemonian offers of peace cp. Appendix, p. 321.

ὄντες, for the position of the words cp. i. 4. 10.

τῆς ὥρας, i. e. τῶν ὥραίων καρπῶν.

τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι. Chios had been the first of the Athenian allies to revolt after the Sicilian disaster, 412 B. C. (cp. Thuc. viii. 14), and ever since had adhered to the Peloponnesian side.

§ 2. ἀπόρως μὲν. The correlative sentence with δέ begins § 3 ἀναλαβῶν δέ.

τί χρῶτο, 'how he should behave in the matter.' Cp. iii. 5. 1.

τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανούς. The correlative sentence would naturally be expected to begin with τό τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανούς: but Xenophon in τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι (equivalent to ἂν κρατήσας ὁ Ἑτεόνικος ἀπολέσῃ) rather carries on the thought suggested in the previous subordinate sentence ἂν κρατήσωσι.

συμμάχους, i. e. the soldiers of the allies in the Spartan army, who had joined the conspiracy.

εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους: for εἰς after διαβολήν instead of πρὸς cp. iii. 5. 2, Cyrop. vi. 1. 3; Thuc. iii. 109. Translate: 'lest the Spartans should incur the slanders of the other Greeks.'

σχοίεν . . . ᾤσιν. Notice the change of mood; the optative is in accordance with the rules of *oratio obliqua*: the subjunctive expresses more vividly Eteonicus' own state of mind: cp. Goodwin. M. T. 365.

§ 4. διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν, the indic. is retained here in *oratio obliqua*; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 669.

ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων, a partitive singular in the nominative, in apposition to πάντες: cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 42 ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἦτον ἂν παντὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοντο, ἕκαστός τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν οἴκοι.

§ 6. συλλεγέστες: cp. i. 6. 4. This assembly is probably to be traced to the influence of the oligarchical clubs organized by Lysander two years before: cp. Diod. xiii. 70 and Plut. Lys. 5.

αἰτήσοντας, fut. part. expressing purpose.

εὖ φερόμενον: for the opposite cp. i. 5. 17 πονηρῶς φερόμενος.

τὴν . . . ναυμαχίαν, cp. i. 5. 14.

§ 7. ἐπιστολέα: who was second in command; cp. i. i. 23, Appendix, p. 346.

δὲς . . . ναυαρχεῖν, cp. Appendix, p. 345.

§§ 8, 9. Cp. Introd. p. xxxix and Appendix, p. 359.

Ξέρξου. Darius' father, it should be noticed, was Artaxerxes, not Xerxes.

διὰ τῆς κόρης: for the custom cp. Cyrop. viii. 3. 10 οἱ ἵππεῖς πάντες παρήσαν . . . διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διείρουσιν, ὅταν ὀρᾷ βασιλεύς.

ἔχων, without τις as in iii. i. 19.

§ 9. Ἱεραμένης: probably the husband of Xerxes' sister and father of Autoboesaces and Mitraeus; cp. Thuc. viii. 58.

ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, in the Anab. i. i. 1 Xenophon says nothing of the execution of Autoboesaces and Mitraeus: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τῷ παίδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος (Artaxerxes) παρὼν ἐτύγχανε, Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

§ 10. ἐκ Χίου, cp. §§ 1, 2.

Ἀντάνδρῳ, cp. i. i. 25.

405-404 B.C.

§ 11. ἔχοι, i.e. 'had received already,' represents εἶχε in *oratio recta*: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

§ 12. οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί, i.e. Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles; cp. i. 7. 1.

†προς τὸ ναυτικόν: the force of the preposition after παρεσκευάζοντο is obscure. Breitenbach believes that some words must have fallen out, describing the reinforcement of 30 ships, which the Athenians received between the battles of Arginusae and Aegospotami; cp. i. 6. 25 with ii. i. 20; cp. Critical Note.

§ 13. Καδουσίῳν, dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian Sea.

§ 14. τούτου ἕνεκεν, i.e. as far as money was concerned.

παρίδειξε: 'enumerated, and at the same time handed over'; cp. ii. 3. 8.

τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα: 'the money in reserve,' i.e. the ready-money stored in the treasury, opposed to the φόροι.

ὡς . . . φιλίας: partitive genitive. 'How friendly he was towards,' &c.: cp. i. 4. 11.

§ 15. Κεράμειον κόλπον: on the south coast of Caria.

Κεδρεΐαις, placed by Kiepert on the south coast of the gulf.

§ 16. τὴν βασιλείῳς, sc. χώραν.

παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, κ.τ.λ. The Athenians must therefore have intended to fight Lysander on his return voyage somewhere between Ephesus and Rhodes, but he contrived to elude them, apparently by coasting along the shore, while they sailed across the open sea; cp. § 17 πελάγιοι.

προσείλοντο. Apparently three generals only seemed insufficient to command a fleet of 180 vessels in a general engagement, so that the crews took upon themselves to elect three more, following their own precedent at Samos in 411 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 76).

§ 17. πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων, κ.τ.λ., i.e. in order to prevent the corn ships sailing from the Hellespont to Athens.

αὐτῶν: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 18. σύμμαχον: cp. i. 2. 15.

§ 19. σώματα = 'persons': for this use of σώματα cp. Cyrop. vii. 5. 73 τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

§ 20. κατὰ πόδας: adverbially, 'in their wake,' 'quickly': cp. Thuc. v. 65 ἵεσθαι κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐς Τεγέαν.

ἐν Ἐλαιούντι: in the Chersonese at the entrance of the Hellespont. Here the Athenians anchored to prevent the passage of Lysander, whose previous arrival they had not yet heard of.

§ 21. διεῖχε, for this imperfect of permanent distance, cp. Thuc. i. 63 ἀπέιχε δὲ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων.

σταδίων ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. Just under two English miles.

§ 22. παραβλήματα: probably much the same kind of coverings to screen the men from missiles as those called παραρύματα in i. 6. 19.

ὡς . . . κινήσοιτο . . . ἀνάξοιτο; future optative in *oratio obliqua*: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 130, 351, App. iv., for this violation of Attic usage.

§ 23. ἐν μετώπῳ, 'in line,' opposite to ἐπὶ κέρως.

§ 24. ἐξεβίβασεν, i.e. Lysander would not allow his men to disembark, until his reconnoitring vessels had returned.

ἐπανήγοντο: imperfect, to express that the Athenians also did so for four days.

§ 25. Ἀλκιβιάδης: last mentioned as sailing to these forts, i. 5. 17. According to Diodorus (xiii. 105) he now demanded a share in the command of the fleet. Plutarch (Alc. 36, 37, Lys. 10) reproduces Xenophon's account with one or two additions. Lysias (xiv. 38) actually accuses Alcibiades of having, in conjunction with Adimantus, betrayed the Athenians at Aegospotami in revenge for this repulse. But, if Xenophon's account of the circumstances be correct, any treachery on his part seems to have been quite impossible, and in the following year it was Adimantus and his party who contrived the assassination of Alcibiades.

§ 26. αὐτοὶ . . . ἐκείνον: for this the regular construction of nominative and accusative in *oratio obliqua* cp. ii. 2. 17, Thuc. iv. 28, οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν.

§ 27. ἐπεὶ . . . τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, for the dative cp. Thuc. iii. 29 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυία ἐπτά, and i. 4. 7.

τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, i.e. those who had been ordered by him to follow the Athenian movements, cp. § 24.

ἀσπίδα: cp. Plut. Lys. 11 ἀσπίδα χαλκῇν ἐπάρασθαι πρόφραθεν.

§ 28. Θώραξ, § 18: according to Diod. (l.c.) Eteonicus was in command of the land forces.

τὸν ἐπίπλουν. Diodorus (xiii. 106) gives a totally different account of the battle; it being his day of command the general Philocles, according to him, put to sea with 30 triremes in search of provisions, bidding the other generals follow him. This they failed to do; whereupon Lysander, learning the fact from some deserters, sallied out with his whole fleet, easily drove in Philocles and surprised the rest of the Athenian fleet, which was thus compelled to surrender without striking a blow.

δίκροτοι, i.e. with only two out of the three tiers of oars manned.

ἐπτά: so Plutarch (Lys. 10); Diodorus (l.c.) says ten.

Πάραλος: this and the Σαλαμυνία were sacred vessels used by the Athenians for religious missions, for conveying ambassadors, and for carrying the commands of the home government to the generals: cp. vi. 2. 14; Thuc. vi. 53; viii. 86.

συνέλεξεν: cp. supr. διεσκεδασμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια, i.e. of Sestos. Xenophon omits to relate its capture. Diodorus (l.c.) puts the event immediately after the battle.

§ 29. τὰ μεγάληα . . . ἰστία. Lysander must have left them behind to lighten his ships for rowing: cp. i. i. 13. Xenophon says nothing more about Conon till just before his great victory over the Lacedaemonians at Cnidus in 394 B.C.: cp. iii. 4. 1.

Εὐαγόραν, cp. iv. 8. 24; Isocr. ix. 52 and Diod. xiii. 106 Κόνων ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν μὲν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπάνοδον ἀπέγνων, φοβηθεὶς τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ δήμου, πρὸς Εὐαγόραν δὲ τὸν ἀφηγούμενον τῆς Κύπρου κατέφυγεν ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν. Evagoras was prince of Salamis and tributary to Persia.

§ 30. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους: according to Plutarch (Lys. 11) 3,000 in number.

§ 31. τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα. According to Plutarch (Lys. 9), Philocles ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀποκόπτειν τὸν δεξιὸν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνωνται, κώπην δ' ἐλαύνωσι. Cp. Cicero (De Offic. 3. 11) Athenienses sciverunt ut Aeginetis, qui classe valebant, pollices praeciderentur.

§ 32. ἡτιάθη μέντοι, i. e. in contradiction to the pretended reason for sparing his life. The evidence against Adimantus is very doubtful. Lysias (xiv. 38) speaks of Alcibiades τὰς ναῦς Λυσάνδρῳ μετὰ Ἀδειμάντου προδοῦναι, where he is certainly misrepresenting much of Alcibiades' conduct. Indeed, in another speech (ii. 58), he regards the cause of the disaster as doubtful, εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακία εἴτε θεῶν διανοία. Pausanias (iv. 17, x. 9) preserves the Athenian tradition, that Adimantus and Tydeus were the traitors, the latter being the bitterest opponent of Alcibiades. Isocrates (v. 62) expresses no decided opinion. The accusation of treachery brought by Conon against Adimantus (mentioned by Demosthenes xix. 191) belongs to a much later date, c. 393, after the amnesty of 403. In the midst of such uncertain evidence it is impossible to form a definite opinion either way, especially as accusations of treachery to account for so irretrievable a disaster would lie so ready to hand.

ἀρξάμενος, for the middle cp. ii. 3. 38, iii. 5. 4: ἄρχειν is to 'do something before others,' ἄρχεσθαι 'to take the lead in independent action:' vid. Liddell and Scott, s. v.

παρανομεῖν. The MS. D has interpolated in it after παρανομεῖν — νικήσας ἔφη ποίει ἂ παθεῖν ἔμελλες ἡττηθεὶς, εὐθὺς τοῦτον ἀπέσφαξε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, which exactly agrees with the story of his answer given by Plutarch (Lys. 13): ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι πρὸς τὴν

συμφορὰν ἐνδοῦς ἐκέλευσε μὴ κατηγορεῖν ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ δικαστῆς, ἀλλὰ νικῶντα πρᾶττειν ἅπερ ἂν νικηθεὶς ἔπασχευ.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1, 2. *Byzantium and Chalcedon submitted to Lysander, who sent the Athenian garrisons in them and elsewhere back to Athens, hoping thereby the sooner to reduce the city to starvation.* §§ 3, 4. *The Athenians, on hearing of their disaster, reflecting that the vengeance they had taken on many subject states was about to return upon their own heads, resolved to prepare the city for a siege.* §§ 5, 6. *Lysander sailed to Lesbos, where he reorganized the governments of the several states, and despatched Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. All the Athenian allies revolted, except the Samians.* §§ 7-9. *Simultaneously the Spartans and their allies under King Pausanias invaded Attica and encamped in the Academy, and Lysander, having restored Aegina and Melos to their exiled citizens, blockaded Piræus.* §§ 10-14. *The Athenians maintained an obstinate resistance till all their corn failed; then they sent envoys to Agis with offers of an alliance, but he referred them to the Ephors at Sparta; by whom, however, they were refused permission to enter the country.* § 15. *Still they would not hear of demolishing their Long Walls, and even arrested Archestratus for making such a proposal.* §§ 16-18. *Theramenes procured his own despatch to negotiate with Lysander, but after waiting more than three months returned with the information, that the Ephors alone had power to make peace. He and nine others were chosen as plenipotentiaries and sent to Sparta.* §§ 19, 20. *An audience was given to them at Sparta, where many accusations were brought against the Athenians, especially by the Corinthians and Thebans; but the Spartans refused to destroy Athens utterly, and offered terms of peace.* §§ 21, 22. *The Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few, readily accepted the terms offered.* § 23. *Lysander and the exiles entered Piræus and began the destruction of the Long Walls, celebrating the first day of Greek Freedom.* § 24. *Contemporary events in Sicily.*

§ 1. Καλχηδόνα. This city was, by the treaty with Pharnabazus in 408 B.C., left in the hands of the Lacedaemonians, and must therefore at some time since have been taken by the Athenians: cp. i. 3. 8 ff.

οἱ δὲ προδόντες: cp. i. 3. 18.

τότε: before the surrender of Athens.

ὑστερον: after the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.

§ 2. εἰδὼς ὅτι . . . ἔσσεσθαι. The construction is altered owing to the intermediate clause ὅσῳ . . . Πειραιᾷ: cp. iii. 4. 27; v. 4. 35.

ὅσῳ πλείους: the correlative τοσούτῳ is wanting before θάπτον: cp. iv. 2. 11.

Βυζαντίου, κ.τ.λ. As masters of the Bosphorus, the Lacedaemonians could now prevent the passage of all corn ships on their way to Athens: cp. i. 1. 35; ii. 1. 17.

ἀρμοστήν. It appears from Diodorus (xiv. 13) and Plutarch (Lys. 13) that Lysander now established, in connexion with the oligarchical clubs that he had previously organized in Asia Minor and the Aegean, a system of decarchies or councils of ten men in every subject state, to replace the democracies, and to support the Spartan harmost or governor, and his garrison: cp. i. 5. 8 note.

§ 3. τῆς Παράλου: cp. ii. 1. 28.

ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ: in partitive apposition to the nominative, as if ὄμωζον had preceded: the genitive absolute would have been more regular: cp. ii. 3. 54; iv. 1. 24.

πενθοῦντες, πάντες must be supplied from οὐδεῖς.

Μηλίων: cp. Thuc. v. 116. In 416 the Athenians had put all the men to death and sold the women and children into slavery.

Ἰστιαίας: cp. Thuc. i. 114.

Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους: cp. Thuc. v. 3, 32.

Αἰγινήτας: cp. Thuc. i. 108; ii. 27.

§ 4. τοὺς λιμένας: on the southern side of the peninsula of Munychia were the two harbours of Zea and Munychia, and on the northern Piraeus itself, divided into the merchant harbour (ἐκπόριον) and the war harbour (κάνθαρος). Angelopoulos, however, puts Zea in the innermost part of Piraeus; cp. Classical Review, xiii. 88.

§ 5. εἰς Λέσβον. The Athenians had held this island, with the exception of Methymna, since they had recovered it after its revolt in 412 B. C. (Thuc. viii. 23).

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, the ordinary formula to denote the Greek colonies on the Thracian coast: cp. iv. 8. 26; v. 2. 24; 2. 12.

κατεσκευάσατο. For the system introduced cp. § 2 note. The same is meant infr. by πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν.

§ 6. τῶν γνωρίμων, i. e. the oligarchs, who often called themselves καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, χρηστοί, &c.: cp. Resp. Ath. 1. 2 ff. For the conduct of the Samian democrats in 412, here apparently referred to, cp. Thuc. viii. 21.

§ 7. Ἄγιν, cp. i. 1. 33.

πλὴν Ἀργείων, who had concluded an alliance with Athens in 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 47), to which they seem now to have been faithful: cp. ii. 4. 1 note.

§ 8. Ἀκαδαμεία, nearly a mile N.W. of the city walls.

§ 9. πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας: most of them had settled at Thyrea, on the south border of the Argolis; cp. Thuc. ii. 27.

τῆς αὐτῶν, sc. πατρίδος: cp. Thuc. viii. 6 φυγάδες τῆς ἐαυτῶν.

τὰ πλοῖα: the corn ships: cp. i. 1. 35.

§ 10. ἐνόμιζον δέ, κ.τ.λ. This is one of the chief passages on which the theory of Xenophon's philo-Laconism in Hellenics, I, II has been based. But when compared with the impartiality of the rest of the books, it may very well be that Xenophon is merely chronicling what were actually the feelings of the Athenians at the time: cp. Introd. p. xxv.

†εἰ μὴ παθεῖν: in place of this unparalleled construction, it seems best to adopt Hartman's conjecture μὴ οὐ: he compares Plat. Phaed. 72 d τίς μηχανή μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι; cp. Critical Note.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ, cp. v. 4. 1 οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνός.

ἐκείνοισ: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀτίμους. The proposal was made by Patroclides (Andoc. i. 73). It did not apply to the exiles (cp. § 20), but only to those who had been in any measure disfranchised for the part they had played in the oligarchical revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.; cp. Appendix, p. 323.

παρ' Ἄγιν. Lysander had already crossed with part of his fleet to Asia in order to lay siege to Samos; cp. § 16.

§ 12. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος: for the almost supreme power of Agis, when he was at Decelea, cp. Thuc. viii. 4, 71.

§ 13. Σελλασία: the frontier town of Lacedaemon.

αὐτόθεν: temporal, 'at once,' 'on the spot:' cp. iii. 4. 20; vii. 5. 3.

§ 15. τῆς καθαιρέσεως. This shows that the Athenian envoys were not simply dismissed by the Spartans, but had definite terms proposed to them, on which a peace could be concluded: cp. Appendix, p. 324.

Ἀρχέστρατος, Plutarch (Alc. 16) quotes his *mot* on Alcibiades, ἢ Ἑλλάς οὐκ ἂν ἤμεγκε δύο Ἀλκιβιάδας.

Λακεδαιμονίοις, to be constructed with εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι : in other passages (cp. iv. 8. 12) Xenophon uses not the dative but πρὸς with the accusative after εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι : cp. Critical Note.

τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν . . . ἐκατέρου, a partitive genitive dependent on ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίου. There were two long walls joining Athens and Piraeus, and one joining Athens and Phalerum ; ἐκατέρου must therefore mean each of the two outer walls.

ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα. This was the work of the demagogue Cleophon ; cp. Lysias xiii. 11.

§ 16. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων. τοιούτων is the predicate, the participle having no subject : cp. i. 1. 26.

παρὰ Δύσανδρον : now engaged in the siege of Samos ; cp. § 11, and Plut. Lys. 14 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς πάλιν εἰς Ἀσίαν διεπέρασε, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ὁμαλῶς ἀπασῶν κατέλυε τὰς πολιτείας καὶ καθίστη δεκαδαρχίας, κ.τ.λ.

εἰδὼς . . . Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον . . . ἀντέχουσι. The Greek idiom often puts the subject of the dependent sentence as the direct object of the principal verb.

πίστεως ἕνεκα, i.e. as a pledge that the conditions would be observed.

τρέῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω : from December 405 to the end of March 404 B. C.

ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε = τὸν καιρὸν φυλάττων, ἐν ᾧ.

διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον : it seems to be impossible to reconcile this with the statement in § 11 that the corn supply had already failed three months ago, before Theramenes' mission to Lysander.

ἅπαντα ὃ τι : for the irregularity cp. Cyrop. i. 6. 11 ὃ τι . . . ταῦτα, and Cyrop. vii. 4. 14 πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν ὃ τι ᾧοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι.

§ 17. τετάρτῃ μηνί, for the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.

εἴτα without δέ strengthens the opposition between the sentences.

οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος : cp. the answer of Agis § 12.

ἤρέθη . . . εἰς Λακεδαίμονα : εἰς expresses motion ; 'to go to Lacedaemon.' δέκατος αὐτός : 'with nine others.'

§ 18. Ἀριστοτέλην : cp. ii. 3. 2, 13. Afterwards he was one of the Thirty, and was sent by them to Sparta to obtain a Lacedaemonian garrison for Athens.

§ 19. Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι, cp. iii. 5. 8 ; vi. 5. 35 ; and Isocr. xiv. 31 [οἱ Θηβαῖοι] *μόνοι τῶν συμμάχων ἔθεντο τὴν ψῆφον, ὥς χρή τὴν τε πόλιν ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνείναι μηλόβοτον ὥσπερ τὸ Κρισαῖον πεδῖον.*

ἐξαιρεῖν, sc. τὰς Ἀθήνας, to be supplied from Ἀθηναίοις.

§ 20. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ : cp. vi. 5. 35 ; Andoc. iii. 41 ; and Justin v. 7 'Negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum eruturos.' In ii. 3. 41, however, Theramenes attributes to them mere motives of political expediency.

τοὺς φυγάδας, cp. § 11.

καθέντας = κατελθεῖν ἐφέντας, 'having allowed to return.' Plutarch (Lys. 14) and Diodorus (xiii. 107) add as one of the conditions, that the Athenians were for the future to confine themselves to their own territory (τῶν γε πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρῆσαι). Plutarch professes to give the actual words of the treaty : *καβαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τὰν αὐτῶν γὰν ἔχοντες ταῦτά κα δρῶντες τὰν εἰρήναν ἔχοιτε, αἱ χρήδοιτε, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἀνέντες. περὶ τῶν ναῶν τῷ πλήθεος ὁκοῖόν τί κα τηνεὶ δοκέη, ταῦτα ποιεῖτε* : cp. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 34. 3 *τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ᾧ τε πολιτεύσονται τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν* : cp. Lysias, xiii. 14, 15 ; xiv. 3.

Though this Aristotelian statement is confirmed by Diodorus (xiv. 3), it is probably mistaken : for not only does it not appear in Plutarch's version of the original document, but it is plain from Lysias (xii. 70) that the constitutional question first arose after Lysander's return after the capture of Samos.

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρόν, κ.τ.λ., for this formula cp. v. 3. 26 ; Thuc. i. 44.

§ 22. Θηραμένης, for his conduct cp. Lysias xiii. 13-33, and Appendix, p. 324.

§ 23. Δύσανδρός τε κατέπλει, i. e. from Samos, which he was still besieging : he entered the city, according to Plutarch (Lys. 15), on the 16th of Munychion, i. e. the beginning of April, 404 B.C.

κατέσκαπτον, 'began to demolish.' The work was not completed till the autumn of this year ; cp. ii. 3. 11.

ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων, cp. Plut. Lys. 15 ὁ δ' οὖν Δύσανδρος ἐνδόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς ἅπαντα πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ ἄστεος μεταπεμφάμενος αὐλητρίδας, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συναγαγών, τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, ἔστεφανωμένων καὶ παιζόντων ἅμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὥς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχουσαν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

νομίζοντες: on the question of Xenophon's impartiality, cp. *Intro.* p. xxiv, and § 10 note.

§ 24. ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα. Xenophon has already, in i. 5. 21, narrated this same defeat of the Carthaginians and capture of Acragas as events of the year 407-406. But it appears from Diodorus (xiii. 87, 92) that the capture did not occur till eight months after the defeat, i. e. December 406, and that Dionysius made himself tyrant of Syracuse about June 405. In this passage (ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι, i. e. autumn) it is put a few months later: cp. *Intro.* p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-3. *The Athenians appointed Thirty men to draw up a new constitution, whereupon Lysander sailed to Samos, and Agis withdrew from Decelea.* §§ 4, 5. *Contemporary events in Thessaly and Sicily.* §§ 6-8. *Samos surrendered at discretion. Lysander, after reorganizing the government, dismissed the allied fleet, and at the head of the Lacedaemonian ships returned to Sparta in triumph with all the spoils of war.* §§ 9, 10. *A list of the Ephors to show the duration of the war.* §§ 11-14. *The Thirty delayed to publish the new constitution, and put their own creatures into the Council and other offices. They proceeded to purge the city of all extreme democrats, and to support their violent measures they procured from Lysander a Spartan garrison with Callibius as harmost.* §§ 15-17. *A disagreement arose between Critias and Theramenes, the former urging a policy of indiscriminate bloodshed.* §§ 18, 19. *To satisfy Theramenes the Thirty nominated three thousand to participate in the government; a measure which Theramenes criticized as at once dangerous and absurd.* §§ 20, 21. *By a stratagem the Thirty stripped all the Athenians, except the Three Thousand, of their arms: they now began a reign of terror, putting to death their own personal enemies and rich citizens for the sake of their money.* §§ 22, 23. *When Theramenes opposed these measures, the rest of the Thirty conspired against him, and Critias openly accused him before the Council.* §§ 24-26. *Speech of Critias—'The numerous executions were necessitated by the long duration of democracy at Athens, and had the full approval of the Lacedaemonians.* §§ 27-29. *Theramenes had shown himself not an enemy only, but a traitor; though he had been foremost in making peace with Sparta and in putting down the democracy, he now wished to make his peace with the people and to secure a safe retreat.* §§ 30, 31. *In the past he had been highly honoured by the people; then he had been foremost in promoting the revolution of the Four Hundred, and foremost again in bringing about their fall. Well therefore*

had he deserved the nickname of Buskin. § 32. By such shifts he had caused the death of many; he had procured the condemnation of the generals after Arginusae to save his own life. §§ 33, 34. Death was the only punishment meet for such a man. If they should condemn him they would but follow the example of Sparta; while if they acquitted him, he was sure to prove the ruin of them all.' §§ 35, 36. Defence of Theramenes—'Really the generals at Arginusae had been the first to accuse him. In alleging the violence of the storm he had offered a reasonable defence, so that in accusing him they had pronounced their own condemnation. Critias knew nothing of the matter, being at that time in Thessaly. §§ 37-40. But it was not men like himself who endangered the existence of the government, but those who had wished to put to death the foremost men in the state. §§ 41, 42. He had consistently resisted such measures as the arrest of the metoeci, the seizure of arms, the hiring of the Spartan garrison, the banishment of leading citizens. §§ 43, 44. Did such conduct show him to be a friend or a traitor? Surely those rather were traitors who by such evil counsel had made so many enemies. §§ 45, 46. He had indeed turned against the Four Hundred, but only when he had perceived that they had deluded the people with the vain hope of a Spartan alliance. §§ 47, 48. He was nicknamed the Buskin for suiting both sides; but what of Critias who suited neither side? He had consistently advocated a moderate constitution, opposed alike to extreme democracy and extreme oligarchy. § 49. If Critias could convict him of treachery to such a policy, he was indeed worthy of death.' §§ 50, 51. Critias, seeing that Theramenes would be acquitted by the Council, arbitrarily erased his name from the roll of the Three Thousand and condemned him to death in the name of the Thirty. §§ 52-54. Theramenes took refuge at the altar, appealing against this illegal procedure; but Critias, relying on the guard he had posted round the Council Chamber, handed him over to the Eleven. §§ 55, 56. The Council, panic stricken, passively allowed Theramenes to be dragged away from the altar and hurried to execution. His last sayings.

404-403 B. C.

§ 1. ἀναρχίαν, i. e. this year was not named, like the other years, after the ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος. For the election of Pythodorus cp. *Introd.* p. xliii.

§ 2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. This decree was passed on the proposal of Dracontides. Xenophon here apparently puts the appointment of the Thirty before the capture of Samos, but Aristotle dates it in the archonship of Pythodorus (404 July-403 July), and Diodorus (xiv. 3) puts it after the capture of Samos (cp. § 9

τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους). It is, however, more probable that Lysander made a special visit to Athens, when he was already occupied with the siege of Samos, and that the appointment took place in June: cp. Grote, viii. 26 note, and Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 109 note. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 34. 3; Lys. xii. 73. Xenophon passes over all the intervening events, viz. the nomination of five ephors, among whom were Critias and Eratosthenes afterwards members of the Thirty, through the agency of the oligarchical clubs (Lys. xii. 44), the embitterment of internal dissensions, the arrest of the democratical leaders (Lys. xiii. 28), and the invitation sent by the oligarchs to Lysander, who was still besieging Samos, to interfere in the domestic politics of Athens (Lys. xii. 72). When he arrived in Athens, his oligarchical partisans easily procured the passing of the decree mentioned in the text through the Assembly with all the usual legal forms, backed as they were by the threats of Lysander (Plut. Lys. 15), on the ground that the Athenians had not completed the demolition of the walls within the time prescribed in the treaty, Of the Thirty ten were nominated by Theramenes, ten by the five ephors, and ten by the Assembly itself. (Lys. xii. 77.)

τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, cp. τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 34. 3; 35. 2; Diod. xiv. 3. Similarly the Four Hundred had been charged to revise τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, Ἀθ. πολ. 29. 3.

οἶδε. Most had been members of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.

§ 3. ἀπέπλει: this, as already stated in the note on § 2, must mean Lysander's return to resume the siege of Samos after his second visit to Athens at the invitation of Theramenes and the oligarchs: cp. Lysias xii. 71; xiii. 34. The interval between Lysander's departure and this second visit must have been a short one, because not only Lysias but Plutarch and Diodorus also represent him as complaining that the Athenians had not pulled down their walls τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἔδει καθηρῆσθαι, παρῳχημένων.

ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας, which Agis had first occupied in the summer of 413 B.C.; cp. i. 1. 33; ii. 2. 7.

§ 4. περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν: September 3.

Λυκόφρων, nothing more is known of the affair.

§ 5. ἀπώλεσε. It appears from Diodorus (xiii. 109-113) that Dionysius was never really master of these two towns, but was

defeated by the Carthaginians in marching to the relief of Gela, and then led the inhabitants of Gela and Camarina back with him to Syracuse, and that all this happened in the year 405 B. C.

ὑπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπεστάλησαν. Diodorus relates that the Syracusan knights or aristocrats rebelled against Dionysius, and fled to Catana. Unger therefore conjectures ἀπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπέστησαν.

§ 6. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι, cp. ii. 2. 6.

ἀπιέναι. Some of the democratic exiles found refuge in Ephesus and Notium, CIA. ii. 16.

§ 7. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις. Thucydides (viii. 21) relates that the Samian δῆμος had in the year 412 B. C. expelled 400 of the aristocrats.

δέκα ἄρχοντας . . . φρουρεῖν, i. e. Lysander organized the government of Samos in the same way as he had previously done in the other subject states; cp. ii. 2. 2 note. Thorax was left as harmost, Diod. xiv. 3. φρουρεῖν is exegetical, ὥστε φρουρεῖν, unless indeed it be a gloss.

ἀφῆκε, because with the surrender of Samos the reduction of the Athenian empire was complete; cp. ii. 2. 6.

§ 8. εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. Diodorus (xiii. 106) and Plutarch (Lys. 16) give a much more detailed account of the triumphal entry of Lysander, with considerable exaggeration of the treasures that he brought back with him.

τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις: acc. to Plut. Lys. 15 he had already burnt them.

πλὴν δώδεκα, cp. ii. 2. 20.

ἃ περιεγένοντο. Contrast the conduct of Lysander, when Calli-cratis succeeded him in 406, i. 6. 10. παρέδειξεν: cp. ii. 1. 14.

§ 9. ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτώ: with ἐξάμηνος supply χρόνος; cf. Introd. p. xxxvii, note.

τῶν . . . σπονδῶν, concluded 446-445: cp. Thuc. i. 114.

§ 11. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα. Xenophon takes up the narrative where he left it in § 2.

καθηρέθη: the aorist expresses the completion of the process, the beginning of which some time before was expressed by the imperfect κατέσκαπτον, cp. ii. 2. 23.

ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι: for a similar use of ἐφ' ᾧτε with an infinitive cp. iii. 5. 24. Goodwin, M. T. 610.

πολιτεύσονται, for the fut. opt. cp. § 2 and Goodwin, M. T. 134, 574.

κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 1 πεντακοσίους δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων (the Knights?), καὶ προσελόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρχοντας δέκα καὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φύλακας ἑνδεκα καὶ μαστιγοφόρους τριακοσίους ὑπηρέτας κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν δι' ἑαυτῶν. So too Diodorus (xiv. 4) βουλὴν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων κατέστησαν ὥστε τούτους καλεῖσθαι μὲν ἄρχοντας, εἶναι δ' ὑπηρέτας τῶν τρίακοντα. Moreover, as appears from §§ 12, 23, 28, they transferred all judicial powers to the βουλή: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 2 τὸ κῦρος ὃ ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν.

§ 12. πρῶτον μὲν. Xenophon, as already mentioned, passes over entirely the arrest of the democratical leaders in the months before the nomination of the Thirty; cp. § 2 note.

ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, i. e. in the time when the government was still a democracy.

ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 2 κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν . . . τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ τοὺς τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦντας παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ κακοπράγμονας ὄντας καὶ πονηροὺς ἀνῆρουν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρεν ἡ πόλις γιγνομένοις, ἡγούμενοι τοῦ βελτίστου χάριν ποιεῖν αὐτούς, cp. Diod. xiv. 4. The sycophants made a practice of informing against rich citizens: they gained money either by sharing in the fine imposed after a successful accusation, or by blackmailing under threats of accusation: cp. Mem. ii. 9. 1; Symp. 4. 30.

τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς, cp. § 22 βελτίστους, and ii. 2. 6 τῶν γνωρίμων.

συνῆδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι: for a similar construction cp. ii. 4. 17. μὴ, not οὐ, is used, because of the relative clause implying a condition, Goodwin, M. T. 841.

οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. Even Lysias (xii. 5) admits that at first the conduct of the Thirty had at least a show of justice about it: cp. Sall. Cat. 51.

§ 13. ὅπως ἂν: this use of ὅπως with ἂν in indirect questions is almost peculiar to Xenophon, representing the direct question with ἂν and the optative: cp. iii. 2. 1; vii. 1. 27; Cyrop. ii. 1. 4; &c. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Δισχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην: two members of the Thirty; cp. § 2, and ii. 2. 18.

ἔπεισαν, so Diod. xiv. 4. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 (evidently erroneously) puts the sending for and arrival of the Spartan garrison after the limitation of the citizenship to 3,000, the capture of Phyle by Thrasybulus, the murder of Theramenes, and the stratagem whereby all the Athenians except the 3,000 were deprived of their arms. It is obvious that without the support of the Spartan garrison the Thirty would not have ventured on any such extreme measures: cp. Busolt (Hermes, xxxiii. p. 71) for a defence of Aristotle.

σφίσι συμπράξαι, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'that Lysander would join them in effecting that guards should come'; cp. § 14 συνέπραξεν, and for the infin. ἐλθεῖν without ὥστε cp. ii. 4. 28 δανεισθῆναι.

§ 14. τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν. Partitive genitive with οὗς: cp. iv. 4. 13.

ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους, κ.τ.λ., 'would be least likely to allow themselves to be set aside,' i. e. from a share in the government.

ἄν: notice the unusual omission of ἄν with ἀνέχεσθαι, the first of the two opposed sentences: it is perhaps inserted in the second only, because πλείστους ἄν . . . λαμβάνειν is so obviously the apodosis of the condition applied in ἐπιχειροῦντας.

§ 15. ὁ Κριτίας, it is curious that Critias' name is never so much as once mentioned by Arist. 'Αθ. πολ.

ἐπεὶ δέ: the apodosis is wanting. It is virtually taken up at § 18 with the words ἐκ τοῦτου.

πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν: cp. Isoc. vii. 67 πεντακοσίους μὲν καὶ χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, and Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔσχον, οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν προέχοντας, ὑπεξαίρομενοί τε τὸν φόβον καὶ βουλόμενοι τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάζειν καὶ χρόνου διαπεσόντος βραχέος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀνηγήκεσαν ἢ χιλίους πεντακοσίους.

ἄτε καὶ φυγών. The date and cause of his banishment are unknown. He was in Athens at the time of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411 B. C., had proposed the recall of Alcibiades c. 407 B. C. (cp. Plut. Alc. 33), and was an exile in Thessaly during the Trial of The Ten Generals in 406 B. C. (cf. § 36). Accordingly some have supposed that he was banished, perhaps on the accusation of Cleophon (Ar. Rhet. i. 1. 13), in 407, as being mixed up with the affairs of Alcibiades. He came back with the other exiles after the capture of Athens, and was nominated one of the five ephors: cp. Lysias xii. 78.

§ 16. οὐκ ἐγχωροίη, κ.τ.λ., 'that it was impossible for those who aimed at extraordinary power not to put out of the way those who were most capable of hindering them': cp. Goodwin, M. T. 815.

ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, 'you think that we ought with any the less care to look after this government just as if it were a tyranny': the comparison is expressed in ὅτι . . . οὐχ εἷς. ὥσπερ = οὕτως ὥσπερ. Hermann proposes to read ἢ ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, which gives an obvious, but a slightly different sense: cp. Critical Note.

§ 17. καὶ ἀδίκως: καὶ emphasizes the adverb.

θαυμάζοντες . . . ἡ πολιτεία: cp. Anab. iii. 5. 13 θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχουσιν.

§ 18. οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, although Critias and Theramenes were of their number. οἱ τριάκοντα is similarly used as a proper name in ii. 4. 21, 23, 38, after several of them had been killed.

οὐχ ἥκιστα, i. e. μάλιστα.

καταλέγουσι. So Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 36. 4 Θηραμένης ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῆς μὲν ἀσελγείας αὐτοῖς παρῆναι παύσασθαι, μεταδοῦναι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς βελτίστοις. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ἐναντιωθέντες, ἐπεὶ διεσπάρησαν οἱ λόγοι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θηραμένην οἰκείως εἶχον οἱ πολλοί, φοβηθέντες μὴ προστάτης γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου καταλύσῃ τὴν δυναστείαν καταλέγουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν τρισχιλίους ὡς μεταδώσοντες τῆς πολιτείας.

τοὺς μεθέξοντας = οἱ μεθέξουσι. Similarly the Four Hundred, in 411 B. C., had pretended to enroll 5,000 citizens from those capable of supplying themselves with heavy armour at their own expense: cp. § 48. It appears from § 51 that no member of the 3,000 could be condemned without the warrant of the Council, while any other Athenian could be put to death simply at the orders of the Thirty.

§ 19. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης: Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 36. 4 is in almost verbal agreement: Θηραμένης δὲ πάλιν ἐπιτιμᾷ καὶ τούτους, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι βουλόμενοι μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι τρισχιλίους μόνοις μεταδιδάσσι, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ὥρισμένης, ἔπειθ' ὅτι δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ποιοῦσιν, βιάιουν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἥττω κατασκευάζοντες.

βουλομένους, κ.τ.λ. κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι must be repeated with τρισχιλίους: cp. Anab. iii. 4. 13: iv. 5. 15. The meaning is, 'though wishing to take the best of the citizens into partnership, they had taken only three thousand': cp. Critical Note.

τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντα is in the accusative absolute : cp. § 51 ;
iii. 2. 19.

οἷόν τε εἶη, as if ὥσπερ εἰ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος ἔχοι had preceded :
cp. iii. 2. 23.

ἡμᾶς, i. e. the Thirty.

ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων, 'weaker than the governed.'

§ 20. ἐξέτασιν : Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 37. 2 puts this disarmament after the death of Theramenes (cp. § 13 note), merely stating ἐγνώσαν τῶν μὲν ἄλλα τὰ ὅπλα παρελέσθαι.

κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα : this phrase, as the passage stands, can only mean κελεύσαντες λέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, 'having ordered them to take up their arms,' 'to fall in' : cp. Anab. i. 5. 13. But to whom, we ask, was the command given, and who are the ἐκείνοι? The passage, as Cobet points out (Mnemosyne, vi. 47), ought to indicate some stratagem by which all ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου were induced to leave their arms behind them, but no such meaning can be extracted from the words as they stand. Probably there is a lacuna which both Cobet and Dindorf suggest might be filled by some such words as κελεύσαντες ἀπίναι ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα. J. B. Kan would read θέσθαι instead of ἐπὶ, comparing Thuc. vi. 58.

τοὺς φρουροίς : the Spartan garrison.

ἐν τῷ ναῷ, i. e. of Athena.

§ 21. ὡς ἐξόν, accusative absolute : cp. § 19.

ἕκαστον, i. e. τῶν τριάκοντα, 'that each of the Thirty should seize one of the Metoeci' : cp. § 40, and Lysias, xii. 6 Θεόγνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἶέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι· πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν πένεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων . . . ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων ἔνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως πεποικότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον. καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἐστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οὓς ἐξελεύσαντες Πείσωνί με παραδιδόασιν. Lysias himself was one of the richest resident aliens or *metics*.

§ 22. λαμβάνουιν : the optative expresses repetition.

τῷ παντί, adverbial, 'in every point,' 'altogether' : cp. iii. 5. 14 ; vi. 1. 7.

§ 23. πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς : to whom the judicial power had been transferred : cp. § 11 note.

παραγενέσθαι : just outside the Council Chamber : cp. § 50.

συνέλεξαν. The Thirty summoned the Council, and directed the course of procedure : cp. Lysias xiii. 37 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται : for the different account in Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 37 cp. § 50 note.

§ 24. πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ, 'more than is expedient' : cp. v. 3. 5.

μεθιστάσι : from the preceding words τὴν πολιτείαν can be easily supplied.

§ 25. τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν, i. e. τοιούτοις οἷοι ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσμέν : cp. i. 4. 16.

§ 26. λυμαίνεται with the dative has the same meaning as with the accusative, 'to injure,' 'do mischief to' : cp. vii. 5. 18 ; for the accus. cp. §§ 23, 51 ; iii. 2. 27 ; 3. 8.

§ 27. οἷς δύναται, 'by what means he can.'

ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ. After this one would expect μαρτύριον to follow, which however is really implied in ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε : cp. § 34 ; vi. 1. 11.

πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, without ἄν, to express the certainty of the supposed case : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 432.

§ 28. αὐτῷ . . . ἀρέσκει, an anacoluthon, just as if, not ἄρξας and ἐξορμήσας, but ἐπεὶ . . . ἤρξε . . . ἐξώρμησε had preceded : cp. iii. 2. 21.

αὖ : cp. § 30 πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμόν.

§ 29. ὅσῳ πολεμίοις. Here there is no correlative comparative with ὅσῳ, although one is implied in the meaning, 'men are more ready to trust enemies than traitors.' Here ὅσῳ may be translated 'inasmuch as' : cp. Isocr. i. 33 ἡγοῦ τὴν παιδείαν τοσούτῳ μείζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοχθηρὰ πάντες κερδαίνοντες πράττουσιν κ.τ.λ.

ἐσπείσατο . . . ἐπίστευσε : the gnomic aorist expresses a general inference without reference to any definite moment of time : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 155.

§ 30. κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνωνα, 'just as his father Hagnon had been' : cp. Plat. Symp. 203 d (Ἐρως) κατὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐπίβουλος ἐστι τοῖς καλοῖς. Hagnon was one of the πρόβουλοι appointed immediately after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. viii. 1), who, according to Lysias (xii. 65), prepared the way for the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.

προπετέστατος. For the facts alluded to cp. Thuc. viii. 68, 92 ; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 29.

κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. For the nickname cp. § 47 and Plut. Nic. 2 διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζον αἰετῇ προαιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη κόθορνος.

§ 31. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος, κ.τ.λ. Morus ingeniously explains this obvious interpolation as a double gloss ; the first clause explains the point of the nickname, the second ἀποβλέπει ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων applies to Theramenes, 'he looks away from both parties,' 'faces both ways.' Then a stupid copyist, Morus supposes, united the two glosses with μέν and δέ. The phrase ἀποβλέπει κ.τ.λ. cannot possibly mean 'fits neither foot,' which is the sense required if ὁ κόθορνος be taken as its subject: cp. Critical Note.

δεῖ . . . οὐ . . . δεινὸν εἶναι must be translated together, 'ought not to be clever at bringing his associates into difficulties.'

εἰς πράγματα, i.e. 'to dangerous undertakings': cp. πράγματα παρέχειν.

εἰ δὲ μή, 'otherwise,' more fully explained by εἰ . . . πλείοιεν.

§ 32. θανατηφόροι: cp. § 24.

πλείστοις . . . ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας = πλείστοις τῶν βελτιόνων, and πλείστοις ἐκ δημοκρατίας = πλείστοις τοῦ δήμου.

μεταίτιος, with the infinitive of the thing caused (ἀπολωλέναι) like αἷτιος, vii. 4. 19.

ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ: cp. Appendix, p. 328, and for the facts alluded to, i. 6. 37 ; 7. 4 sqq.

§ 33. πῶς δὲ οὐ, sc. χρή.

ὥς μὴ . . . δυνασθῇ: cp. Cyrop. viii. 7. 27 ; the ordinary Attic construction would be ὅπως μὴ with the future indicative: Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ὥς . . . ποιοῦμεν . . . ἐννοήσατε: supply ἵνα εἰδῇτε: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 312 and § 27 note.

§ 34. ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων: Critias was himself the author of a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution: cp. Athen. xi. 463 e ; Pollux vii. 59.

τοῖς πλείοσι, sc. τῶν ἐφόρων.

τῶν ἔξω. The democrats in exile.

§ 35. Θηραμένης δέ: Lysias (xii. 77) gives an outline of Theramenes' speech: πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὀνειδίζων μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν (the oligarchs), ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν

κατέλθοιεν, οὐδὲν φροντιζόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀνειδίζων δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν ὅτι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτὸς αἴτιος γεγεννημένος τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔργῳ δεδωκὼς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὄρκους εἰληφώς.

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον. This assertion of Theramenes is a direct contradiction to Xenophon's own narrative in i. 7. 4 (cp. Appendix, p. 328).

προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν, accus. absolute, 'that although orders had been given me by themselves, I did not rescue,' &c.: cp. § 19 and Goodwin, M. T. 851.

μὴ ὅτι, elliptic phrase μὴ (εἴπω) ὅτι, 'much less to': cp. Symp. 2. 26 and Goodwin, M. T. 708.

φάσκοντες γάρ, κ.τ.λ. This is a direct contradiction to the generals' own statement in i. 7. 6. Probably Theramenes means, that if the generals said that a rescue was possible, and yet in their despatch made no mention of any orders given to himself and other subordinate officers, they would themselves appear responsible for the death of the shipwrecked sailors. But the generals never said anything of the kind.

§ 36. †παρανενομηκέναι.† A word is required meaning that Critias had misunderstood the matter: cp. Critical Note.

ἐν Θετταλία: cp. § 15. In Mem. i. 2. 24 Xenophon adds Κριτίας . . . φυγὼν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐκεῖ συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνη χρωμένοις: cp. ii. 2. 15 note. Theramenes ridicules Critias for taking exactly the opposite side in Athens to what he had taken in Thessaly: for the Penestae, like the Helots in Lacedaemon, were 'adscripti glebae.'

§ 38. μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., 'up to your being put into the Council and to magistrates being appointed, and to the notorious sycophants being tried, so far we were all of the same opinion.'

τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας: cp. § 12 οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας. For the adverb with a substantive cp. Demos. xxix. 14 τὸν ὁμολογουμένως δοῦλον: vi. 2. 39; vii. 3. 7.

§ 39. Λέοντος: for the previous history and democratical proclivities of Leon cp. Thuc. viii. 23, 55, 73; i. 5. 16; 6. 16. Plato (Apol. 32) gives a fuller account of this incident, in which Socrates was involved, and showed his courage: cp. Andoc. i. 94.

Νικηράτου: cp. Lysias xviii. 6 Νικήρατος, ἀνεψιὸς ὦν ἐμὸς καὶ υἱὸς

Νικίου (the Athenian general), εὖνους ὧν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει, συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε γένει οὔτε οὐσίᾳ οὔθ' ἡλικίᾳ δοκῶν ἀνάξιος εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας μετασχεῖν. For his wealth cp. Lys. xix. 47.

§ 40. Ἀντιφῶντος. Not to be confused with Antiphon the rhetorician, who was executed for the part he played in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred. Nothing more is known of this Antiphon, unless he is to be identified with the Antiphon mentioned in Mem. i. 6. 1.

ὑπόπτως . . . ἔξοιεν, in an active sense as in Demos. xix. 132 δυσκόλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον.

§ 41. ἓνα ἕκαστον: cp. § 21 note.

ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα, κ.τ.λ., cp. § 20.

τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους: cp. Diod. xv. 63; Polyaeus i. 45. 5, whence it appears that the Spartan reasons for sparing Athens were based as much on policy as on generosity: cp. ii. 2. 20.

δέουτο. If the reading be right, the present tense must show that Theramenes alludes to the feeling that the Lacedaemonians entertained towards the Athenians at the moment he was speaking. Cobet (Mnem. vi. 46) corrects it to γ' ἐδέοντο.

§ 42. τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι, cp. § 13.

ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν, κ.τ.λ., 'until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of the ruled.'

Θρασύβουλον . . . Ἄνυτον . . . Ἀλκιβιάδην. In §§ 13, 14, 21 Xenophon alludes only in general terms to the banishment and execution of the leading democrats. More extraordinary still, he never even mentions the assassination of Alcibiades at this time by Pharnabazus, at the wish of Lysander, who had been instigated by Critias to accomplish it: cp. Plut. Alc. 38; Diod. xiv. 11. For Thrasybulus cp. infr. ii. 4. 2 sqq. Anytus was one of the leading democrats, and after his return from exile was the foremost accuser of Socrates: cp. Lys. xiii. 78; Plat. Apol. 18 b.

§ 44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω, sc. δεῖν γίγνεσθαι.

αὐτοῦς, Thrasybulus and the exiles.

τὸ κρίτιστον τῆς πόλεως, 'the best elements in the state.'

ἡγείσθαι, sc. αὐτοῦς, accus. and infin. depending on οἶμαι.

τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν, subject to χαλεπὸν.

ποι τῆς χώρας, partitive genitive.

§ 45. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ., 'again as for his saying that I am of a character always to change,' &c.

οἶος . . . μεταβάλλεσθαι: for the infin. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 759.

ἐψηφίσατο: cp. Thuc. viii. 69; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 29. 1.

§ 46. ἐκείνοι μέν, κ.τ.λ.: 'the Lacedaemonians were as vigorous as ever': cp. Thuc. viii. 70.

ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα, i. e. the fort Eetionea; cp. Thuc. viii. 90.

τοῖς ἐταίροις, the members of the oligarchical clubs through whose influence the Revolution of the Four Hundred had been effected: cf. Thuc. viii. 54.

ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος. So Thucydides (viii. 92) attributes the discovery and exposure of the plan to Theramenes.

§ 47. κόθορνον, cp. § 30.

§ 48. πρὶν [ἄν], for ἄν with the optative cp. Goodwin, M. T. 702.

†δραχμῆς† μετέχοιεν, i. e. should be made Councillors, a drachma being the daily pay for sitting in the Council. Cobet thinks the expression, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, too artificial, and conjectures αὐτῆς, i. e. τῆς πόλεως: cp. Critical Note.

τὸ μέντοι . . . διὰ τούτων: if Dindorf's reading διατάττειν for διὰ τούτων be adopted, τὸ . . . διατάττειν is the subject to ἄριστον . . . εἶναι and ὠφελεῖν depends on δυναμένοις. If, however, the MSS. reading be retained, the sentence is an anacoluthon. Xenophon begins with τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις (sc. ὠφελεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν) καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν, as if he were going on to say τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρίστην παρέχειν ἡγούμην. Instead of doing so however he breaks off with διὰ τούτων (i. e. δια τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελεῖν καὶ μεθ' ἵππων, κ.τ.λ.) in the same sense as Demosthenes uses the phrase τὰς διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων πολιτείας, and entirely alters the construction. In this case we may translate: 'but to support the constitution with the help (σύν) of those who are able to do so both with horses and with shields. . . . I say, I used formerly to think that a constitution formed by (διὰ) such men is the best,' &c.; cp. § 18 note. For the part that Theramenes played in the Four Hundred cp. Thuc. viii. 68; and for the excellence of the constitution limited to οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων cp. Thuc. viii. 97; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 33. 2.

§ 50. εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα: cp. Diod. xiv. 4 παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Θηραμένης, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπολογησάμενος ἅπασαν ἔσχε τὴν βουλήν εὖνον.

ἀναφεύξειτο, for the more usual ἀποφεύξειτο: so too vi. 5. 40.

οὐ βιωτόν, 'unendurable.'

τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας: cp. § 22, and Diod. xiv. 4 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κριτίαν φοβούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα μήποτε καταλύσῃ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν περιέστησαν στρατιώτας ἔχοντας ἐσπασμένα τὰ ξίφη.

ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάτοις, 'at the bar,' a railing made of lattice work, with which the Councillors were surrounded.

§ 51. προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷου δεῖ, 'that it is the duty of such a president as a man ought to be.' οἷου is attracted into the case of προστάτου. Two constructions are here confounded: (1) νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷου δεῖ . . . ὀρῶντα . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, and (2) νομίζω προστάτην εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρῶν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ.

οἱ ἐφεστηκότες, i. e. οἱ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες: cp. § 50.

ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις: cp. § 11 αἰρεθέντες ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους: and in Mem. i. 2. 31 Xenophon speaks more specifically of ὁ Κριτίας . . . τῶν τριάκοντα ὧν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρικλέους. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 speaks of two laws used against Theramenes, the one arming the Thirty with full powers to put any citizen to death ἕξω τοῦ καταλόγου, and the second forbidding any one to be put on the κατάλογος, who had taken part in destroying the fort at Eetionea or who had in any way opposed the government of the Four Hundred. Mr. Kenyon in his note ad loc. says: 'as to the first of these two laws Aristotle agrees with Xenophon, but as to the second the two accounts differ fundamentally. . . . At best it can only be supposed that Critias instead of striking out the name of Theramenes from the list of the 3,000, proposed the second law as described by Aristotle and forced it down the throat of the council by threat of armed force.' Really however the two accounts are quite reconcilable, and a parallel passage in Lysias as to the proceedings of the oligarchs against Cleophon (404) strongly confirms Mr. Kenyon's hypothesis as the proper solution of the difficulty: cp. Lys. xxx. 11 οἱ δὲ (the oligarchs) βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν (Cleophon) ἀπολέσαι, δεδιότες μὴ οὐκ ἀποκτείνωσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πείθουσι Νικομαχίδην νόμον ἀποδείξαι ὡς χρή καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συνδικάζειν. καὶ ὁ πάντων οὗτος πονηρότατος (Satyrus) οὕτω φανερώς συνεστασίασεν, ὥστε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο ἀποδείξαι τὸν νόμον. Similarly we have only to suppose that on this occasion Critias invented a καινὸς νόμος to meet the case: we need not therefore be surprised that Xenophon has made no mention of this second νόμος ἄνομος: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. l. c. ὧν (the destruction of the fort and the overthrow of

the Four Hundred) ἐτύγχανεν ἀμφοτέρων κεκοινωνηκώς ὁ Θηραμένης, ὥστε συνέβαινε ἐπικυρωθέντων τῶν νόμων ἕξω τε γίγνεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα κυρίους εἶναι θανατοῦν.

τῶν ἕξω, genitive dependent on κυρίους : θανατοῦν is added epexegetically.

συνδοκοῦν, used absolutely : cp. § 35 προσταχθέν.

§ 52. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, where stood the altar at which the Councillors took their oath. So Diod. xiv. 4.

§ 53. ἀσεβέστατοι, cp. Diod. xiv. 4 : ὁ δὲ φθίσας ἀνεπήδησε μὲν πρὸς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν, ἔφησε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καταφεύγειν, οὐ σωθήσεσθαι νομίζων, ἀλλὰ σπεύδων τοῖς ἀνελοῦσιν αὐτὸν περιποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν.

καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες, i. e. 'especially when you perceive.'

§ 54. ἐκέλευσε, for the ellipsis of ἵνα cp. § 20.

τοὺς ἑνδεκα : cp. i. 7. 10 note. The Thirty seem to have retained this old democratical magistracy, filling it however with the most violent of their partisans.

ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες, a *nominativus pendens* without an accompanying finite verb : cp. ii. 2. 3.

Σατύρου. Lysias (xxx. 10, 12, 14) speaks of him as a violent member of the oligarchical Council in 404, who was foremost in accusing Cleophon, and afterwards as one of the Thirty. His name does not however occur in Xenophon's list : cp. § 2.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων = τὰ λοιπά, lit. 'what comes next' : cp. Plut. Poplic. 6 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον, ὑμέτερον ἤδη, εἶπε, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον.

§ 55. εἶλκε . . . εἶλκον : for the *anaphora* cp. v. 1. 35.

ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν : Diodorus (xiv. 5) relates that Socrates and two of his friends rushed forward to interfere ; and ps.-Plutarch (v. Orat. p. 836) ascribes the same to Isocrates. Probably both are quite mistaken : cp. Grote viii. 45 note.

§ 56. ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, i. e. 'having jerked out the last drop.' The κότταβος was a convivial practice, consisting in jerking out the last drop from a cup, which was supposed to furnish an omen by its sound in falling. Then the guest, who had just drunk, handed on the cup to the guest whose turn came next : cp. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 40. 96 quum venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit, ut id resonaret, quo sonitu reddito arridens, 'Propino,'

inquit, 'hoc pulcro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat teterrimus. Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sint. lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu, quum iam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret: vereque ei, cui venenum praebiberat, mortem eam est auguratus, quae brevi consecuta est.

ἐκέῖνο δὲ κρίνω. Here for the only time in the first two books, the noble death of Theramenes draws from Xenophon a remark in the first person. His portrait of him agrees well with that in Thucydides (viii. 68, 89, 92): cp. Aristoph. Frogs 968. Theramenes in the Trial of the Generals does not scruple to sacrifice the lives of others to secure his own. In bringing about the second oligarchical revolution he is as skilful and successful in his intrigues as he was in the first. So soon as he perceives that the policy of the Thirty is leading them to certain destruction, he opposes them with the same skill as he had used in setting them up; and when at last his opposition brings him into personal danger, the nobler side of his character shines out, till he drinks the cup of hemlock with the courage and cheerfulness of Socrates. But after all that can be said in his favour, it is hard to understand Aristotle's judgement on Theramenes ('Αθ. πολ. 28. 5, also quoted by Plutarch, Nicias 2), where he mentions him in the same category with the statesmen Nicias and Thucydides, δοκοῦσι δὲ βέλτιστοι γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθηνησὶ πολιτευσαμένων μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους, though at the same time admitting the justice of his nickname of κόθορνος. Beloch indeed (Die Politik Athens seit Perikles 101 and Griech. Gesch. ii. 117), relying on Theramenes' own words in § 48, tries to show that he consistently aimed to establish a moderate democracy at Athens, based on the middle classes who had some stake in the state, both when he joined the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411, and when he became one of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and that he turned against his colleagues on both occasions, not from a mere wish to save his own life, but because he really disapproved of the extreme form of oligarchy which they had introduced, based as it was upon robbery and murder. From the epithet ὁ κομψός, which is given to him by Aristophanes, we may conclude that he was in the habit of drawing delicate distinctions; and very delicate distinctions indeed are required to free him from the charge of treachery in his conduct at the Trial of the Generals and the capitulation of Athens.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. *The Thirty expelled all not on the roll of the Three Thousand from Attica. The refugees assembled in Megara and Thebes.* §§ 2-7. *Thrasybulus, starting from Thebes with a few refugees, seized Phyle, repulsed the attack of the Thirty, and made a successful sally upon their camp, his forces being now increased to 700.* §§ 8-10. *The Thirty seized Eleusis as a place of retreat for themselves, capturing by a stratagem all the able-bodied Eleusinians. Next day they compelled the Athenian Knights and the Three Thousand to condemn all these prisoners to death.* §§ 10-12. *Thrasybulus marched upon Piraeus, but unable to hold so large a town against the forces of the Thirty, occupied a strong position on Munychia.* §§ 13-16. *Thrasybulus addressed his troops. 'On the right they had against them the men they had already defeated, on the left the hated Thirty. The gods were evidently now on their side: for victory was certain over an enemy placed in so unfavourable a position.'* § 17. *Every one of them must fight, remembering the high stakes at issue, and the vengeance due to all of them.'* §§ 18, 19. *Warned by the seer, who was himself the first to fall, Thrasybulus waited for the enemy to attack, whereupon he gained a complete victory, Critias himself being among the slain.* §§ 20-22. *When after the battle the troops of the two factions met together, Cleocritus, the sacred herald, proclaimed on behalf of the refugees with Thrasybulus, that they had no quarrel with their fellow-citizens, but only with the Thirty, who in eight months had caused the death of more Athenians than the Lacedaemonians in ten years. The Thirty withdrew their forces to Athens.* § 23. *At a meeting of the Council open dissension broke out among the Three Thousand, until they voted to depose the Thirty and appoint Ten in their place.* §§ 24, 25. *The Thirty retired to Eleusis. The Ten supported by the Knights kept guard over the city. Their opponents at Piraeus made new weapons and organized their ever increasing forces.* §§ 26, 27. *Meanwhile they made constant sallies, in revenge for which the Knights ruthlessly butchered some Axionians. In return they killed the Knight Callistratus, and soon ventured to march close up to the walls of Athens.* §§ 28, 29. *In response to an appeal from the Three Thousand at Athens and the Thirty at Piraeus, the Spartans sent out Lysander as harmost and his brother as admiral to blockade Piraeus, so that the tables were once more turned.* §§ 29, 30. *But Pausanias, out of jealousy against Lysander, persuaded three of the Ephors to let him head a second expedition to Athens. All the allies followed him, except the Corinthians and Boeotians, who refused to join, and with them he encamped near Piraeus.* §§ 31-34. *Pausanias summoned the refugees*

at Piraeus to disperse, and on their refusal made a half-hearted attack upon them. Failing in this and in a similar attack he advanced the next day with all his forces and gained a complete victory over Thrasybulus and his supporters. §§ 35-37. Pausanias urged the two factions at Piraeus and Athens to send envoys to him and the Ephors present in his camp; and when they arrived in obedience to his summons, he sent them on to Sparta, where they both tendered a complete submission to the Lacedaemonian supremacy. §§ 38, 39. The Spartan government despatched fifteen commissioners to arrange the terms of reconciliation. These settled, Pausanias disbanded his army, and Thrasybulus marched up to Athens. §§ 40-42. Speech of Thrasybulus—'On what grounds did their opponents claim to rule over them? Facts had shown them to be no juster, braver, or wiser than themselves. Even the Lacedaemonians had forsaken them. Once more he wished his followers to show themselves the better men by keeping their oath of reconciliation.' § 43. The Athenians then reorganized their constitution; but shortly afterwards, hearing that the Thirty were forming a conspiracy, they seized and slew their generals, but came to terms with the rest, to which ever since they had faithfully adhered.

§ 1. ἐξόν, acc. abs.: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 851.

προείπον μὲν . . . ἦγον δέ. It appears that here Xenophon is summarizing in a few words numerous acts of violence on the part of the Thirty. He omits altogether the edict of the Lacedaemonians forbidding any state to harbour the Athenian refugees: cp. Plut. Lys. 27; Isocr. vii. 67; Diod. xiv. 6, 32. ἦγον, 'evicted.'

φευγόντων, for the genitive absolute cp. i. 1. 26, vi. 4. 8.

ἄγοντες, sc. οἱ τριάκοντα.

Μέγαρα . . . Θήβας: according to Diod. xiv. 6 the Argives were the first to disobey the Lacedaemonian edict and ὑπεδέχοντο φιλανθρώπως τοὺς φυγάδας. καὶ Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ὑπάρχειν πρόστιμον τῷ θεασαμένῳ μὲν ἀγόμενον φυγάδα, μὴ βοηθήσαντι δὲ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

§ 2. Θρασύβουλος: cp. ii. 3. 42: for the date cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 ἤδη δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐρεστῶτος καταλαβόντος Θρασυβούλου μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων Φυλῆν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦν ἐξήγαγον οἱ τριάκοντα κακῶς ἀποχωρήσαντες, κ.τ.λ. So too Diod. xiv. 32 with different details.

Φυλῆν, between Mounts Cithaeron and Parnes, high up on the road from Athens to Thebes, about twelve miles NW. from Athens.

μάλ' ἐνήμερίας οὔσης: for the adverb with a substantive cp. v.

4. 14.

§ 3. χιών: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 already quoted.

§ 4. φυλάς: the Athenian army was organized on the basis of Cleisthenes' ten tribes. Cp. Hdt. vi. 111; § 23 note and iv. 2. 19.

§ 5. ἤδη shows that some considerable interval had elapsed since § 3.

συνειλεγμένων . . . περὶ ἑπτακοσίους: cp. iv. 6. 12 καὶ ἀπέθανον . . . περὶ τριακοσίους.

§ 6. ἀνίσταντο, κ.τ.λ., 'had already risen and were going,' the notion of motion implied being shown by ὅποι. The nom. is οἱ πολέμιοι understood.

ὅποι ἐδείτο ἕκαστος: cp. vii. 1. 16.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων, 'from the camp': cp. Critical Note.

§ 7. στησάμενοι. Xenophon, though he uses both active and middle, seems to prefer the latter in such passages; the older historians use only the active: for the active cp. i. 2. 3, 10; 4. 23; 5. 14: for the middle § 35.

ἀνεχώρησαν. Diodorus (xiv. 32) tells a story (cp. Justin v. 9) that at this point the Thirty tried by promises to induce Thrasybulus to come back to Athens and take the place of Theramenes.

§ 8. οὐκέτι νομίζοντες, κ.τ.λ. Lysias (xxv. 22) represents dissensions as having already broken out among the Three Thousand themselves.

καταφυγὴν, Eleusis being a fortified town.

παραγγείλαντες, sc. ἐλθεῖν.

εἰς Ἐλευσίνα. It appears that many of the Salaminians suffered at the same time as the Eleusinians: cp. Lysias xii. 52 ἐλθὼν (i. e. Eratosthenes) μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς Σαλαμίνα καὶ Ἐλευσινάδε τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον, καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων θανάτου κατεψηφίσατο: cp. ib. xiii. 44; Diod. xiv. 32.

ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν has probably crept into the text from τοῖς ἱππεύσιν immediately above. For if the Athenian Knights are meant in the sense of 'under the protection of the Knights,' we should rather expect σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν: and it can hardly mean the Eleusinian Knights, because it appears, from what immediately follows, that the review was of the whole forces, horse and foot alike. Moreover ἐξέτασιν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν can scarcely be equivalent to ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων: cp. Critical Note.

πόσης . . . προσδήσονται, i. e. how large an additional garrison the Eleusinians would need to make the place secure.

ἀναγαγόντα, i. e. from the coast to Athens.

τοῖς ἑνδεκα : cp. ii. 3. 54.

§ 9. τὸ Ὀιδεῖον. At this time there were two Odea, the one built by Pericles (Plut. Per. 13) on the south-east side of the Acropolis, the other, an older one, outside the city to the south-east on the river Ilissus. It is doubtful which of the two is here meant.

τοὺς ἄλλους. For this use of ἄλλους cp. i. 1. 6 ; ii. 2. 18, &c.

φανερὰν . . . τὴν ψῆφον : cp. the decree of the Council as to the trial of the generals, i. 7. 9 ; Lysias xiii. 37 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὐδὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται· δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην. τὴν δὲ ψῆφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους ἀλλὰ φανερὰν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι, τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν. . . .

§ 10. τῶν πολιτῶν, the Three Thousand.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦτου, four days later than the events in § 7 (cp. § 13), so that in the interval 300 more refugees must have joined Thrasybulus at Phyle.

ἀναφέρονσαν. The participle is here transposed as πεμφθέντα, i. 1. 23.

§ 11. ἔτι μὲν, 'for a while,' here opposed to a second action, which has not yet begun—ἐπεὶ δέ.

μὴ ἀνιέναι, i. e. 'to prevent their approach' : so vii. 2. 12.

ὁ κύκλος, 'the wall surrounding Piraeus.' Thucydides (ii. 13) calls it sixty stadia, or more than seven miles round.

Μουνιχίαν, the hill on the east side of the Piraeus peninsula.

Ἰπποδάμειον. Hippodamus, the Milesian architect, had laid out the town of Piraeus in the time of Pericles : cp. Ar. Pol. ii. 5. 1.

Βενδίδειον, the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Moon-goddess.

ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. This unusual depth was on account of their great number and the confined space. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was eight.

§ 12. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'behind them' : cp. i. 1. 34.

αὐτόθεν, 'from the place itself,' i. e. from Munychia and Piraeus.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα, i. e. spear and sword.

§ 13. οὗς . . . ἐδιώξατε : cp. § 4.

ἡμέραν πέμπτην, 'four days ago' : cp. Anab. iv. 5. 24 ἐνάτην ἡμέραν.

τοὺς φιλτάτους . . . ἀποσημαίνοντο. ἀποσημαίνεσθαι is properly applied to the confiscation of goods and chattels only. Here, in his indignation, the speaker applies it to citizens : cp. Critical Note, and Appendix, p. 359.

παραγεγέννηται. The subject is 'the exiled citizens' : with οὗ . . . ᾧοντο supply παραγενέσθαι ᾧν.

§ 14. συνελαμβανόμεθα, 'were arrested.'

οἱ δὲ καί without a preceding οἱ μέν, as i. 2. 14.

οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ, 'non modo non . . . sed ne quidem' :

cp. v. 4. 34 ; vi. 4. 3.

ἐν εὐδία χεიმῶνα : cp. §§ 2, 3, 7.

§ 15. ὑπέρ, 'above the heads of' : cp. Cyrop. vi. 3. 24 τοξεύοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων.

ὄρθιον : cp. Strab. ix. 395 λόφος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Μουνυχία χερρονησιάζων . . . στομίῳ δὲ μικρῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἔχων.

§ 16. τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις. The dative may be either after δεήσειν or after μάχεσθαι.

ἀμαρτήσεται . . . ᾧν . . . μεστή, i. e. τούτων ᾧν.

φυλαττόμενοι δέ, κ.τ.λ., 'but to protect themselves they will always be skulking behind their shields.'

ἐναλλομένους makes better sense if taken of the enemy, 'to drive them back, when they leap upon our ranks.' Most commentators construe it with the subject ἡμᾶς understood.

§ 17. οὕτω πλούσιος ᾧν καλοῦ : here οὕτω belongs to καλοῦ. Its force is strengthened by the interposition of πλούσιος ᾧν, 'however rich he may be' : cp. iii. 5. 24 ; iv. 4. 12.

παιᾶνα, the Greek war song, invoking the aid of the deity, usually Apollo : cp. iv. 7. 4 and Anab. v. 2. 14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, κ.τ.λ.

τὸν Ἐννάλιον, 'the war-god Ares' : cp. Anab. i. 8. 18 τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζειν.

§ 18. ὁ μάντις : the article because such seers were regularly attached to Greek armies : cp. Her. vii. 228 ; Thuc. vi. 69, &c.

μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι . . . τρωθείη, i. e. in order that the guilt of being the first to shed a fellow-citizen's blood might be upon the enemy.

πρὶν [ᾧν]. For ᾧν cp. ii. 3. 48 note.

§ 19. Κηφισοῦ. This stream passes under the road from Piraeus to Athens, and falls into the Bay of Phalerum.

τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων : cp. § 38. Neither Xenophon, Lysias, Diodorus, Nepos, nor Justin mention the appointment of these magistrates, who are here introduced with the article as if already known to the reader. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 35. 1 (quoted ii. 3. 11 note) puts their appointment by the Thirty immediately after their own election ; so too Plat. Epist. vii. 324. Plutarch (Lys. 15) attributes their institution to Lysander himself : εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε (Λύσανδρος) τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καταστήσας ἄρχοντας.

Χαρμίδης, uncle of Plato and once a ward of Critias : Xenophon (Mem. iii. 7. 1) calls him ἀξιόλογον ἄνδρα καὶ πολλῷ δυνατώτερον τῶν τὰ πολιτικά τότε πραττόντων.

§ 20. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, one of the Eumolpidae, the hereditary heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries : cp. Aristoph. Frogs 1085.

§ 21. ὀλίγου δεῖν, 'almost,' used absolutely : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 779.

ἐν ὁκτὼ μηνσίν, from May or June 404 to January or February 403.

δέκα ἔτη, i. e. the last ten years of the Peloponnesian War, known as the Deceleian War. Isocrates (xii. 24, 67) says that the Thirty put 1,500 citizens to death : cp. ii. 3. 15 note.

§ 22. τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων . . . ἔστιν οὓς, 'some of those who have been slain.'

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες : of the Thirty at Athens twenty-seven, and of the Ten at Piraeus nine, were still left alive.

καὶ διὰ τό, κ.τ.λ., i. e. as well as an account of their defeat.

§ 23. διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους : cp. § 8 note.

τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ : the followers of Thrasybulus, now in occupation of Piraeus.

οὐδὲν δέοιντο, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'they had no need of these evils' ; i. e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.

καὶ εἶλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, i. e. one from each tribe : cp. iv. 2. 8 εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. Cleisthenes in 509 B. C. had divided the Athenians into ten tribes, Hdt. v. 66. It appears from Lysias (xii. 54), who mentions four by name, Eratosthenes, Phido, Hippocles, and

Epichares, that these Ten were of that section of the oligarchical party most opposed to Critias and his crew, and that they were chosen because it was thought that *δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ φιλεῖσθαι*. So soon however as they were in power (ibid. § 57) *ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ εἰργασμένοις καὶ ὑμῖν πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι*. The Ἀθ. πολ. (38. 1) is in substantial agreement : *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὴν Μουνιχίαν καὶ νικησάντων μάχη τοὺς μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα βοηθήσαντας, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες μετὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, αἰροῦνται δὲ δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἤρέθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον, κ.τ.λ.* So too Diod. xiv. 33.

403-402 B. C.

§ 24. Ἑλευσινιάδε : their *καταφυγή*, § 8.

τῷ Ὀιδείῳ : cp. § 9 note.

σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ; shields were part of the equipment of the hoplites or heavy-armed soldiers and not of the Knights : cp. iv. 4. 10. The Athenian Knights were now obliged to serve as horsemen by day and as hoplites by night.

§ 25. οἱ δέ, i. e. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

ἐλευκοῦντο : cp. iii. 2. 15.

ἡμέρας δέκα, since they had occupied Piraeus.

ισοτέλειαν. Such *μέτοικοι* as paid no *μετοίκιον*, but paid the same taxes as full citizens, were called *ισοτέλεις*. Before *ισοτέλειαν*, *τούτοις* must be supplied : the infin. *ἔσεσθαι* depends on *πιστὰ δόντες*.

ώσεί : cp. i. 2. 9.

ποιούμενοι . . . λαμβάνοντες. The present participles here denote frequent repetition.

ὁπώραν : cp. § 26 *ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. This shows that it was already summer time, although Xenophon has not marked the beginning of another year.

§ 26. *Αἰξωνέων*. This is Palmer's conjecture for *ἔξω νέων*, which is quite unintelligible. *Αἰξώνη* was a village between Hymettus and the west coast of Attica : cp. Critical Note.

§ 27. *τῶν ἱππέων*, partitive genitive with *Καλλίστρατον*.

πρὸς τὸ τέχος. Xenophon (Mem. ii. 7. 2) makes Aristarchus

describe the necessities to which Athens was reduced by these attacks from Piraeus: cp. Isocr. xvi. 13.

εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ, κ.τ.λ. To complete the construction ἐρῶ before ὅς is required: cp. Cyrop. i. 4. 27 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παιδικοῦ λόγου ἐπιμνησθῆναι λέγεται, κ.τ.λ. For the genitive τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ after εἰπεῖν cp. Plat. Rep. 439 b τοῦ τοξότου οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν.

τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, the open space between the Lyceum and the city wall.

μέλλοιεν . . . προσάγειν, sc. οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

§ 28. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις: Lysias (xii. 60) and Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. (38. 1) speak only of the embassy of the Ten. Diodorus (xiv. 32, 33) puts the embassy of the Thirty before Thrasybulus' occupation of Piraeus, and the embassy of the Ten at the same time as here.

τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, i.e. by order of the Ten, who, instead of fulfilling the hopes with which they had been appointed (§ 23), in the words of Lysias (xii. 55), πολλὸν μείζον στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ . . . ἐποίησαν: cp. § 23 note.

συνέπραξεν, i.e. with the ambassadors.

ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, with which to collect a mercenary army, as the Spartans refused to send any troops of their own: cp. Lysias xii. 59, 60; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 1; 40. 3. Isocrates (vii. 77), citing it as an instance of the ἐπιείκεια τοῦ δήμου, says, that shortly after its restoration the democracy repaid this loan to the Lacedaemonians, as a debt incurred by the Athenian state, and not merely by the oligarchs, who had contracted it: cp. Dem. xx. 12.

§ 29. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων, 'while things were going on in this way'; cp. ii. 2. 16 τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων; v. 3. 27 προκεχωρηκότων. Goodwin, M. T. 848.

φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ. So Diodorus xiv. 33 and Plutarch, Lys. 21.

τρεῖς, i.e. a majority out of the Five Ephors.

φρουράν: a Lacedaemonian word for an army. Lysander had only mercenary forces; cp. iii. 2. 23.

§ 30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων: cp. ii. 2. 19; and iii. 5. 5, where the Lacedaemonians charge the Bocotians with having persuaded the Corinthians to refuse to follow.

ἐυορκεῖν: consistently with the Treaty of Peace concluded in 404 B. C., ii. 2. 22.

ἐγίγνωσκον: 'supposed' (wrongly).

ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ : the level ground between Piraeus and Hymettus. The fugitives from the violence of the Thirty and the Ten flocked round Pausanias at Piraeus, where the king so far showed his real feelings as to refuse the presents offered him by the Thirty; cp. Lysias xviii. 8-12.

§ 31. ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν : 'so far as cries went,' i.e. in appearance only. βοή is the battle cry. Thuc. viii. 92 joins the same two prepositions with the same meaning; cp. Plat. Leg. 701d τίνος δὴ χάριν ἔνεκα.

δίῳ μόρας : according to Xenophon (Rep. Lac. II. 4.), the whole Spartan army was divided into six morae, each commanded by a Polemarch. Contrast Thucydides v. 68 : cp. Appendix, p. 347.

φυλάς, cp. § 4.

τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα. κωφόν is 'dumb,' 'quiet,' in the sense of 'smooth.' Curtius supposes it to be the inlet E. of Eetionea.

§ 32. ἐλᾶν, a rare form of the present : cp. Cyrop. viii. 3. 32 ἀπέλα.

ἐνέντας : 'pressing on.' Xenophon also uses the word intransitively in Cyrop. vii. 1. 29.

τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης, sc. ἔτη, lit. 'the [men] ten years from military age,' which at Sparta was fixed at eighteen. The use of the neuter τὰ is a Lacedaemonian usage; cp. iii. 4. 23, iv. 5. 15 and Critical Note.

τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. Πειραιοῖ is the old locative case like οἴκοι. The theatre was on the hill of Munychia; cp. Thuc. viii. 93.

§ 33. ἐπὶ πόδα, 'foot by foot,' i.e. slowly, with their front facing the enemy : cp. Anab. v. 2. 32; Cyrop. iii. 3. 69.

ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, in the north-west part of Athens : cp. Paus. i. 3. 1; 29. 3 ff.

§ 34. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων : if the reading of the MSS. be kept, this must mean 'eight deep in front of the rest,' i.e. the light-armed troops. But Madvig's conjecture τῶν Ἀλῶν seems almost certain : these Ἀλαί, according to Curtius, were salt marshes just to the north of the harbour of Piraeus; cp. Critical Note.

εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, 'let them come to close quarters' : cp. vii. 4. 13.

§ 35. λέγοντας . . . πέμπειν : present participle where the future would naturally be expected, as ii. 1. 29; 4. 37.

δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, 'he created a division among,' &c. πρὸς σφᾶς : to himself and the Ephors.

Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι, i. e. in accordance with the terms of the former treaty; cp. ii. 2. 20.

§ 36. νομίζεται: cp. Xen. Rep. Lac. 8. 5 πάρεσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐδέν, ἦν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ· ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος, πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός: cp. Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 30 and Appendix, p. 343.

τῆς μετὰ Πανσανίου γνώμης, two modes of expression are here confused: (1) τῆς Πανσανίου γνώμης ὄντες, and (2) μετὰ Πανσανίου ὄντες.

ἔπεμπον, sc. ὁ Πανσανίας καὶ οἱ ἔφοροι.

τὰς . . . σπονδὰς: here, 'the terms,' or 'offers of peace.'

ιδιώτας opposed to οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ in § 37.

§ 37. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ. According to Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 38. 3 the first Ten had been replaced by a second Ten, more favourably disposed towards Thrasybulus and his exiles: ὡς δ' οἱ τὸν Πειραιέα καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἔχοντες, ἀποστάντος ἅπαντος τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπекράτουν τῷ πολέμῳ, τότε καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοὺς πρώτους αἰρεθέντας ἄλλους εἵλοντο δέκα τοὺς βελτίστους εἶναι δοκοῦντας, ἐφ' ὧν συνέβη καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις γενέσθαι καὶ κατελθεῖν τὸν δῆμον, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ προθυμουμένων τούτων. προειστήκεσαν δ' αὐτῶν μάλιστα Ῥίνων τε ὁ Παιανιεύς καὶ Φάυλλος ὁ Ἀχερδούσιος. Again in 39. 6 the first Ten are said to have been excluded from the Amnesty. This detail is probable enough in itself; but if it be true, it is curious that none of the other authorities should mention this second Ten—neither Lysias, Andocides, Xenophon nor Diodorus. Isocrates (xviii. 67) even calls Rhinon one of οἱ δέκα οἱ μετὰ τοὺς τριάκοντα καταστάντες: and Andocides (i. 90), professing to quote the actual words of the Amnesty (cp. § 43), does not mention them. Nepos (Thrasyb. 3) however mentions the exclusion from the Amnesty of 'decem, qui postea praetores creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi,' but says nothing of the Ten at Piraeus.

λέγοντας instead of the more common ἐροῦντας; cp. ii. i. 8; iii. 4. 25.

χρηθῆναι ὅ τι βούλονται: for the expression cp. ii. i. 2; v. 3. 23.

ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν; the subject is still οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

§ 38. οἱ ἔφοροι: the three remaining in Sparta.

οἱ ἐκκλητοί. This term occurs only in this passage and in v.

2. 33 and vi. 3. 3. In the second passage no distinction seems to be drawn between the *ἐκκληῖται* and the *πλήθος* who formed the ordinary Assembly. Probably therefore the term has no technical meaning, but simply denotes the members of the Assembly, in which all the *ὁμοῖοι* were entitled to vote: cp. iv. 6. 3; v. 2. 11; and for other views cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 703.

πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 4 *ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις Πausanίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν δέκα διαλλακτῶν* (Xenophon's 15) *τῶν ὕστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, οὓς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν.*

ἐφ' ᾧτε: Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 39 professes to quote the terms of the *διαλύσεις* in full.

ὥς πρὸς: cp. Anab. iv. 3. 11 *ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ*; 3. 21 *φένγουσι ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκβασιν ἄνω.*

ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν: cp. § 31. This implied, as far as practicable, a restitution of the confiscated property; cp. Harpocr. s. v. *σύνδικοι*.

πλὴν τῶν κ.τ.λ.: cp. §§ 37, 43 notes.

αὐτοῖς: to those who *διήλλαξαν*, i. e. to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians.

§ 39. *ἀνελθόντες . . . εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*. This procession, which Lysias (xiii. 80) describes at some length, Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 7, p. 349) puts on the 12th of Boedromion, i. e. Sept. 403 B. C.: cp. Introd. p. xliii.

κατέβησαν† . . . *οἱ στρατηγοί*. Cobet inserts *ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν*. Some words of this kind are evidently required to complete the sense; cp. § 42 ad fin. and Critical Note.

§ 40. *γνοίητε*, sc. *ὑμᾶς αὐτούς*.

ἐπὶ τίνι: cp. § 29 *μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ*.

§ 41. *ἢ ὥς*, i. e. *ἢ ἡ κρίσις ὥς*.

περιείληφθε, 'you have been outwitted.' This is Laves' conjecture. I prefer Geist's *περιελήλασθε*, 'you have been worsted': the best MSS. give *περιελήλυθεν*, which is quite unintelligible. Some word is required in the perfect tense, meaning to 'outwit,' as opposed to *γνώμη . . . προέχειν*: cp. Critical Note.

πῶς, οἷγε, i. e. *πῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις, οἷ γε*.

κλοιῶ δῆσαντες, κ.τ.λ. The allusion is to a law of Solon preserved in Plutarch (Solon 24) *κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κλοιῶ τριπήχει δεδεμένον*: the subject of *παραδιδόασιν* is general, *οἱ ἄνθρωποι*.

κἀκεῖνοι repeats the subject οἱ γε, strengthening the comparison after οὕτω.

§ 42. ὑμᾶς. Thrasybulus now addresses his own followers.

ἀνέστησε, 'adjourned,' 'broke up.' Blake wishes to translate, 'restored.'

§ 43. ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο. Euclides was created ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος, and in his archonship and the following years a complete revision of the Solonian laws and constitution took place to suit the altered condition of affairs, when Athens had lost her sovereign rights and her empire over the subject allies. Meanwhile a provisional government was set up: cp. Andoc. i. 81 δόξαντα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα (the Amnesty) εἴλεσθε ἄνδρας εἴκοσι· τούτους δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἕως ἂν οἱ νόμοι τεθεῖεν· τέως δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ βουλὴν τε ἀπεκληρώσατε νομοθέτας τε εἴλεσθε κ.τ.λ. Cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 40, 41.

ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, according to 'Αθ. πολ. 40. 4 two years later: διελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι κατοικήσαντας ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοίκησιν ἐπὶ Ξεναϊέτου ἀρχοντος.

401-400 B.C.

ξένους μισθοῦσθαι. Justin (v. 10. 11) gives an account of the affair but little more intelligible than Xenophon's. The Thirty, it would appear, were suspected of once more conspiring to regain their supremacy at Athens.

τοὺς Ἐλευσίνοι. The Thirty, their adherents, and such other Athenians as had since joined them; cp. § 38. Ἐλευσίνοι is the locative case.

μὴ μνησικακήσειν: cp. Cor. Nepos, Thras. iii. 2 Legem tulit (Thrasybulus) ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarunt. The oath was taken by the Knights, the Council, and the whole people; and Andocides (i. 90) preserves the actual words, καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, οὐδὲ τοιούτων ὅς ἂν ἔθελαι εὐθύνας δίδοναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἥρξεν: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 39. 6 τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηδενὶ πρὸς μηδένα μνησικακεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ τοὺς δεκα καὶ τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τούτους, ἐὰν διδῶσιν εὐθύνας: cp. § 37 note.

ἔτι καὶ νῦν. It is impossible to fix with any exactitude what time is denoted by these words. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his expedition against his brother in 401 B.C., a time which allows too short an interval to give the words any real meaning; and he did not return to Greece till 394 B.C. On the other hand it cannot be very long after the events described, because the praise assigned to the Athenians must mean that consistently with the Amnesty they did not prosecute certain definite persons, who had been implicated in the enormities of the Thirty, and such prosecutions were only likely to have taken place in the succeeding ten or fifteen years. We may therefore perhaps infer that Xenophon wrote these words not very long after his return to Greece: cp. *Introd.* p. xiv.

τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει: cp. *Arist. ᾿Αθ. πολ.* (40. 3) ἀποθανόντος γὰρ (τινὸς τῶν κατεληλυθότων, at the instigation of Archinus) οὐδεὶς πώποτε ὕστερον ἐμνησικάκησεν. ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δὴ καὶ πολιτικώτατα ἀπάντων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ χρῆσασθαι ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς περὶ τῶν προτέρων αἰτίας ἐξήλειψαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλαβον, ἀπέδοσαν κοινῇ.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

§§ 1, 2. *After the expulsion of the Thirty Cyrus sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians, who instructed their admiral, Samius, to support him. Samius secured Cilicia. Cyrus was slain: the Greeks safely reached the sea.* §§ 3-8. *The Ionian cities, threatened by Tissaphernes, appealed to the Lacedaemonians. In response they sent Thibron as harmost with 1,000 neodamodes, 4,000 Peloponnesians, and 300 Athenian Knights. On his arrival he collected additional forces, but was unable to take the offensive, until he was joined by the Cyreans. Then he captured Teuthrania and Halisarnia, and won over several other cities in Aeolia. Failing to take Larisa, he was ordered by the Ephors to march into Caria, but at Ephesus he was superseded by Dercylidas.* §§ 9, 10. *Dercylidas came to terms with Tissaphernes, and marched against the rival satrap Pharnabazus to revenge an old insult.* §§ 10-15. *This part of Aeolis was governed by Mania, the widow of Zeuxis, who had persuaded the satrap to allow her to carry on her husband's administration. Mania faithfully fulfilled her office until she was murdered by her son-in-law, Midias, who seized the cities of Scepsis and Gergitha, and tried to make terms with Pharnabazus.* §§ 16-28. *In the midst of this disorder Dercylidas appeared, whereupon many of the cities of the Troad and Aeolis opened their gates to him. Cebren too after some little delay followed their example. Midias found himself obliged to surrender to him Scepsis and Gergitha, in the latter of which was stored Mania's treasure, sufficient to maintain an army of 8,000 men for a year.*

§ 1. *στάσις*: between the Thirty and the Democrats.

οὕτως, cp. *Intro.* p. xix.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου (i.e. 401 B.C.), both temporal and causal. The following sentences explain how the Spartans, formerly the allies of Persia, now came to be at enmity with the Great King. This embassy is put by Diodorus xiv. 19 (with whom Diogenes Laertius agrees) in the year of Xenænetus 401-400. In the *Anabasis* Xenophon makes no mention of it; but Plutarch (*Artax.* 6) speaks of

Cyrus' bounteous promises to the Lacedaemonians if they would send him troops : ἔφη δώσειν, ἂν μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσιν, ἵππους, ἂν δὲ ἱππεῖς, συνωρίδας· ἐὰν δ' ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κώμας· ἐὰν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθοῦ δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἔσεσθαι.

αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις : for Cyrus' services to the Lacedaemonians cp. i. 5. 2-9; 6. 18; ii. 1. 11-14.

Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ : called by Diod. xiv. 19 Samos, if indeed he has not confused him with the Egyptian Tamos (Anab. i. 2. 21, 4. 2), who guided the Greek ships from Ionia to Cilicia.

περίπλευσεν . . . Συνένεσιν : Xenophon (Anab. i. 2. 21) does not mention Samios, but relates that Syennesis, when he heard that Menon's division of the army had crossed the Taurus by another pass, and that Tamos with the Lacedaemonian and Persian ships had already arrived in Cilicia, abandoned the Cilician Gates, and made terms with Cyrus. Then in i. 4. 2, referring to some twenty-five days later, he speaks of the Lacedaemonian admiral Pythagoras being on board the triremes at Issus. We must therefore suppose that in the interval Samius, at the end of his year of office (cp. Appendix, p. 344), must have been succeeded by Pythagoras; unless indeed we adopt the far-fetched hypothesis of E. Schwartz (Rhein. Mus. 44, p. 193) that Xenophon, still better to disguise his authorship of the Anabasis, has substituted Samios for Pythagoras, because the philosopher of that name was a Samian!

§ 2. τὸν ἀδελφόν : Artaxerxes Mnemon.

ἡ μάχη : at Cunaxa in the autumn of 401 : cp. Anab. i. 8.

ἐπὶ θάλατταν, to the Euxine.

Θεμιστογένει. Who was Themistogenes the Syracusan? Suidas the lexicographer professes to know, s.v. Θεμιστογένης, Συρακόσιος, ἱστορικός. Κύρου ἀνάβασιν, ἣτις ἐν τοῖς Ξενοφώντος φέρεται (i.e. laudatur aut nominatur) καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδος. But if, as seems most likely, Xenophon wrote the Anabasis before books iii-vii of the Hellenica, it seems more probable (cp. Introd. p. xiv) that Xenophon for some reason or other wished to conceal his own authorship of the Anabasis under a *nom de plume*. This hypothesis finds expression as early as Plutarch de Glor. Athen. p. 345 e : Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ γέγονεν ἱστορία, γράψας ἃ ἐστρατήγησε καὶ κατώρθωσε καὶ Θεμιστογένῃ [λεγει?] περὶ τούτων συντετάχθαι τὸν Συρακόσιον,

ἵνα πιστότερος ᾗ διηγούμενος ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἄλλον, ἑτέρῳ τὴν τῶν λόγων δόξαν χαριζόμενος. Compare Schol. ad Epist. Joannis Tzetzae 21, p. 23, ed. Pressel, ὥσπερ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐπέγραψε τὴν Κύρου ἀνάβασιν Θεμιστογένει Συρακουσίῳ, καὶ ἐπεκράτησεν ὁμῶς καὶ πάλιν Ξενοφῶντος καλεῖσθαι. L. Dindorf in his note on the passage has collected together all the modern hypotheses about the relation of Xenophon to Themistogenes, all of which seem equally baseless.

§ 3. πολλοῦ ἀξίος βασιλεῖ: Tissaphernes had been the first to inform Artaxerxes of the projected revolt of Cyrus (Anab. i. 2. 4; ii. 3. 18, 19), had fought zealously at Cunaxa against the rebels, and by his treacherous conduct towards the Ten Thousand and their generals after the battle had nearly succeeded in overwhelming the whole Greek force (Anab. ii. 5. 32 ff.).

ὧν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν. The extent of Tissaphernes' district before Cyrus' arrival is nowhere exactly described. Thucydides (viii. 5) calls him στρατηγὸς τῶν κάτω, i. e. of the coast land, and we find him at that time supreme in the whole region south and west of the satrapy of Pharnabazus which extended over the northern part of Aeolis as far as Aspendus in Pamphylia.

ὧν Κύρος, more exactly described in Anab. i. 9. 7 (quoted i. 4. 3 note). Tissaphernes was thus made commander-in-chief (κάρανος) over all Asia west of the Halys, even Pharnabazus being subordinate to him: cp. iii. 2. 13.

τὰς Ἴωνικὰς πόλεις: cp. Anab. i. 1. 6 καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἴωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνου τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλείᾳ δεδομέναι, τότε δὲ (402-401 winter, B.C.) ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κύρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. Ever since Lysander was left in charge of his satrapy by Cyrus in 405, they seem to have been governed by Spartan harmosts (cp. iii. 2. 20); and when Cyrus in 401 marched eastwards against his brother, they must have become entirely independent of Persia.

πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται: cp. Her. v. 49. At the time of the Ionic revolt Aristagoras of Miletus sought help from the Spartans, similarly maintaining Ἴωνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ὀνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. It is true that in their three treaties with Persia concluded in 412 (Thuc. viii. 18, 37, 58) the Lacedaemonians had distinctly recognized the right of the Great King to rule over all Asiatic cities, but these treaties they had

de facto broken by supporting the revolt of Cyrus. According to Diodorus (xiv. 35) the Lacedaemonians immediately sent envoys to Tissaphernes, warning him μή ὄπλα πολέμια ἐπιφέρειν ταῖς Ἑλληνίσιν πόλεσι, and promised speedy aid. The satrap however at once attacked Cyme, and ravaged the surrounding country.

399-398 B.C.

§ 4. Θίβρων. Nothing is known of his previous career. Diodorus (xiv. 35-39) gives a very confused and erroneous account of the succeeding campaigns of Thibron and Dercylidas, evidently grouping together the events of 399-397 for purposes of convenience into the annals of two years. Thus he wrongly spreads the command of Thibron over two years 400, 399, whereas it appears from Xenophon (Anab. vii. 8. 24 as well as the Hellenica) that he came to Asia in the spring of 399, and was superseded by Dercylidas in the autumn of the same year. Then he compresses all the exploits of Dercylidas, who held the command until the arrival of Agesilaus in the spring of 396, into the single year 399, breaking off his narrative with the truce concluded between him and Tissaphernes (which really occurred in the summer of 397), and not again dealing with Asiatic affairs until the arrival of Agesilaus.

ἄρμοστήν: cp. Appendix, p. 348.

νεοδαμώδων: cp. i. 3. 15 note.

ἡγήσατο. The Athenians were now subject allies of Sparta, bound τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται: cp. ii. 2. 20.

αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. Though subject allies were in the ordinary course of things obliged to maintain their own contingents, Athens deprived after Aegospotami of all her external revenues was now in too destitute a condition to do so.

τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων. The Knights had taken a leading part in support of the Thirty (ii. 4. 2, 8) and the Ten (ibid. 24), and had finally assisted Pausanias in his attack upon the refugees at Athens (ibid. 31). Though they were together with the large majority of the oligarchs covered by the Amnesty of 401 B.C., yet according to Lysias (xvi. 6) they were afterwards excluded from further military service and compelled to give up their equipment. The partitive genitive is here used as object

without *τινᾶς* to expres the indefiniteness of the number : cp. ii. 3. 14 ; iv. 4. 13.

§ 5. *εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν* : Ephesus, according to Diod. (xiv. 36), who estimates these Asiatic troops at 2,000.

πᾶσαι . . . ἐπιτάττοι : cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9-12 where Xenophon remarks by way of comment on the power of Clearchus the harmost of Byzantium, in 400 B.C., *ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅ τι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι*.

ὁρῶν . . . τὸ ἵππικόν. Herwerden's conjecture is perhaps the best, *ὁρῶν . . . <πρὸς> τὸ ἵππικόν*, 'looking at his cavalry.' Dindorf interprets, 'seeing his own cavalry was weak,' which seems to be more than the words can well mean. There is a similar difficulty in iv. 4. 6 *ὁρῶντες τοὺς τυραννεύοντας*, where Campe reads *τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας τυραννεύοντας* : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360, for other conjectures.

εἰς τὸ πεδίον, the valley of the Maeander.

ἡγάπα . . . ἀδήωτον διαφυλάττειν. This language of Xenophon, who throughout (cp. §§ 7, 8 ; 2. 1, 6, 7 ; iv. 8. 18, 19, 22) seems to betray some animus against Thibron, for which there was probably ample justification, can hardly be made to square with the account of Diodorus xiv. 36. According to the latter, before the arrival of the Cyreian troops, Thibron took the unwalled city of Magnesia near Ephesus, besieged Tralles without success, returned to Magnesia, and put its inhabitants into a place of safety on Mount Thorax. Then he ravaged the country round, until on the approach of Tissaphernes with an overwhelming army he returned to Ephesus. Diodorus however omits all details of his exploits after the arrival of the Cyreians.

§ 6. *σωθέντες . . . συνέμειξαν αὐτῷ*. It appears from Anab. vii. 6. 1 ff. that Thibron had, immediately on his arrival in Asia, sent an invitation to the Cyreians, who were at the time in the service of the Thracian prince Seuthes, to join him in the war against Tissaphernes. They had gladly assented, and were to the number of some 5,000 or 6,000 led by Xenophon himself from Selymbria across to Lampsacus, through the Troad, and on to Pergamos in Mysia, where Thibron took over the command. Anab. vii. 8. 24.

Πέργαμον. This town had already been seized by the Cyreians : Anab. vii. 8. 8.

οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου: cp. Her. vi. 70. Being deprived of his kingship on the pretext of illegitimacy by Cleomenes, Demaratus retired to Persia, to the court of Darius Hystaspes, who ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε. Afterwards he accompanied Xerxes as adviser in his expedition against Greece. For similar gifts of land and cities cp. the instance of Themistocles, Thuc. i. 138.

ἐκ βασιλείως. For ἐκ instead of ὑπό or παρά cp. Anab. i. 1. 6 ἐκ βασιλείως δεδομέναι: the agent is regarded as the source of the gift.

Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος: cp. Anab. vii. 8. 8. Hellas, their mother, entertained Xenophon at Pergamos, and forced her son Gongylus to support him in an attack upon the Persian Asidates, which she herself had advised as likely to result in rich booty.

Γάμβριον, κ.τ.λ. These cities, except Palaegambrium, lay in southern Aeolis between the rivers Caicus and Hermus. Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia were also in Aeolis north of the Caicus.

Γογγύλῳ: cp. Thuc. i. 128; Nepos, Paus. 2. This Gongylus of Eretria had acted as the regent Pausanias' envoy in his treacherous correspondence with Xerxes. He must have been an ancestor, probably grandfather of the Gorgion and Gongylus just mentioned.

§ 7. ἦν δὲ ᾧς = τινάς: ἔστιν ᾧς is declined like a pronoun: cp. ii. 4. 6, &c.

Λάρισαν . . . τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν, north of the Hermus; so called because Cyrus the Great after conquering Croesus allowed the Egyptians, who had acquitted themselves bravely in the service of the Lydian king, to settle there: cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 45.

γε μὴν: this combination of particles is generally used to emphasize some additional point in the narrative. It occurs but twice in the first two books, ii. 3. 33, 42, but frequently in the later books: cp. Roquette, Vit. Xen. p. 54.

φρεατίαν . . . ὥρυττεν, 'having sunk a shaft he began to dig a mine.' ὑπόνομον is not an adjective in agreement with φρεατίαν, but a substantive as in Thuc. ii. 76: ὑπόνομον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὀρύξαντες. The aorist, τεμόμενος, of completed action, and the imperfect, ὥρυττεν, of continued action confirm this interpretation.

εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα, i. e. εἰς τὴν φρεατίαν.

χελώνην ξυλίνην, like the Roman testudo, is used to denote any kind of movable roof or shed used to protect men or siege engines: cp. Caesar, B. G. v. 43, 52; Vit. x. 21.

αὐτοῦ : genitive of the pronoun. Breitenbach (not. ad loc.) takes it as the adverb, making δοκοῦντος impersonal; but in the immediate context αὐτοῦ is twice used of Thibron, and there is no real difficulty in the accusative ἀπολιπόντα in the infinitival clause following πέμπουσιν, which is here used pregnantly for πέμπουσι καὶ κελεύουσι : cp. ii. 2. 7 ; iii. 2. 12 ; 4. 27.

ἐπὶ Καρίαν, where Tissaphernes' palace was situated : iii. 4. 12.

§ 8. Δερκυλίδας : in 411 B.C. the Spartans despatched him from Miletus to the Hellespont, where he induced Lampsacus and Abydos to revolt from Athens ; cp. Thuc. viii. 61, 62.

Σίσυφος, the Corinthian hero, noted for his cunning. Ephorus (ap. Athenaeum xi. 500) gives a different explanation of his nickname : Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ Θίβρωνος Δερκυλίδαν ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀκούοντες ὅτι πάντα πράττειν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν βάρβαροι μετὰ ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου. διόπερ Δερκυλίδαν ἔπεμψαν ἥκιστα νομίζοντες ἔξοπατηθῆσθαι· ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ λακωνικὸν οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ τὸ θηριώδες. διὸ καὶ Σκίθον αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσηγόρευον.

ἀρπάζειν . . . τοὺς φίλους. This is the only instance of ἀρπάζειν used with the accus. of the person : cp. ἀφαρπάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν, Anab. i. 2. 7 and ἄνδρας ληΐζεσθαι, Anab. vii. 3. 31.

§ 9. ὑπόπτους . . . ἀλλήλοις : for the rivalry between the two satraps cp. i. 1. 6 note. There was now an additional reason for jealousy, because Tissaphernes in return for his services to the King had been made κάρανος of Asia in the place of Cyrus : cp. iii. 1. 3 ; 2. 13.

ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, in the year 407, unless we suppose with Breitenbach that it was during Lysander's second command, 405, when he was secretary to the titular admiral Aracus, on the ground that Lysander was not in the Hellespont in 407, but first sailed thither in the year of Aegospotami. A similar punishment was invented by the regent Pausanias for his allies according to Plutarch (Arist. 23) : τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκόλαξε πληγαῖς ἢ σιδηρᾶν ἄγκυραν ἐπιτιθεῖς ἠνάγκαζεν εἰστάναι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. Moreover a Spartan officer never carried his shield himself except in battle ; his ὑπασπιστής carried it for him : cp. iv. 8. 39.

§ 10. τῆς Φαρναβάζου Λιολίδος, i.e. the northern portion of the district.

ἐσατράπευε, i.e. as under-satrap : cp. Tamus, Tissaphernes' under-satrap of Ionia (Thuc. viii. 31, 87), Tiribazus, Orontes' under-satrap of West Armenia (Anab. iv. 4. 4).

Δαρδανεύς, Δαρδανίς, of Dardanus on the Hellespont.

Ζήμιος : Ionic genitive, used even by Attic writers in the case of non-Attic names. So *Συεννέσιος*, Anab. i. 2. 12 ; *Ἀφύτιος*, Thuc. i. 64.

§ 12. *ἔγνω* with a following infinitive, 'determined that': cp. iv. 6. 9 : Goodwin, M. T. 915.

τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. Ramsay points out ('Church in the Roman Empire,' pp. 67, 161) that the honours and influence which belonged to women in Asia Minor are one of the most remarkable features in the history of the country : cp. Arrian, Anab. i. 23. 7 *νενομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν*.

§ 13. *παρέλαβε*, inherited as her husband's successor.

ἐπιθαλαττιδίας : the feminine form is also used, iv. 8. 1 : but in iii. 4. 28 it appears as an adjective of two terminations.

Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς : these three cities and all the cities mentioned in Mania's district §§ 15-17 were in the Troad. This Larisa is to be distinguished from the Egyptian Larisa of § 7.

ἔεικλῶ Ἑλληνικῶ : Greek mercenaries increased more and more in numbers after the Peloponnesian war, partly because the more general employment of slave labour ousted poor citizens from the lower kinds of work, partly because owing to internal dissensions there were numerous exiles from almost every city, and partly because war became more and more of an art, for which the citizen was never sufficiently trained, and which only the professional soldier could master : cp. Buckle, Hist. Civ. i. 205. In Asia the superiority of the Greek soldier was now universally acknowledged.

ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης : Polyænus (viii. 54) has extracted this story from the Hellenica.

Πισίδας, a tribe S.E. of the Phrygians and just to the N. of the Pamphylians ; consequently far distant from the frontiers of Pharnabazus' territory. The passage must therefore mean that Mania with her mercenaries accompanied the satrap, when he himself was called upon by the *κάρανος* of the district to supply his contingent for distant expeditions : cp. Anab. i. 1. 11 ; 9. 14 ; ii. 5. 13 ; iii. 2. 23 ; Mem. iii. 5. 26.

ὅτι . . . κακουροῦσιν : if these words be genuine (cp. Appendix, p. 360), the present tense must denote the state of continual depredations.

§ 15. Σκῆψιν, on the river Aesepus in the Troad. Ephor. fr. 122; Strabo p. 603.

Γέργιθα, on the river Granicus.

κατέσχευ, 'seized': aorist of complete and definite action.

ἀπεκρίνατο, implying a command, cp. *Cyrop.* v. 2. 24.

§ 16. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ: doubtless the disturbed state of the satrapy as well as his grudge against Pharnabazus induced Dercylidas to march into this district rather than into Caria.

Λάρισσαν κ.τ.λ.: cp. *Diod.* xiv. 38 Ἀμαξιτὸν . . . καὶ Κολωνὰς καὶ Ἀρίσσαν εἶλεν ἐξ ἐφόδου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἴλιον καὶ Κεβρηνίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἅς μὲν δόλῳ παρέλαβεν ἅς δὲ ἐκ βίας ἐχειρώσατο. Ilium and Neandria lay on the river Scamander: Cocylum is otherwise unknown.

δέχεσθαι, sc. αὐτόν.

§ 17. Κεβρήνι, also on the Scamander.

οὐκ ἐγίνετο, 'were not favourable': used of sacrifices repeatedly, iii. 5. 7; iv. 7. 2; 8. 36; v. 1. 33; 3. 14; 4. 37; vi. 5. 12, 49.

§ 18. οἱ ἔνδοθεν = οἱ ἔνδον by a kind of attraction due to the following ἐπεξελθόντες: cp. § 22 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, &c.; v. 3. 25 τῶν οἰκοθεν.

ἀθυμότεραν καί: see Critical Note. If the MSS. reading be retained, it must be explained by a transfer of the emotion of the agent to the action. Breitenbach, who keeps the MSS. reading, compares *Ages.* i. 35 τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγίνετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγησιλαίου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. Liebholt's emendation ἀθυμότερους κατὰ seems almost certain.

ὁ ἄρχων, i. e. ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων of § 17.

§ 19. λέγων: for the participle without the article or τις, used as an indefinite substantive cp. ii. 1. 8; vi. 5. 25, &c.

§ 20. ἐξῆλθε: *Polyaenus* (ii. 6) gives a slightly different version of the same story, apparently confusing the capture of Scepsis with that of Gergitha. Dercylidas, he says, enticed Meidias out ἐφ' ᾧ τε προελθόντα καὶ ὁμίλησαντα ταχὺ πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφεῖναι. Then having compelled him to open the gates on pain of death ἀφίημί σε, ἔφη, νῦν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· τοῦτο γὰρ ὥμοσα· καὶ γὰρ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως εἰσέρχομαι.

§ 21. βία τῶν πολιτῶν, 'against the will of the citizens': cp. *Anab.* vii. 8. 17 ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βία τῆς μητρὸς.

§ 22. ἔλεγεν: the imperfect, strictly taken, represents the point of view, not of the historian, but of the reporter of the speech. Classen in a note on Thuc. ii. 71 points out that that historian uses the aorist and imperfect indifferently to introduce speeches in *oratio recta*.

εἰς δύο, 'in double file': cp. vii. 4. 22.

οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. § 18 οἱ ἐνδοθεν. The preposition ἀπό is accounted for by the verb ἔβαλλον.

§ 23. ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι, 'in the van': cp. Latin 'acies.'

ὥς μισθοφορήσοντας, 'since for the future they would serve in his (Dercylidas') pay.'

οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινόν, because, being no longer tyrant, Meidias would have no more need of δορυφόροι to protect him.

§ 24. ξενίζεσθαι: ξένια and its derivatives imply both hospitality and the giving of presents. Dercylidas now, having sacrificed as master of the house, invites Meidias to partake of the sacrificial feast which was made from the flesh of the victim.

§ 26. τίνος: all subjects were regarded and regarded themselves as slaves of the King. So in iv. 1. 36 Agesilaus speaks of the ὁμοδούλους of the satrap Pharnabazus: cp. vi. 1. 12.

καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου: καί explanatory, equivalent to 'id est.'

§ 28. τῇ στρατιᾷ . . . ὀκτακισχιλίοις. Thibron brought (§ 4) 5,300 troops with him: he collected reinforcements in Asia estimated by Diodorus (xiv. 36) at 2,000, and was eventually joined by the Cyreians, who numbered more than 5,000 according to the same authority: cp. Anab. vii. 7. 23. This makes a total of some 12,300 men. As the army had sustained no losses of importance, the balance beyond 8,000 was probably employed on garrison duty in the various cities, which had submitted to Thibron and Dercylidas.

ἐν τῇ πατρῷᾳ οἰκίᾳ: thereby Dercylidas reduced Meidias once more to the position of a private citizen, as he had been before his marriage with Mania's daughter.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-5. In eight days Dercylidas had won over nine cities. To relieve his allies of maintaining his troops during the winter and of all danger from Pharnabazus, he made peace with the satrap and marched his troops into Bithynia, where he was joined by some reinforcements from Seuthes, king of

the Odrysae. The Bithynians surprised the camp of these Odrysae during their absence, and slew many of the Greek guards within it. §§ 6, 7. Dercylidas went to Lampsacus, where he received orders to hold his command for a second year and to enjoin his troops not to maltreat the allies. §§ 8-11. Learning too that the Greeks in the Thracian Chersonese had appealed to Sparta for help against the Thracians, he renewed his truce with Pharnabazus, crossed into the Chersonese, and built a wall across the isthmus. On his return to Asia he laid siege to Atarneus, which had been seized by some Chian exiles: after eight months he compelled them to surrender. Then he went on to Ephesus. §§ 12-14. In response to an Ionian embassy the Ephors sent orders that Dercylidas, supported by the admiral Pharax, should invade Caria. Pharnabazus joined Tissaphernes and the two proceeded into Caria, but so soon as they had garrisoned all the strong places, returned to Ionia, so that Dercylidas was obliged to turn back. §§ 15-20. On the plain of the Maeander Dercylidas found the Persian army drawn out to meet him. Tissaphernes was afraid to fight and proposed a conference; so the two armies separated without a battle. Next day the three generals met and concluded a truce, until they should have consulted their respective governments about the terms for a permanent peace. §§ 21-24. The Lacedaemonians, having long suffered many insults from the Eleans, demanded that they should allow their subject states to be autonomous: on their refusal to comply they declared war. Agis invaded Elis, but on the occurrence of an earthquake retired. §§ 25-27. The war was renewed: Agis led the allied army against the Eleans, and was joined by many of their subject states. Having sacrificed at Olympia without opposition he advanced, plundering and ravaging, as far as the suburbs of Elis. §§ 27-31. Thereupon a faction fight broke out, which ended in the expulsion of the oligarchs, who fled to the Lacedaemonians, now at Cyllene. Then Agis retired, leaving a garrison at Epitalium. Next year the Eleans submitted to the terms dictated by Sparta and entered her alliance.

§ 1. εἴη . . . κακουργῇ: the optative expresses the doubtful possibility of the one clause, the subjunctive the definite necessity, as it appeared to Dercylidas' mind, of the other. For ὅπως ἄν with opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ἐπιτετειχίσθαι: the technical meaning of ἐπιτεχισμός was a fortress (like Decelca) or fortified city (like Heraclea) established in an enemy's country: cp. Thuc. i. 122 and v. 1. 2; vii. 2. 1.

σπονδάς: according to Diodorus xiv. 38 ὀκταμηνιαίους ἀνοχάς. This is not necessarily inconsistent with § 9, where Dercylidas again asks Pharnabazus, as a preliminary to his intended expedition

to the Thracian Chersonese, *πότερα βούλοιτο σπονδὰς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος*. For if the truce were concluded in October, it would expire in June, which was the most favourable time for military operations; whereas Dercylidas reckoned on being absent in the Chersonese for the whole summer. Moreover we are not told in § 9 (which refers to the spring, April) that the truce had already expired. Still it is perhaps better to assume with Breitenbach that Diodorus, whose chronology at this point is wrong in other respects, has confused the duration of the two truces spoken of by Xenophon. On this assumption the first truce must have been made in November or December 399, and Dercylidas probably came back to Asia about the time of the expiration of the second, July or August, 398: cp. §§ 10, 11.

§ 2. *Βιθυνίδα Θράκην*: cp. i. 3. 2 note.

τὰ ἄλλα, 'in all other respects,' adverbial.

Σεύθου. The Cyreians had served under this prince in the winter 400-399, *Anab.* vii. 1. 5: cp. iii. 1. 6 note and iv. 8. 26.

πέραθεν: from the further side, i.e. the European shore of the Hellespont.

τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, partitive genitive as the object of *αἰτοῦντες*, to which *φύλακας* stands in apposition: cp. iii. 1. 4.

§ 3. *οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ*, the Bithynians; the second *οἱ δέ*, the Greek hoplites (*αὐτοῦς*).

ὡς ἀνδρομήκει: *ὡς* = 'about,' as with numerals, e.g. *παλτὸν ὡς ἑξάπηχυν*, *Anab.* vi. 4. 12.

§ 4. *οἱ δέ . . . ἐκθέοιεν*, i.e. *οἱ δὲ Βιθυνοὶ ἧ μὲν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκθέοιεν*.

πελτασταὶ ὀπλίτας: cp. iv. 5. 15, *ὀπλῖται ὄντες πελτασταίς*.

ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα: the article expresses the whole in round numbers.

ἐπεὶ εὐθέως = *ἐπεὶ τάχιστα*, 'as soon as.'

§ 5. *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*, 'in their honour.'

ἵπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες. Herodotus (v. 8) notes it as a burial custom of the Thracians *ἀγῶνα τιθεῖναι παντοῖον*: their drunkenness was notorious.

398-397 B.C.

§ 6. *τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν*, the Ephors: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

Ἄρακος: perhaps the same as the titular admiral under whom

Lysander served as secretary at the battle of Aegospotami, ii. 3. 7 : the other two envoys are otherwise unknown, unless this Antisthenes be the same as the Spartan commander mentioned by Thuc. viii. 39, 61.

τὰ ἄλλα, adverbial as in § 2.

ἐπιστεῖλαι : infin. depending on ἐροῦντες, 'to say that the Ephors had especially (σφίσιν αὐτοῖς) charged them to summon a meeting of the soldiers and to tell them.'

ὧν = τούτων ᾧ, causal genitive after μέμφονται : cp. Eur. Hec. 962 μέμφει τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπουσίας.

ἐποίουν : for the past indic. retained in *orat. obliq.* cp. Goodwin, M. T. 689.

§ 7. ὁ . . . προεστηκώς : probably Xenophon, since we know from the Anab. vii. 8. 23 that he had himself conducted the Cyreians to Thibron. Moreover it seems to have been his habit to suppress his own name : cp. iii. 1. 2 note ; 4. 20.

τότε δέ, sc. ἐξαμαρτεῖν.

§ 8. τὴν Χερρόνησον . . . ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν. In the middle of the sixth century the elder Miltiades had built a wall across the isthmus from Cardia to Pactya to protect his Athenian colonists and the Dolonci from the attacks of the Apsinthian Thracians : Her. vi. 36. Again about 453 Pericles strengthened the Greek community in the peninsula by the addition of 1,000 Athenian colonists and renewed the wall across the isthmus to guard against the continual incursions of the Thracians : Plut. Per. 19. Once more in 402-401 the Lacedaemonian Clearchus used the mercenary troops that he had collected with the money given him by Cyrus to punish these same troublesome Thracians : Anab. i. 1. 9 ; 3. 4 ; cp. ii. 6. 5.

ᾧσιν ἔφασαν, sc. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρακόν.

§ 9. ἐπ' Ἐφέσου. Grote's conj. ἐπί for the MSS. ἀπό is to be accepted because Dercylidas was now at Lampsacus, § 6.

σπονδὰς ἔχειν : cp. note § 1.

οὕτω, instead of the more usual οὕτω δέ, refers to the fact stated in the previous clause as the reason for Dercylidas' action : cp. iv. 4. 2.

τὰς περὶ ἐκείνον πόλεις φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει. Breitenbach retains the MSS. reading τὰς περὶ ἐκείνον φιλίας, κ.τ.λ., translating— 'leaving the cities of Pharnabazus' district friendly, he crosses in

peace.' For the expression τὰς περὶ ἐκείνον πόλεις he compares Diod. xiii. 52 τὰς περὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεις, to which Büchschütz adds Thuc. iv. 83 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν (Περδίκκαν) χωρίων. Cobet conjectures περὶ ἐκείνα. Dindorf and Keller bracket φιλίας: cp. Critical Note.

διὰ . . . Θράκης . . . εἰς Χερρόνησον. Hence it appears that Dercylidas must have sailed from Lampsacus to some place in Seuthes' dominions north of the Chersonese, and then marched SW. into the peninsula.

§ 10. ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα: according to Her. vi. 36 the distance was thirty-six stadia: cp. § 8 note.

ἐκτειχίσασι, sc. τὸ μέρος τοῦ τείχους.

πρὸ ὁπώρας, about July.

σπόριμον, sc. γῆν.

§ 11. Χίων φυγάδας. Diod. xiii. 36 relates that, when the Spartan Cratesippidas restored the oligarchical exiles (410 B.C., cp. i. 1. 32), they in their turn expelled their opponents to the number of 600, who thereupon seized upon Atarneus just opposite to Mytilene, and made sallies therefrom upon Chios.

ζῶντας ἀπὸ τούτου, i. e. living by the plunder.

Δράκοντα: Isocrates (iv. 144) rather inaccurately says, Δράκων Ἀταρνεά καταλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδῖον ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε.

ἐκπλεω, proleptic: cp. v. 1. 24 πλήρεις τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε.

397-396 B.C.

§ 12. ἐν εἰρήνῃ διηγόν, according to the understanding arrived at in the autumn of 399, iii. 1. 9.

ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων, which had sent to Sparta for aid in 400 B.C., iii. 1. 3.

διαβαίνειν, i. e. the river Maeander.

§ 13. Φαρνάβαζος. According to Diod. xiv. 39 this satrap had during the truce (§ 9) visited the King at Susa, had persuaded him to equip a naval expedition, of which Conon the Athenian was to be the admiral, had himself received 500 talents for that purpose, and had crossed over to Cyprus to make the offer to Conon, who was still an exile at the court of Evagoras: cp. iii. 4. 1 note.

στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων: cp. iii. 1. 3 note.

διαμαρτυρόμενος: the present is more vivid than the future; it

expresses an attendant circumstance as well as a purpose: cp. iii. 5. 4; vii. 4. 5 *βοηθῶν παρείη*.

Διολίδος: cp. § 1.

§ 14. *οὔτοι*: Dercylidas and his army.

ὥς προεληλυθόντων κ.τ.λ.: 'supposing that the enemy had advanced far into the country of Ephesus.'

μνημμάτων: lofty tombs, which served as good look-out posts: cp. vi. 2. 20. So *μνημεία*, § 15.

§ 15. *τινάς*: 'some of their men': the accusative after *ἀνταναβιβάζαντες*.

τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: cp. iii. 1. 13 note. Diodorus (xiv. 39) estimates the Persian army at 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and Dercylidas' army at 7,000.

ἐκάτερος: Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

§ 16. *εἰς ὀκτώ*: the ordinary depth of the phalanx in battle array.

κράσπεδα, apparently a poetical expression for *τὰ κέρατα*: cp. Eur. Supp. 661 *ὄχλον πρὸς κρασπέδοισι στρατοπέδου τεταγμένον*. Büchschütz suggests that possibly here it may bear its more usual sense, 'the foot of a hill or mountain.'

§ 17. *Πρίηνης . . . Ἀχιλλείου*. Both cities lay in the plain of the Maeander, iv. 8. 17. Herodotus (i. 142) reckons Priene among the Ionic cities, and there is no known reason why Xenophon should have distinguished it and Achilleum from *αἱ Ἴωνικαὶ πόλεις*.

βαθὺς ὁ σῆτος fixes the season of the year, c. June.

§ 18. *ἐξηγγέλλετο*: impersonal passive.

αὐτοῖς: Tissaphernes and his army.

τοὺς κρατίστους: Clearchus did the same in his interview with Tissaphernes, Anab. ii. 3. 3.

§ 19. *δόξαντα . . . περανθέντα*: accusative absolute: this construction used personally as here, without *ὥς* or *ὥσπερ*, is extremely rare, cp. Anab. iv. 1. 13 and Her. ii. 66 *ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει*: Goodwin, M. T. 854.

Τράλλεις, north of the Maeander: cp. iii. 1. 5.

Λεύκοφρυν, also in the plain of the Maeander, iv. 8. 17: its site has recently been discovered, cp. Athenæum, 1891.

ἦν: the imperf., because a present fact is here stated with reference to past circumstances: cp. ii. 1. 21.

πλέον: the adverb is used for the adjective.

§ 20. *εἶπαν ὅτι*. This form of the aorist, mostly preserved in B alone, occurs iii. 4. 4; 5. 24; vi. 1. 16; vii. 4. 4. *ὅτι* recalls the clause to be supplied from the preceding sentence *τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνποιήσαντο*: cp. i. 5. 6.

ἀρμοσταί. Hence it appears that, though by this time Lysander's Decarchies had been overthrown (iii. 4. 2, 7), the Spartans still maintained their empire over the Asiatic cities by harmosts and garrisons.

σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο. Xenophon has entirely omitted to say what were the results of these negotiations begun in the summer of 397, or what became of the Greek army. Diodorus (xiv. 39) only adds *οὔτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτω διέλυσαν τὰ στρατόπεδα*. Dercylidas himself is casually mentioned in iii. 4. 6 as one of Agesilaus' envoys in the negotiations with Tissaphernes in the truce concluded in the spring of 396, but from that time he disappears from history until in 394 he meets Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the victory at the Nemea, when the king was marching back from Asia in obedience to the summons of the Ephors.

ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη, i. e. to continue until, &c.; for this final use of *ἕως* cp. Goodwin, M. T. 614.

Δερκυλίδᾳ . . . Τισσαφέρνει. Datives of the Agent instead of *ὑπό* with the genitive.

§ 398-397 B.C.

§ 21. *Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων . . . κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον*. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. xlv.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι: A '*nominativus pendens*.' The construction is changed at *οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἦρκει*, and resumed again in a different form in § 23.

συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κ.τ.λ., in 420 B.C.; cp. Thuc. v. 47. For the motive cp. *ibid.* 31.

καταδικασθαι. This second charge, which Xenophon repeats almost in the words of Thucydides, is narrated by the latter historian, v. 49. The Eleans had condemned the Lacedaemonians to pay a fine of 2,000 minae for violating the Olympian truce, and on their refusal to pay had excluded them from the festival of Ol. 90 (420 B.C.). The insult to Lichas also occurred at the same festival. Thuc. v. 50; Paus. vi. 2. 2.

οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει: instead of οὐκ ἤρκει ταῦτα μόνον: for the order of the words cp. Cyrop. viii. 8. 16, 17.

§ 22. τούτων δ' ὕστερον. The date cannot be determined. Diod. xiv. 17 speaks of the insult as offered to Pausanias.

νόμιμον. The custom seems to have been honoured in the breach rather than in the observance. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Lacedaemonians sent to Delphi and ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται: Thuc. i. 118. Again in 388 or 387 Agesipolis indirectly asked the same question both at Olympia and Delphi: cp. iv. 7. 2.

Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ, 'war against Greeks': cp. iv. 8. 24 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ.

§ 23. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, cp. Appendix, p. 341.

τὰς περιουκίδας πόλεις. The Eleans had gradually made themselves masters of Pisatis and Triphyllia with the exception of Lepreum, and about 465 B.C. had been supported by the Lacedaemonians in suppressing a revolt among the subject towns; cp. Paus. iii. 8. 2; vi. 22. 2; Strab. viii. 355, 358. Now, however, that the Eleans had proved disaffected towards the Peloponnesian League, it was the Spartan interest to weaken them in all possible ways. The autonomy of all Greek States had been the Spartan watchword even before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Diodorus (xiv. 17) adds that the Lacedaemonians also demanded from the Eleans their quota of the expenses of the war against Athens, and that the Eleans in return charged the Lacedaemonians ὅτι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταδουλοῦνται.

φρουρὰν ἔφηναν: a Lacedaemonian phrase, which first appears in Xenophon. It means 'to call out the ban,' φρουρά, like the German *Bann*, denoting a body of men destined for military service. Generally it is used of a declaration of war by the Ephors or the Spartan state; but in iv. 7. 1 it is used of king Agesilaus alone, and kings Pausanias and Agesipolis are both said ἐξάγειν φρουράν ii. 4. 29; v. 2. 3: cp. Appendix, p. 342.

Ἄγης: Diodorus (xiv. 17, 34) gives the name of Pausanias instead of Agis and compresses the events of three years into two. His version is in many respects quite inconsistent.

Λάρισον, a river forming the boundary between Achaea and Elis: Paus. vii. 17. 5.

§ 24. ἐκ τῆς χώρας. According to Pausanias (iii. 8. 3) Agis in this year's campaign twice penetrated to Olympia and the Alpheus.

δυσμενεῖς. This growing hostility towards Sparta, which culminated in the outbreak of the Corinthian war, is noteworthy. Still only the Boeotians and Corinthians dared to refuse the usual contingents required of them.

§ 25. περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, better περιούντι. Classen (in a note on Thuc. i. 30 περιούντι τῷ θέρει) has shown that the phrase can only mean 'when the year was drawing to a close,' i.e. about February or March, since Xenophon like Thucydides begins his year about our April: cp. Introd. pp. xxxvi, xlv.

καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: cp. iii. 1. 4.

Αἰλῶνος: on the river Neda in the borderland between Elis and Messenia.

Μακίστιοι . . . Μαργανεῖς. The two first-mentioned towns were in Triphyllia to the S. of the Alpheus; the three last towns in Pisatis to the N. of that river.

ἐχόμενοι, 'next neighbours.'

τὸν ποταμόν: the Alpheus.

§ 26. τὸ ἄστν, i.e. Elis: so too τὴν πόλιν in the next section.

ἐπισιτισμός. Not only was Elis the most fertile part of the Peloponnesus, but it had suffered from no invasion since 420 B. C. (Thuc. v. 49) and then the invaders had penetrated no further than Lepreum.

§ 27. περὶ Κυλλήνην: the seaport of Elis.

βουλόμενοι . . . δι' αὐτῶν† προσχωρῆσαι. The words as they stand in the text seem untranslatable; but if, with Schäfer, δι' αὐτῶν be altered into δι' αὐτῶν, they may perhaps be translated 'wishing by themselves alone (i.e. without the participation of the opposite faction) to go over to the Lacedaemonians': cp. Polyb. iii. 80 σπουδάζων δι' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὸ προτέρημα καὶ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ τὴν ἴσιν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, and Critical Note.

οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν. Pausanias (iii. 8. 4) tells the story as follows: Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος Ἀγιδί τε ἰδία ξένος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος ἐπανεστή τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι· πρὶν δὲ Ἀγιν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφίχθαι σφισιν ἀμύνοντας, Θρασυδαῖος προεστηγὼς τότε τοῦ Ἡλείων δήμου μάχῃ Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

τὸν λεγόμενον, 'who proverbially was said.'

ἐξ οἰκίας: whose house it was, Xenophon leaves indeterminate.

τῷ τοῦ δίμου προστάτῃ, cp. i. 7. 2 note.

§ 28. περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία . . . ὁ ἡγεμών. On account of the lameness of the comparison many commentators have supposed there to be some corruption in the text. Schwabe suggested περιεκλήσθη (or περιεκλείσθη), excising ἡ οἰκία, but this hardly seems to be any improvement.

§ 29. αὖ . . . πάλιν: the former belongs to ἀπιών, the latter to διέβη. διήκεν: 1st aor. from διήμι.

397-396 B.C.

§ 30. Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον, in apposition to τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις: the other three towns next mentioned were in the Pisatis.

Ἀκρωρείους: the inhabitants of the district east of Elis, which included Lasion.

μεταξύ governs the genitives Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου: for its position cp. iii. 5. 3 τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς.

Ἡραίας, an Arcadian town on the upper Alpheus.

§ 31. οὐκ ἀρχαίον, cp. Paus. v. 9. 4; vi. 22. 2; Her. ii. 160. The Olympic games were under the care of the Pisatans until Ol. 50 (580 B.C.), when the Eleans were given the management of them. Since their συνοικισμός in 471 (Diod. xi. 54) the Eleans had formed a city state and the Pisatans were in comparison only χωρίται, though they never forgot their old claims to the administration of the festival; cp. vii. 4. 28.

συμμαχία. Pursuing the same policy, which had already proved successful against Athens and which some ten years later was adopted with equal success against Thebes, Sparta had thereby isolated Elis from all her neighbouring towns and reduced her to the position of a subject ally.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-3. *On the death of Agis his reputed son Leotychides and his brother Agesilaus disputed the succession. Through the influence of Lysander the state decided in favour of Agesilaus.* §§ 4-7. *While Agesilaus was*

sacrificing, the seer warned him against a plot; five days later the Ephors were informed of a wide-spread conspiracy among the subject population, headed by Cinadon. §§ 8-11. The Ephors feared to arrest Cinadon openly, and sent him on a pretended mission to Aulon. On the road he was arrested and forced to disclose the names of his fellow-conspirators. He was brought to Sparta, where he and the ringleaders were put to death.

§ 1. ἀποθύσας: ἀπό in composition sometimes as here signifies the obligation to do the action expressed by the verb; cp. Anab. i. 1. 8 ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ.

Ἑραία: cp. iii. 2. 30.

σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 9 αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμῆκασιν: Her. vi. 58, 59 describes these honours at length.

αἱ ἡμέραι: according to Her. l. c. 10 days.

υἱὸς φάσκων Ἀγίδος εἶναι. Plutarch (Alc. 23; Ages. 3) relates that Leotychides was a son of Alcibiades by Timaea, Agis' wife. Thucydides however (viii. 12, 45) does not allude to the story. Pausanias (iii. 8. 4) says that Agis on his death-bed acknowledged Leotychides as his son, but Plutarch (Ages. 3; Lys. 22) adds that he only did so in response to the tearful prayers of Leotychides and his friends.

ἀδελφός. Agesilaus was half-brother of Agis, being a son of Archidamus by his second wife, Eupolia: cp. Plut. Ages. 1.

§ 2. κα, Doric for ἄν: similarly ὥς for οὕτως.

ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. This is Agesilaus' rejoinder.

τύ, Doric for σύ: so also Ποτειδάν for Ποσειδῶν, σευ for σου, ψευδομένω for ψευδομένου. In all other passages, where Xenophon reports conversations in Doric, as indeed in Ionic or Aeolic, except in iv. 4. 10, he adheres to the Attic forms.

ὥς . . . ψευδομένω. For the genitive absolute with ὥς cp. iii. 5. 8 ἃ μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὥς ψηφισαμένων, and v. 1. 25 διασπείρας λόγον ὥς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων.

λεγόμενος: cp. iii. 2. 27 note.

ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 3. Διοπίειθς: Plutarch gives the oracle (Ages. 3; Lys. 22):

φράξο δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μέγαν λαόν ἐούσα,
μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάβστη χολὴ βασιλεία'

δηρὸν γὰρ νοῦσοί σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι
φθισιβρότου τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέμοιο.

Agesilaus was lame in one foot.

Λύσανδρος. Now that Agis was dead and Pausanias more or less in disgrace (for he had only escaped condemnation for his conduct of the war against Athens in 403 through the votes of the judges being equal, Paus. iii. 5. 3), Lysander, whose commanding influence had been checked by the opposition of these two kings, saw a chance of coming once more to the front, if only he could procure the throne for his own nominee: for it was in this light he regarded Agesilaus, whose ἐραστής he had formerly been according to the Spartan custom, Plut. Lys. 22.

χωλεύσαι: see Critical Note.

ὦν τοῦ γένους, i. e. of the royal family: cp. iv. 2. 9.

οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους. For the descent of the Spartan kings cp. Her. vi. 52; vii. 204; viii. 131.

396-395 B.C.

§ 4. θύοντος αὐτοῦ: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 2 ἔθηκε (ὁ Λυκούργος) θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια, ὡς ἀπὸ (τοῦ) θεοῦ ὄντα.

§ 5. τῶν ὁμοίων, the citizens in full enjoyment of their political rights, opposed to the ὑπομείονες: cp. § 6, and Appendix, p. 335.

κελεύοι: the pres. opt. in *oratio obliqua* represents the imperf. in *oratio recta*: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

Σπαρτιῶται: in the sense of full Spartan citizens: cp. Appendix, p. 335.

ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις: 'in the country,' opposed to ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ and ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς.

ἐν ἐκάστῳ [sc. τῷ χωρίῳ]: 'on each estate.'

§ 6. αὐτοί, i. e. οἱ προστατεύοντες.

ἔφασαν. If ἔφασαν be retained in the text, it may perhaps be explained, notwithstanding the change in mood, as dependent upon ὡς like συνειδέειν. This construction however is extremely harsh; and it is almost as easy to suppose that Xenophon for the sake of vividness has put the traitor's words into *oratio recta*. If on the other hand ἔφασαν be rejected, it seems necessary to alter αὐτοί into αὐτούς. Ἐφασαν at the beginning of § 7 is nearly as difficult.

ἐλῶσι . . . περιοίκοις : cp. Appendix, p. 335. The ὑπομείονες are only mentioned in this passage.

μὴ οὐχ : the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance in κρύπτειν : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 811.

ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν. Proverbial. Hom. Il. iv. 34 :

εἰ δὲ σύ γ' εἰσελθοῦσα πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ

ὠμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον.

cp. Anab. iv. 8. 14 τούτους, ἦν πως δυνάμεθα, καὶ ὠμούς δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

§ 7. ἔφασαν : the indicative is apparently used as more expressive than the regular optative.

τὸν δέ, i. e. ἔφη ὁ εἰσαγγέλίας τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰπεῖν. The particle δέ is frequently used to introduce the consequent : cp. iv. 1. 33 εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γιγνώσκω . . . ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με ; Plat. Symp. 220 b καὶ ποτε ὄντος πάγου . . . οὗτος δ' ἐν τούτοις ἐξήει. Madvig supposes that some words have slipped out of the text, like αὐτὸς ἔφη τοῦτο ἔρεσθαι : cp. Critical Note.

οἱ . . . συντεταγμένοι, seems to mean the definitely organized conspirators, and not, as Büchschütz takes it, those enrolled for the Spartan military service : cp. vi. 4. 11 ; 5. 29.

[ἔφασάν γε], seems inexplicable : cp. Critical Note.

τῷ δ' ὄχλῳ : dative of the possessor : in the following words Xenophon has suddenly changed the construction for the sake of greater vividness.

εἰς τὸν σίδηρον, i. e. to the place where articles of iron were kept : cp. Pollux, x. 19 οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὰ χωρία ὠνόμαζον, λέγοντες εἰς τοῦψον καὶ εἰς τὰ μύρα καὶ εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

ὄπλα . . . ἀρκοῦντα : proleptic, 'implements which would serve as weapons.'

ἐπιδημεῖν, 'to stay in the city,' so as to be ready for action.

§ 8. ἐσκεμμένα . . . λέγειν : 'that he was describing a fully elaborated scheme.'

μικρὰν . . . ἐκκλησίαν : cp. Appendix, p. 341.

συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων : συλλεγόμενοι must be taken as middle, with the partitive genitive without τινάς (cp. iii. 1. 4) for its object. Trans. : 'the Ephors summoning to themselves some of the Senators.'

Αὐλῶνα : the district in the NW. of Messenia.

σκυτάλη : cp. Plut. Lys. 19 ἔστι δὲ ἡ σκυτάλη τοιοῦτον. ἐπὶ ἄν ἐκπέμπωσι ναύαρχον ἢ στρατηγὸν οἱ ἔφοροι, ξύλα δύο στρογγύλα μῆκος καὶ πάχος ἀκριβῶς ἀπισώσαντες, ὥστε ταῖς τομαῖς ἐφαρμόζειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, τὸ μὲν αὐτοὶ φυλάττουσι, θάτερον δὲ τῷ πεμπομένῳ διδόασιν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ξύλα σκυτάλας καλοῦσιν. ὅταν οὖν ἀπόρρητόν τι καὶ μέγα φράσαι βουληθῶσι, βιβλίον ὥσπερ ἱμάντα μακρὸν καὶ στενὸν ποιοῦντες περιελίττουσι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σκυτάλην, οὐδὲν διαλείμμα ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν κύκλῳ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτῆς τῷ βιβλίῳ καταλαμβάνοντες. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἂ βούλονται καταγράφουσιν εἰς τὸ βιβλίον ὥσπερ ἔστι τῇ σκυτάλῃ περιεκείμενον· ὅταν δὲ γράψωσιν, ἀφελόντες τὸ βιβλίον ἄνευ τοῦ ξύλου πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλουσι. δεξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναλέξασθαι δύναται τῶν γραμμάτων συναφὴν οὐκ ἔχοντων, ἀλλὰ διεσπασμένων, τὴν δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ σκυτάλην λαβὼν τὸ τμήμα τοῦ βιβλίου περὶ αὐτὴν περιέτεινεν, ὥστε τῆς ἑλικὸς εἰς τάξιν ὁμοίως ἀποκαθισταμένης ἐπιβάλλοντα τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ δεύτερα κύκλῳ τὴν ὅψιν ἐπάγειν τὸ συνεχὲς ἀνευρίσκουσιν. καλεῖται δὲ ὁμωνύμως τῷ ξύλῳ σκυτάλη τὸ βιβλίον, ὡς τῷ μετροῦντι τὸ μετρούμενον.

§ 9. ὑπηρετῇκε δὲ . . . τοιαῦτα : for a description of the Spartan κρυπτεία cp. Plut. Lyc. 28.

ἐρομένου : for gen. abs. without a subject cp. ii. 4. 1.

ἱππαγρετῶν : cp. Appendix, p. 347.

αὐτοῖς, i. e. the Ephors.

ὅπως . . . εἰδείη : for the pres. opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 339.

§ 10. τὸ μέγεθος : accus. of respect : οὐκ ᾔδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ μέγεθος εἶη : cp. Plat. Rep. iv. 423 b ὅσην δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τὴν πόλιν ποιέσθαι.

πρῶτον . . . πρὶν like πρότερον . . . πρὶν.

ἀποπέμπειν : the object τὰ γεγραμμένα ὀνόματα is to be supplied from γράψαντες.

οὕτω ἔσχον . . . πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, 'were so concerned about the matter'; cp. Plat. Prot. 352 b πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐπιστήμην;

τοῖς ἐπ' Αὐλῶνος, i. e. τοῖς τῶν νέων ἐπ' Αὐλῶνος πεμπομένοις.

§ 11. ἀπέγραψε : the legal term for dictating what another man writes down.

Τισαμενόν. Is he to be identified with the soothsayer of § 4?

εἶναι : dependent upon βουλόμενος.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-4. *News coming of a large fleet being fitted out in Phoenicia, Agesilaus, instigated by Lysander, offered to lead an expedition into Asia. The Spartans and their allies consented. Like Agamemnon, he went to offer sacrifice at Aulis, but was prevented by the Boeotarchs. He met his forces at Gerastus and sailed to Ephesus.* §§ 5, 6. *Agesilaus demanded the autonomy of the Asiatic Greeks. Tissaphernes induced him to consent to a truce, while he consulted the Persian king: really however the satrap only asked for reinforcements.* §§ 7-10. *The Asiatic Greeks paid court to Lysander rather than to Agesilaus. The king in revenge thwarted all their wishes. Thereon Lysander persuaded him to send him to the Hellespont, where he induced the Persian Spithridates to revolt.* §§ 11-15. *Tissaphernes declared war upon Agesilaus, who at once summoned his contingents to Ephesus. The satrap moved his infantry into Caria, but posted his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus however marched northwards into Phrygia, gathering rich booty. His cavalry were defeated in a skirmish near Dascyleum. On his return to the sea he took speedy means to improve this arm of his forces.* §§ 16-19. *In the spring Agesilaus mustered his troops at Ephesus, and drilled them by military exercises and games.* §§ 20-24. *Agesilaus appointed four of the new Spartan commissioners to various commands. Tissaphernes posted his troops as before. This year however the king really marched upon Sardis. At the Pactolus he was met by the Persian cavalry: but he easily defeated them, and captured their camp full of booty.* §§ 25, 26. *Tissaphernes, being suspected of treachery, was beheaded by Tithraustes, who had been sent to supersede him. The new satrap offered autonomy to the Greek cities, provided that they paid the usual tribute, and induced Agesilaus to move into Pharnabazus' territory, until he had consulted the Spartan government as to the offer.* §§ 27-29. *Agesilaus, being entrusted with the command of the navy, appointed Pisander admiral and collected a new fleet of 120 ships.*

§ 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: cp. Ages. 1. 6 ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐξηγγέλη βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζων, and Plut. Ages. 6 τοῦ δὲ Ἀγεσιλάου τὴν βασιλείαν νεωστὶ παρειληφότος ἀπήγγελλον τινες with iii. 3. 4.

τρίηρεις Φοινίσσας. Isocrates (ix. 55) represents Conon the exiled Athenian general and his friend Evagoras the tyrant of Salamis as persuading the Persian satraps, who had fared so badly in their recent campaigns against the Lacedaemonians, μὴ κατὰ γῆν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, alleging that εἰ κατὰ θάλατταν κρατήσειαν, ἀπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς νίκης ταύτης μεθέξειν. Similarly Plut. Ages. 6 says that the object of the expedition was

Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς θαλάσσης. Pausanias (i. 3. 1) adds that it was by Evagoras' personal influence with Artaxerxes, that Conon was appointed admiral of the fleet: cp. iv. 3. 11. Diodorus (xiv. 39) tells the story somewhat differently: according to him, Pharnabazus just before his joint campaign with Tissaphernes (i. e. in 397: iii. 2. 12-20) went up to Artaxerxes and persuaded him to equip a fleet and appoint Conon its admiral: thereupon the satrap sailed to Cyprus, ordered the native princes to equip 100 vessels, and offered Conon the command. Conon accepted, and so soon as 40 ships were ready, crossed over to Cilicia, there to complete his preparations. Diodorus erroneously records these events under 399 B.C., though he does not resume them again till 396 (xiv. 79) without accounting at all for the interval: cp. § 28 note.

ἀναγόμενον: for the position of the participle cp. iv. 3. 2 αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας; v. 2. 4 τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως, &c.

ὥς . . . παρασκευαζομένων: for the participial construction in the genitive cp. iv. 3. 14; 5. 8; vii. 2. 5.

Τισσαφέρους: Herodas naturally reported the name of Tissaphernes rather than of Pharnabazus, because the former was commander-in-chief of the whole country. Cor. Nepos (Con. 2) gives an extraordinarily garbled version of the story.

§ 2. τὸ . . . ἀναβάν: cp. iii. 1. 1, 2.

πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. According to Plutarch (Ages. 23) Lysander urged his friends in Asia to send an embassy to Sparta to ask for Agesilaus' appointment.

τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. In 429 B.C. the Spartans sent three σύμβουλοι to attend their unsuccessful admiral Cnemus, Thuc. ii. 85. Again in 418 after Agis' ill success against Argos νόμον ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὃς οὐπω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς· δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ξυμβούλους, ἅνευ ὧν μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Thuc. v. 63. The thirty Spartiatae sent out with Agesilaus were in the following year succeeded by a second thirty despatched by the home government, cp. § 20 and Appendix, p. 337.

τὰς δεκαρχίας . . . διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους: cp. iii. 2. 20 note. After the capture of Athens the two kings Agis and Pausanias had successfully combined to crush the influence of Lysander; but no definite measures are known, whereby the Ephors displaced the

Decarchies, which he had set up in the Asiatic cities: ii. 2. 5; 3. 7; iii. 5. 13. Plutarch (Ages. 6) simply says of them—*κακῶς χρώμενοι καὶ βιαίως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον*. The reference in § 7 throws no further light on the matter.

πατρίους πολιτείας, i.e. as they existed before the Athenian Empire: cp. § 7.

§ 3. *ἐξαμήνου*, sc. *χρόνου*.

τὰ διαβατήρια. Xenophon describes these sacrifices Resp. Lac. 13. 2. First at Sparta the king sacrificed to Zeus Agator; then again at the frontiers he sacrificed to Zeus and Athena.

ταῖς πόλεσι. Pausanias (iii. 9. 1-3) states that Thebes, Corinth, and Athens under various pretences refused to send contingents: cp. iii. 5. 5 *οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστράτευον* (sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι).

ὅπου παρῆναι, i.e. Gerastus (§ 4) in the southern point of Euboea.

θῦσαι ἐν Αἰλίδι. Plutarch (Ages. 6; Pel. 21) tells the story with many embellishments, which were unknown even to Pausanias (iii. 9. 1, 2).

§ 4. *βοιωτάρχοι*, the presiding magistrates of the Boeotian League, who were elected annually: cp. v. 2. 25 note; Thuc. iv. 91; Appendix, p. 357.

ὅσον . . . πλείστον: for *ὅσον* with the superlative and *δύναμαι* cp. ii. 2. 9 *ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους*.

§ 5. *ἐκέισε ἀφίκετο*: cp. Cor. Nep. Ages. 2 *tanta celeritate usus est ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit quam regii satrapae eum scirent profectum*.

εἶναι dependent on *δεόμενος*.

§ 6. *Δερκυλίδας*. The presence of Dercylidas at Ephesus makes it probable that his army had been incorporated with that of Agesilaus: cp. iii. 2. 20 note.

ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδὰς: cp. Ages. 1. 10 *σπονδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὁρυσάμενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας*: Polyae. ii. 1. 9.

§ 7. *συντεταραγμένων . . . τῶν πολιτειῶν*: cp. Ages. 1. 37 *παραλαβὼν πάσας πόλεις ἐφ' ἃς ἄρξων ἐξέπλευσε στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθῆναι, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔληξαν, ἐποίησεν ὥστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν ὁμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι*: cp. iii. 2. 20; 4. 2 notes.

§ 8. *ἔμηνε*, transitive in a causal sense. It is never used except here in the meaning 'to madden with anger' (cp. Eur. I. A. 580;

Ion 520; Aristoph. Thesm. 561), though frequently so used in the passive: cp. Anab. ii. 5. 10 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν. By the poets (cp. Eur. &c. &c.) this aorist is used in the simple sense 'to drive mad': cp. Critical Note.

ἐδήλωσεν, sc. ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

οἱ . . . ἄλλοι τριάκοντα: Lysander was one of the thirty.

ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου: the article is used because the cause of the φθόνος has already been sufficiently explained.

τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων, i.e. behaving himself more pompously than would beseem even the king: cp. Mem. ii. 1. 22 ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν (τὴν γυναῖκα) τῆς φύσεως εἶναι.

ἡττωμένους, i.e. 'disappointed': cp. infr. ἔλαττον ἔξοιεν.

§ 9. τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ: for the dative cp. v. 1. 29 χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. Similarly with ἐπὶ and the dative vii. 4. 21 χαλεπῶς . . . φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. The more usual construction is with the accusative. According to Plut. Lys. 23 Agesilaus made Lysander his κρεοδαίτης.

μὲν ἄρα intensive, without a corresponding δέ: cp. Anab. vii. 6. 11 ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἄνθρωπον ὄντα προσδοκᾷ δέ.

τοὺς αὖξοντας, sc. ἐμέ. Breitenbach wishes to emphasize the difference between ποιεῖν and πράττειν, translating, 'You are behaving towards me more reasonably than I acted (i.e. when I helped you to the throne).' But Büchschütz is probably right in thinking that the two words are used almost indifferently, adducing as parallels Mem. i. 2. 29 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς πονηρὸν ποιῶν ἐκείνους φαῦλα πράττοντας ὁρῶν ἐπῆναι, δικαίως ἂν ἐπετιμᾶτο and Dem. iv. 5 οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νυνὶ πεποίηκε ἔπραξεν. Plutarch seems to have read λέγεις instead of ποιεῖς, Lys. 23 Ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, σοὶ λέλεκται κάλλιον ἢ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται, and Ages. 8 Ἀλλ' ἴσως, ἔφη, ταῦτά σοι λέλεκται βέλτιον ἢ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται.

ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ, 'still at any rate.'

ἐν καιρῷ σοι εἶναι: Plut. Ages. 8 ἔσομαί σοι χρήσιμος.

§ 10. Σπιθριδάτην: cp. Anab. vi. 5. 7. Spithridates helped Pharnabazus in trying to hinder the ravages of the Ten Thousand upon the Bithynians.

ἐλαττούμενόν τι: cp. Ages. 3. 3 Σπιθριδάτης μὲν γε ὁ Πέρσης εἰδὼς ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλέως ἔπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε.

ἀναβιβασάμενος, perhaps 'having put Spithridates and his son on board ship.' The force of the middle voice is by no means clear: cp. Thuc. vii. 33, 35. Agesilaus was at Ephesus.

§ 11. καταβάντι: for the position of the participle cp. § 1 note.

οἱ ἄλλοι: for this idiomatic use of ἄλλοι cp. ii. 4. 9.

ἀγοράν. The Greek soldier usually provisioned himself at his own cost, but it was the duty of his general to take care that provisions should be forthcoming at the various halting places on the march.

§ 12. νομίσας . . . νομίζων: cp. iv. 8. 25: the aorist denotes a more definite belief than the present participle.

τάναντία, adverbial: cp. Anab. iv. 3. 32 τάναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον.

τάς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ. Most editors here insert from Ages. I. i. 16 ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγεν καὶ τάς: cp. Critical Note. Cp. § 11, whence it appears that these δυνάμεις must have been mostly the Aeolian and Hellespontine contingents.

§ 13. Δασκυλείου: SE. of Cyzicus, on the river Odryses, where stood the residence of Pharnabazus, iv. 1. 15.

προϊόντος αὐτοῦ. Most editors have accepted Leonclavius' correction of προϊόντος into προϊόντες and Koppen's correction of αὐτοῦ into αὐτῷ, comparing v. 4. 59 προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταί, and vii. 2. 22. αὐτῷ is to be taken as a kind of ethical dative: cp. Critical Note.

Ῥαθίνην, mentioned along with Spithridates as one of Pharnabazus' officers, Anab. vi. 5. 7.

τοὺς πρώτους, i. e. the front not broader than twelve men.

πλέον = εἰς πλέον: cp. vi. 4. 12, the same words; Oecon. 21. 3 πλεῖον ἢ ἐν διπλασίῳ χρόνῳ.

§ 14. κραεῖνα παλτά: for the superiority of these weapons cp. De Re Equest. 12. 12 ἀντί γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν ἐστι, τὰ κραεῖνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν.

§ 15. ἄλοβα. The absence of one of the lobes in the liver of the victim was regarded as a most unfavourable sign: cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 360, 646.

ἐπὶ θάλατταν: Diod. xiv. 79 ὑπὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς Ἐφεσον; Xen. Ages. 1. 18 dilates upon the richness of the booty.

ὥς . . . δέοι: for this exceptional use of ὥς cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ἱπποτροφεῖν: epexegetical infinitive.

κατέλεξε, 'drew up a list of.'

ἐποίησεν, κ.τ.λ., 'thus caused these preparations to be made as zealously as if they were eagerly seeking substitutes to die for them.'

395-394 B.C.

§ 16. ὑπέφαινε. Xenophon uses both the active and the middle in this intransitive sense: cp. v. 3. 1.

σωμάτων: for the genitive dependent upon ἔχοι constructed with an adverb cp. ii. 1. 14 ἀναμνήσας ὥς εἶχε φίλις πρὸς, κ.τ.λ., iv. 5. 15 διώξαντες ὥς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχεν: it specifies the object of the relation expressed by ἔχειν and the adverb.

§ 17. ὥστε τὴν πόλιν κ.τ.λ., 'so that one might really have thought that the whole city was turned into an arsenal.' This passage is alluded to by Polybius x. 20. 7.

§ 18. ὅπου . . . σέβονται. Although there is no historic tense in the principal clause, the optative is used instead of the more usual subjunctive with ἄν, as v. 2. 16 after ὅπως: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

§ 19. μαλακούς: Ages. 1. 28 πίονας.

§ 20. διάδοχοι: cp. § 2 note. Herippidas seems also to have been one of the thirty both for the preceding year 396, and for the next year, 394 (iii. 4. 6; iv. 2. 8), unless indeed he accompanied Agesilaus during the first and third years only in a private capacity.

ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους: Herippidas seems to have succeeded Xenophon himself in their command, cp. iii. 2. 7. Xenophon however remained in attendance upon Agesilaus and accompanied him on his return march at least as far as Coronea: Anab. v. 3. 6; Plut. Ages. 18.

τὴν συντομωτάτην, sc. ὁδόν.

ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα: i. e. Lydia, cp. § 21; Plut. Ages. 10. For the neuter adjective as substantive cp. Anab. i. 8. 4 τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος.

αὐτόθεν: 'at once': temporal, as ii. 2. 13.

§ 21. πάλιν: cp. § 11.

εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον: Diod. xiv. 80 represents Agesilaus as marching εἰς τὸ Καῦστρου πεδῖον καὶ τὴν περὶ Σίπυλον χώραν and ravaging the country as far as Sardis; then as turning back and engaging Tissaphernes' whole army, infantry as well as cavalry, ἀνὰ μέσον . . . τῶν τε Σάρδεων καὶ Θυβάρνων. It is however manifest from Xenophon's narrative that the Persian infantry were far away

in Caria. Plutarch follows Xenophon, Pausanias (iii. 9. 3) is more like Diodorus.

§ 22. *εἶπε*: most editors insert *ὁ ἡγεμών* from Ages. i. 36, as evidently the commander of the Persian cavalry (not Tissaphernes, cp. § 25) must be meant.

ἐσπαρμένους: instead of *διεσπαρμένους*: so iv. i. 17; vi. 2. 17: cp. Critical Note.

§ 23. *τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα*, i.e. the army as a whole: the following clauses state the orders given to its several sections. Then *παρήγγειλε δὲ καί*, which should have come first, is put in as an afterthought; for it is evident from the following *τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι* that the Greek cavalry charged in advance of their main army.

§ 24. *ἔπεσον . . . ἔφευγον*. The river separated the Persians from their camp. The aorist means that in the rout some of them fell into the river and were slain; the imperfect, that the rest made their way through the river and continued their flight.

According to Diod. xiv. 80 Agesilaus' victory was mainly due to a successful ambush.

κύκλῳ πάντα, κ.τ.λ., 'formed a cordon round all that was in the camp, whether belonging to friend or foe.'

ἄ, subject to *ἤνρε*, 'fetched,' 'produced': cp. Oecon. 2. 3 *πόσον ἂν οἷε εὐρεῖν τὰ σὰ κτήματα πωλούμενα*; for these spoils *ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν* cp. iv. 3. 21 and Ages. i. 34.

καὶ . . . δέ after *τε*, as ii. 4. 6.

αἱ κάμηλοι: not afterwards mentioned.

§ 25. *Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν*. This statement of an eyewitness is doubtless to be preferred: but both Diodorus (l.c.) and Plutarch represent Tissaphernes as commanding his cavalry in person at the first successful skirmish, and the former definitely states that after this defeat—*ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης Τισσαφέρνης . . . εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεχώρησε*.

γνούς, in the sense of 'being of opinion,' 'judging,' is here as in ii. 3. 25 constructed with an infinitive.

κακῶς φέρεσθαι, κ.τ.λ., 'of his affairs being in evil plight': cp. Oecon. 5. 17 *εἰ φερομένης τῆς γεωργίας ἔρρωνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἀπασαι*. According to Diod. l.c. Artaxerxes was also incited to punish Tissaphernes by his mother Parysatis, who had never forgiven the satrap for accusing her younger son Cyrus of designs against his brother: Anab. i. 1. 3; Hell. iii. 1. 3.

Τιθραύστην: described by Nepos (Conon 3) as 'chiliarcham qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat.'

ἀπότεμνει . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν: at Colossae, Diod. l. c. But Poly-aenus (vii. 16) says that he was treacherously seized at Colossae and carried to Celaenae, where he was beheaded.

λέγοντας, 'who said,' instead of the usual ἐροῦντας: cp. ii. 4. 37.

αὐτονόμους, i. e. undisturbed in their local affairs.

§ 26. ἀλλά, 'still,' 'at any rate,' just as after εἰ μή: cp. Aristoph. Achar. 1033. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ μοι σταλαγμὸν εἰρήνης ἔνα ἐνστάλαξον.

ἕως ἂν πύθῃ: according to Diod. xiv. 80 ἐξαμηνιαίους ἀνοχὰς ἐποίησατο. Isocrates (iv. 153) however calls it eight months, τὴν μὲν γε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου στρατιὰν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ταῖς αὐτῶν δαπάναις διέθρεψαν.

§ 27. Κύμης: probably Cyme in Aeolis is meant.

ἔρχεται . . . ἄρχειν . . . καταστήσασθαι. The infinitives may either be regarded as the subjects to ἔρχεται or as dependent upon it used impersonally: cp. Ages. i. 36 ἦλθεν αὐτῷ . . . βοηθεῖν.

καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ: cp. Plut. Ages. 10 σκυτάλην δέχεται παρὰ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν κελεύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ· τοῦτο μόνον πάντων ὑπῆρξεν Ἀγησιλάῳ: Paus. iii. 9. 6.

ὅπως γινώσκει, 'as he might think fit': cp. iv. 5. 5 γινῶναι ὃ τι βούλοιο περὶ σφῶν.

ὥς . . . εἶναι: ὥς like ὅτι is several times used by Xenophon with an infinitive where a finite verb would be more usual, especially when a dependent clause comes in between the particle and the verb: cp. ii. 2. 2 εἰδὼς, ὅτι . . . ἔσεσθαι; vi. 5. 42 ἐλπίζειν ὥς . . . γενήσεσθαι.

καθ' ἓν: lit. 'the force belonging to both being at one,' i. e. 'both forces being united': cp. v. 2. 16.

§ 28. ἐξ ὧν = ἐκ τούτων αἵ, i. e. 'consisting of those ships which, &c.' Xenophon has said nothing about the Lacedaemonian fleet since the orders given to the admiral Pharax in 397 to support Dercylidas in an attack upon Caria (iii. 2. 12-14). According to Diod. (xiv. 79, cp. § 1 note) in 396 Pharax with 120 ships besieged Conon in Caunus, who was in command of only 40 ships, but on the Caunians receiving reinforcements from Artaxerxes and Pharnabazus he was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Rhodes.

Meanwhile Conon, now at the head of 80 ships, had sailed to the Cnidian Chersonese. The Rhodians thereupon revolted, expelled Pharax, and opened their harbour to Conon. Agesilaus must therefore have received these orders from home about strengthening the Lacedaemonian fleet with a view to crushing the rising power of Conon before it was too late: cp. iv. 3. 10 note; Paus. vi. 7. 2; Justin vi. 2.

§ 29. Πείσανδρον . . . ἀπειρότερον: Plutarch (Ages. 10) also censures the king, ἀμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φρονιμωτέρων παρόντων οὐ σκεψάμενος τὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα τιμῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ χαρίζομενος, ἧς ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Πείσανδρος, ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκε τὴν ναυαρχίαν.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1, 2. *Tithraustes sent Timocrates to Greece to stir up war against Sparta. The latter distributed fifty talents in Thebes, Corinth and Argos. The Athenians took none of the money.* §§ 3-7. *The Thebans stirred up a quarrel between the Locrians and Phocians. The Thebans supported the former: the latter appealed to Sparta. The Lacedaemonians were glad of a pretext to declare war against the Thebans, and sent Lysander forward to collect forces at Haliartus, where Pausanias was to meet him with the Peloponnesian army.* §§ 7-16. *The Thebans sent envoys to Athens, who advocated for many reasons an alliance between the two states. The Assembly voted to enter into a defensive alliance, and Thrasybulus communicated the decree to the Thebans.* §§ 17-21. *War began. Lysander without waiting for Pausanias attacked Haliartus and was slain, whereupon his allied forces dispersed.* §§ 21-25. *Pausanias arrived on the scene and next day the Athenian contingent joined the Thebans. The Spartans applied to the Thebans for the recovery of the corpses, which was only granted on condition that they left the country. On his return Pausanias was condemned to death, but escaped to Tegea.*

§ 1. τὸν Ἀγησίλαον . . . ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας: for the warlike operations of Agesilaus in the autumn of 395 in Phrygia and Paphlagonia cp. iv. 1. 1-28.

αἰρήσειν, 'to subjugate': Paus. iii. 9. 1 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρесе διαβῆναι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου αἰρήσοντας.

τί χρῶτο, cp. ii. 1. 2.

Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον: Rhodes had recently revolted from Sparta: cp. iii. 4. 28 note.

τοῖς προεστηκόσιν: cp. i. 7. 2 note. Plut. Ages. 15 calls them οἱ δημαγωγοί.

ἐν Θήβαις. The Thebans seem to have used the Persian gold to coin money bearing the impress of Heracles and the Snake. Then after the battle of Cnidus, 394, many of the Asiatic states—Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos, Ephesus, and later on Lampsacus, Cyzicus, and even Croton and Zacynthus in Europe—adopted this type, entering, it would seem, into some close relationship with Thebes, and forming themselves into some sort of League, in all probability to protect themselves against Sparta (cp. A. Holm, History of Greece, vol. iii. 48; Head, Coins, pp. 40, 41). The coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos and Ephesus are inscribed with ΣΥΝ.

Ἀνδροκλείδα: cp. § 4; v. 2. 31, 35.

Ἰσμηνία: cp. v. 2. 25-35.

Γαλαξιδῶρφ is not further mentioned.

Τιμολάφ: cp. iv. 2. 11; he advised the allies to march upon Sparta, 394 B. C.

Πολυάνθει . . . Κύλων: not otherwise mentioned.

§ 2. Ἀθηναῖοι . . . οὐ μεταλαβόντες: Plut. Ages. 15 states the contrary, τοσοῦτων (τοξοτῶν, i.e. darics) γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Θήβας κομισθέντων καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς: and Pausanias (iii. 9. 8) actually names Cephalus and Epicrates as the recipients. Curiously enough Head (Coins, p. 314) is of opinion that a gold coinage was first instituted at Athens about 394.

†τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι†: no meaning can be extracted out of these words; cp. Critical Note.

εἰς . . . πόλεις διέβαλλον, 'began covertly to attack the Lacedaemonians in their respective states,' Dakyns. For εἰς instead of πρὸς cp. ii. 1. 2 μή τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαβολὴν σχοίεν.

συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις. In the following sections Xenophon speaks only of the league formed between the Thebans and Athenians. But Diodorus (xiv. 81, 82) relates that after the death of Lysander the Corinthians and Argives also joined the league, and their example was speedily followed by the whole of Euboea, the Leucadians, Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and Chalcidians.

The results of these alliances are apparent in the list of forces opposed to Sparta at the battle of Corinth: cp. iv. 2. 17; 3. 3 note.

§ 3. οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θηβαῖς . . . πείθουσι. Similarly Isocrates (xiv. 27) γενομένου δὲ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν τούτων (the Thebans). Grote (ix. 113) calls in question this statement, that the Thebans instigated the war between the Locrians and Phocians, thinking that it is due to Xenophon's philo-Laconian and miso-Theban tendency: but the evidence from inscriptions (cp. § 1 note) shows that the Thebans at this time were carrying on a far more energetic foreign policy than had been previously supposed. Xenophon's account moreover is borne out by Pausanias (iii. 9. 9), so that Diodorus' jejune version of the affair (xiv. 81), on which Grote relies, but which says nothing about the Locrians at all, cannot be taken to counterbalance the united testimony of the two other authorities.

λύειν . . . συμμάχους: for the expression cp. Thuc. v. 61 ὁμῶς γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς ὥκνουν λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου . . . τελέσαι, 'to levy money upon the debateable land claimed both by the Phocians and themselves (i. e. the Locrians).' For the position of ἀμφισβητησίμου, on which the two datives depend, cp. iii. 2. 30.

πολλαπλάσια, i. e. many times as much as the Locrians had seized.

§ 5. τῆς ἀντιλήψεως . . . ἐν Δεκελείᾳ. These words must mean: 'the claim they put forward at Decelea to the tithe dedicated to Apollo,' i. e. at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War; cp. Justin v. 10. 12 interea Thebani Corinthiique legatos ad Lacedaemonios mittunt, qui ex manubiis portionem praedae communis belli periculique peterent. quibus negatis non quidem aperte bellum adversus Lacedaemonios decernunt, sed tacitis animis tantam iram concipiunt, ut subesse bellum intelligi posset. Plut. Lys. 27 τῆς δεκάτης ἀντεποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου Θηβαῖοι μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἡσυχάζοντων. As neither of these authorities mention Apollo or Decelea (indeed the booty, we learn, was conveyed by Lysander to Sparta), Breitenbach wishes to read τῆς δεκάτης τῆς ἐκ λείας.

ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ . . . μὴ συστρατεύειν: cp. ii. 4. 30.

ἱερὰ . . . ἔρριψαν: cp. iii. 4. 4.

οὐδ' εἰς . . . συνεστράτεον: cp. iii. 4. 3. This fact was not previously mentioned by Xenophon.

§ 6. φρουρὰν . . . ἔφαινον: cp. iii. 2. 23 note. Pausanias (iii. 9. 11) relates that before the declaration of war the Athenians sent ambassadors to Sparta to implore the Lacedaemonians to refer the points in dispute to arbitration, but that the ambassadors were indignantly dismissed.

Λύσανδρον: Lysander must have returned to Sparta in the spring of 395 (cp. iii. 4. 20). According to Plutarch (Ages. 20; Lys. 24) he at once began organizing an extensive conspiracy against Agesilaus, which the king only discovered after his death.

Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας. According to Diod. xiv. 38, in 399 B.C. Herippidas quelled a revolt which had arisen at Heraclea with great severity, and expelled the Oetaeans from their homes, to which they were restored by the Boeotians five years afterwards.

εἰς Ἀλίαρτον in the NW. of Boeotia. The design of the Spartans was to attack Boeotia on the north and south sides simultaneously.

Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε. Orchomenus was the second city of the Boeotian League and was always jealous of the Theban supremacy. Moreover, at this time her government was aristocratical, while Thebes was in the hands of the democrats. In 364 the Thebans razed the city to the ground; cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

§ 7. τὰ διαβατήρια: cp. iii. 4. 3 note.

ξεναγούς: Spartan officers, whose duty it was to collect and command the contingents from the allied states: cp. iv. 2. 19; v. 2. 7; Ages. 2. 10; Resp. Laced. 13. 4; Thuc. ii. 75 and Appendix, p. 349.

λέγοντας: for the present instead of the future participle cp. ii. 4. 37.

§ 8. ὥς ψηφισαμένων: for ὥς with the genitive absolute cp. iii. 4. 1; vi. 5. 10. For the fact cp. ii. 2. 19.

ἡ πόλις . . . εἰς ἀνὴρ: Isocr. xiv. 31 lays the blame on the whole Theban state: cp. the similar excuse which the Thebans made for their Medism in the Persian War: Thuc. iii. 62. Plutarch (Lys. 15) gives the name of the Theban spokesman as Erianthus.

καθήμενος in the assembly of the Peloponnesian allies.

ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ: cp. ii. 4. 30.

μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. Curiously enough the Theban orator

is made by Xenophon to say nothing of the great services the Thebans rendered to Thrasybulus and the other Athenian democrats in exile at the time: cp. Plut. Lys. 27.

§ 9. τῶν ἐν ἄστει: the oligarchs in the city of Athens as opposed to the democrats in Peiraeus.

ἀφικόμενοι: cp. ii. 4. 28 ff.

πολλῇ δυνάμει, the so-called military dative; cp. v. 2. 4.

παρέδωσαν: cp. Thrasybulus' speech, ii. 4. 41.

τὸ . . . εἶναι, 'as far as they were concerned': infinitive absolute; cp. Anab. i. 6. 9 σχολή ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι τοὺς ἐθέλοντας φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν; Anab. vi. 6. 23 αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολώλαμεν; Goodwin, M. T. 781. The perfect indicative ἀπολώλατε expresses the certainty of the result.

§ 10. εἰκὸς γενέσθαι: the aorist instead of the future and without ἄν expresses more immediate probability; cp. § 14, and Anab. iv. 6. 9 ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θυρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, 'because they rule many'; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 377.

§ 11. Ἀργεῖοι: for the hostility of Argos towards Sparta cp. Thuc. ii. 9; v. 28, 41, 69; and ii. 4. 1 note.

§ 12. Ἡλεῖοι: cp. iii. 2. 30.

τί φῶμεν. The meaning is obvious: the construction requires some infinitive (e.g. γιγνώσκειν) to be supplied.

εἴλωτας ἀρμωστάς. Perhaps an oratorical exaggeration: no instance is known.

§ 13. ἐξηπατηκότες. The freedom of Hellas had been the Spartan watchword in the Peloponnesian War: cp. Thuc. ii. 8; iv. 85, 108, 121; v. 9.

ἀρμωστῶν . . . δέκα ἀνδρῶν. In Asia Lysander's decarchies seem all to have disappeared (cp. iii. 4. 2 note), although many of the harmosts still continued in power supported by Lacedaemonian garrisons; cp. iv. 8. 5. Moreover in Europe, Demosthenes (xviii. 96, quoted § 16) says, the Spartans at this time maintained harmosts and garrisons in the towns of Euboea, Boeotia, and Megara, and upon Aegina and other islands of the Aegean.

§ 14. ἤδη μεγίστους: ἤδη like δῆ strengthens the superlative; cp. Thuc. vi. 31 μέγιστος ἤδη διάπλους.

τῶν πώποτε, sc. γενομένων, which is usually expressed: cp. v. 4. 1.

τῷ παντί strengthens the comparative ἐρρωμενεστέως: cp. ii. 3. 22 πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα;

§ 15. Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία: the abstract substantive is more emphatic than e. g. ὑβριστικὴ ἀρχή.

νομίζομεν . . . ἡμετέρα, 'we think that we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for ours'; for the position of μείζω ἀγαθὰ . . . τῇ πόλει cp. § 3 ἀμφισβητησίμου.

§ 16. ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν. For the treaty cp. CIA. ii. 6; Lysias xvi. 13: it was made in the name of the Boeotians, the other Boeotian states acknowledging at the time the supremacy of Thebes. About the same time Athens concluded a treaty with the Opuntian Locrians: cp. CIA. ii. 7.

Θρασύβουλος, last mentioned ii. 4. 40-43.

ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα, i. e. communicating the decree to the Thebans by way of answer.

ἀτειχίστου . . . Πειραιῶς: Dem. xviii. 96, alluding to the same event, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρτον.

§ 17. τῶν κατ' ἐκείνα χωρίων, 'of the places in those parts': repeated, v. 1. 7.

ἔφθη τὸν Πανσανίαν: cp. Paus. iii. 5. 4.

§ 18. οὐκέτι . . . ἔχων ἀνέμενε. The participial clause and verb form one notion, and thus are both negated by οὐκέτι: 'he no longer waited quietly for': cp. Thuc. i. 141 ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι.

ἐπειθεν: 'tried to persuade.'

§ 19. οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . ἐβοήθουν: Plut. (Lys. 28) gives a rather different account. The Thebans had obtained information of his advance from a letter, addressed to Pausanias, to hasten his arrival, which had accidentally fallen into their hands. Thereupon they marched to the aid of the town, part of their forces however remaining some distance outside. Lysander, after waiting the best part of the day for Pausanias, with his army posted on a hill in front of the town, at last advanced towards the wall. While the Thebans outside fell upon his rear, those within together with the Haliartians

suddenly threw open the gates, fell upon Lysander and slew him, and routed the rest with great loss.

οἱ τε ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς : in apposition to οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

ὁπότερα . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε. The double interrogative is introduced by the usual ὁπότερα, which however is not followed by ἤ, but the two clauses are separately expressed by εἴτε . . . εἴτε : cp. Isocr. xii. 76 ὁπότερον δ' εἴθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αἰρεθεὶς εἴτ' αὐτὸς κτησάμενος, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.

πρὸς τὰς πύλας : the accusative because of the idea of motion implied in ἔστηκε, 'has been stood at the gates.'

ἀποθανόντος : he was slain by Neochorus, a native of Haliartus ; Plut. Lys. 29 ; de Pyth. orac. p. 408 b : cp. Paus. iii. 5. 5.

τὸ ὄρος : the Libethrion, a northern spur of Mount Helicon : cp. Paus. ix. 34. 4.

§ 20. ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτούς : according to Diod. xiv. 81 the main body of the Boeotians halted at the foot of the hill and only two hundred of them continued the pursuit up its steep sides.

οἱ ὀπλῖται : the Lacedaemonians.

αὐτῶν : the Boeotians.

πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι : Plut. (Lys. 28) says 300, who were thus in the forefront of the fight to clear themselves from the charge of Laconizing, which had been brought against them.

§ 21. ἀνεφαίνετο : Plut. Lys. 29 ἐκ Πλαταιῶν εἰς Θεσπιάς πορευομένων. ἔφασαν, 'people said,' 'it was said' : cp. vi. 2. 6 ; 4. 12 ; 5. 26.

§ 22. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι : under Thrasybulus, to whom the Thebans on advancing to Haliartus had entrusted the defence of their city : Plut. Lys. 28.

τὸ . . . μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγένετο : notwithstanding the order of the words, τὸ φρόνημα must be subject, and μεῖζον predicate.

πολεμάρχους καὶ πενητηκοντῆρας : cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 23. λογιζόμενος . . . ἐλογίζοντο δὲ . . . διὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. An anacoluthon : the participial clause is resumed with an independent sentence ἐλογίζοντο δέ.

〈οἱ〉 ἐν τέλει : the officers previously mentioned, not the Ephors.

εἴη . . . ἀποκεχωρῆκοι . . . ἡκολούθουν . . . στρατεύοντο . . . εἴη . . . ἔκειντο. The imperfect indicatives are inserted in these dependent clauses because they refer to definite and continuing facts, earlier in time

than that expressed by *λογιζόμενος* and *ἐλογίζοντο*, which in *oratio recta* could themselves only be expressed by the imperfect tense.

τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον: for the weakness of the Lacedaemonian cavalry cp. vi. 4. 10.

τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. iii. 1. 22 note.

ῥάδιον εἶη: the optative after ὥστε because it is in *oratio obliqua*: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 605.

§ 24. ἐφ' ᾧτε ἀπιέναι. The infinitive is used in its general signification so that no definite subject is added. In 424 B. C. after the battle of Delium the Thebans also refused to deliver up the Athenian corpses except under the like conditions. The Athenians asserted that such a condition was an act of impiety, and successfully maintained their point: Thuc. iv. 98.

ἀθύμως ἀπῆσαν: ἀπῆσαν is not idly repeated, because in the second sentence the chief idea is the contrast between ἀθύμως and ὑβριστικῶς.

εἰ καὶ . . . ἐπιβαίη, 'if any (Lacedaemonian) trespassed ever so little upon any of the lands by the wayside, they chased him back with blows into the roads.'

§ 25. ὑστερήσειεν . . . ἐπειράτο. The change of mood is not easily explicable: perhaps Xenophon wished to express that the first charge was more open to doubt; cp. v. 3. 12.

ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη: not σπονδαῖς ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη, because ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι is the ordinary technical phrase.

λαβών, 'though he had them in his power.' According to Paus. iii. 5. 6 the king was tried on this charge immediately after his return from Athens, and only acquitted by a narrow majority of votes: cp. ii. 4. 39.

εἰς Τεγέαν: cp. Plut. Lys. 30 κακεῖ κατεβίωσεν ἰκέτης ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνῶς.

ἐτελεύτησε: not before 385 B. C.: cp. v. 2. 3.

ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη: for the events which Xenophon here omits to narrate cp. Introd. p. xxix; Diod. xiv. 82.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

§§ 1-14. *Agesilaus ravaged Phrygia, winning many cities over to his side and entered Paphlagonia, where at the instigation of Spithridates he formed an alliance with its king, Otys. He also arranged a marriage between Otys and Spithridates' daughter.* §§ 15-28. *Agesilaus wintered at Dascyleum. His foragers were worsted in a skirmish with Pharnabazus. Herippidas, informed by Spithridates that the satrap was encamped at Caue, successfully surprised the camp; but a quarrel over the booty led to the desertion of Spithridates and the Paphlagonians to Sardis—much to the vexation of Agesilaus.* §§ 29-41. *An interview was arranged between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, from which, though Pharnabazus declined Agesilaus' offers, they parted mutual friends, the king promising to leave the satrap's territory. Agesilaus also formed a warm attachment to Pharnabazus' son.*

§ 1. ἄμα μετοπώρω. The narrative broken off in iii. 4. 29 is here resumed.

§ 2. Σπιθριδάτου: cp. iii. 4. 10.

τούτου . . . τοῦ ἀφιστάναι. The infinitival clause stands in apposition to and explains τούτου.

§ 3. Ὀτys. The name of the king of the Paphlagonians is given as Cotys in Ages. 3. 4 and by Plut. Ages. 9; as Thys by Theopomp. fr. 198; and as Thyus by Cor. Nep. Dat. 2.

καλούμενος . . . οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. It appears from Anab. v. 6. 8 that this must have happened before the summer of 400 B.C.

ἰππέας: ἰππείαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείως ἰππείας, Anab. 1. c.

§ 4. φυγάδος ἀνδρός, sc. τὴν θυγατέρα: Spithridates by joining Agesilaus had become φυγάς.

§ 5. τῶν τριάκοντα, i.e. τῶν περὶ Ἑριππίδαν: cp. iii. 4. 20.

§ 6. τί δ' οὐ μέλλω, sc. ἐορακέναι, 'why should I not have seen him?' i.e. 'to be sure I have seen him': cp. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλει; Plat. Phaed. 78 b.

§ 7. οὖ : the antecedent is τὸ ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα καλλίστην οὖσαν.

§ 11. βουλομένῳ. The dative of the person after εἶναι and γίνεσθαι is followed by the participles βουλομένῳ, ἡδομένῳ, ἀσμένῳ, ἀχθομένῳ instead of a clause with a finite verb : ἐκεῖνῳ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ = ἐκεῖνος βούλεται. Cp. v. 3. 13 ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθομένῳ ταῦτα.

ὧ Ἡριππίδα : cp. § 5 note.

§ 12. καὶ ἡμεῖς : in opposition to the thirty.

§ 13. τέλος : adverbial : 'in fine,' 'in short.'

§ 14. τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ, 'cum bona fortuna.'

ἦρος : the spring of 394.

ἦδη, 'at once' : cp. Anab. i. 4. 16 ἐγὼ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἦδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ.

§ 15. ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'having shaken hands upon it,' i. e. to seal the compact.

Καλλίαν, also mentioned in Ages. 8. 3.

Δασκυλείου : cp. iii. 4. 13.

θῆραι : the Persian grandees carefully preserved their game : cp. Anab. i. 2. 7 ; Cyrop. i. 4. 11.

§ 16. παρέρρει : the imperfect carries the reader back to the time of which the author is speaking : cp. ii. i. 21.

σὺν προνομαῖς, i. e. with regularly organized plundering expeditions. σὺν is used in an almost instrumental sense, because προνομαί denotes the troops employed on the expeditions as well as the expeditions themselves : cp. Anab. v. 1. 7 ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὥς σφῶζεσθε ; Polyb. iv. 73. 4 τὰς μὲν προνομὰς ἐπαφῆκε κατὰ τῆς χώρας.

§ 17. ἐσπαρμένους : cp. iii. 4. 22.

ἄρματα . . . δρεπανηφόρα : cp. Anab. i. 8. 10 εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν : Cyrop. vi. 1. 30.

§ 18. ὥς εἰς : instead of εἰς : cp. § 19 ; v. 2. 40.

§ 19. τὸ ἀθρόον, 'the compact mass,' Dakyns.

§ 20. τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ : for the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.

§ 21. ἄλλους, i. e. other than hoplites : cp. ii. 4. 9.

τοσοῦτους, i. e. as numerous as the hoplites.

§ 22. ἐθύετο, sc. ὁ Ἡριππίδας.

§ 23. οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα : cp. iii. 4. 8, 20. Herippidas was himself one of the commissioners.

§ 24. ἐπιπεσὼν . . . πολλοὶ ἔπεσον. The nom. absolute ἐπιπεσὼν is probably to be explained as an anacoluthon. Xenophon might have written πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε instead of πολλοὶ ἔπεσον: cp. ii. 2. 3.

στρατοπεδεία: this form instead of the usual στρατοπέδῳ is never used by Xenophon elsewhere.

αὐτοί: the men in the camp as opposed to the προφυλακή.

ἄλλα δὴ οἷα, 'other gear such as a man like Pharnabazus would have,' Dakyns: cp. iv. 5. 4.

§ 25. ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ: cp. Plut. Ages. 11 [ὁ Φαρνάβαζος] ἔχων αἰὲ τὰ πλείστα σὺν ἑαυτῷ τῶν τιμίων καὶ ἀγαπητῶν ἐξεχώρει καὶ ὑπέφευγεν ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχόσε τῆς χώρας μεθιδρύμενος.

§ 26. ὑποστήσας, as distinguished from ἐπιστήσας, implies not only 'to post,' but 'to post in order to intercept': cp. Anab. iv. 1. 14 ὑποστήσαντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον.

λαφυροπώλαις: Spartan officials: cp. Resp. Lac. 13. 11 ἦν δὲ λήϊδα ἄγων [τις ἔλθῃ], πρὸς λαφυροπώλας [τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει].

§ 27. Ἀριαῖον: Anab. i. 8. 5; ii. 1. 4; 4. 1: Ariaeus, ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος, commanded the Asiatic troops stationed on the left wing at the battle of Cunaxa. After the death of Cyrus, the Greek generals offered to place him on the Persian throne; but he preferred to make his peace with Artaxerxes.

πιστεύσαντες, i. e. trusting that he could make their peace with the king, because he too had once been guilty of the same crime of rebellion.

§ 28. Μεγαβάτου: son of Spithridates and favourite of Agesilaus: cp. Ages. 5. 4 ff.; Plut. Ages. 11.

§ 30. ἤκουσεν, sc. Agesilaus.

παρῆν, sc. Apollophanes.

ὥσπερ εἶχε, 'just as he was': 'without further ceremony,' Dakyns.

§ 32. φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος: cp. i. 6, 24 for the history of the event alluded to.

ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνης: cp. i. 1. 31; 5. 9.

§ 33. ὥς . . . ἔχω for ὥστε . . . ἔχω: cp. iv. 4. 16, &c.

κατακεκομμένα . . . κατακεκαυμένα, chiasmic: the former refers to δένδρα, the latter to οἰκήματα.

ὅπως . . . ἀποδιδόναι : 'how this can be the conduct of men who know the meaning of gratitude.' ἀποδιδόναι is dependent upon ἐπισταμένων.

§ 34. ἐπησχύνθησαν αὐτόν, never used elsewhere with an accusative of the person.

καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις, 'go to war even with their guest-friends.'

§ 35. συνεβούλευον : sc. to make this exchange.

γενομένῳ . . . προσκυνούντα . . . ἔχοντα. The transition from the dative to the accusative is explained by the difference of meaning : γενομένῳ expresses a condition, προσκυνούντα . . . ἔχοντα together with ζῆν its results.

§ 36. ὁμοδούλους : cp. iii. 1. 26 note.

ὑπηκόους : used as a substantive : cp. § 37 ; Cyrop. v. 5. 27.

μὴ οὐχί : the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance implied in τίνος ἂν δέοις : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 807.

§ 37. τοιοῦτόν τι . . . ἐστίν : a parenthesis : 'so strong, it seems, is the force of honour,' Grote ix. 101.

§ 39. καλὸς ἔτι ᾧν : cp. Anab. ii. 6. 28 ἔτι ὥραῖος ᾧν.

Μέμνησό νυν : νυν is rarely used in prose : for another instance after an imperative cp. v. 1. 32 ἴτε νυν.

ἔχοντος . . . Ἰδαίου : genitive absolute : Plut. Ages. 13 calls the secretary Adaeus.

§ 40. Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημία. Pharnabazus was absent from his satrapy a considerable time after the battle of Cnidus in 394-393 (iv. 8. 1-9), and again during the negotiations before the peace of Antalcidas (v. 1. 28) in 388-387 : cp. Plutarch (Ages. 13) χρόνῳ περιόντι τὸν οἶκον ἀποστερηθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεμελείτο.

ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ : genitive absolute.

ὅπως ἂν : for the optative with ἂν in a final sentence cp. iv. 8. 16 ; Goodwin, M. T., App. iv.

δι' ἐκείνον, i. e. the Persian.

τὸ στάδιον : accusative of respect after ἐγκριθείη.

μέγιστος . . . τῶν παίδων. Xenophon evidently means that the boy, although he was too young, was desirous of competing with the men in the stadium race. Plutarch (Ages. 13), mistaking Xenophon's meaning, represents that the boy was so μέγας καὶ

σκληρός, that he was in danger of being excluded from the boys' contest.

394-393 B.C.

§ 41. εἰς Θήβης πεδίον: S. of Mt. Ida in the Troad: cp. Anab. vii. 8. 7; Her. vii. 42.

Ἀστυρηνῆς: 70 stades to the W. of Thebe; cp. Strabo, xiii. 613.

παρεσκευάζετο . . . πορευσόμενος: without ὥς, as in Thuc. ii. 91 παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι. In all other passages Xenophon uses ὥς with the fut. part. after παρασκευάζεσθαι.

ἀνωτάτω. The march of the Ten Thousand through the enemy's country and his own successes filled Agesilaus with the ambitious dreams of an Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-8. *The Spartans recalled Agesilaus, who with much regret prepared to obey the summons. He left Euxenus behind him with 4,000 men, and set out across the Hellespont at the head of a large and well-appointed army.* §§ 9-15. *Aristodemus commanded the Spartan army. The enemy assembled at Corinth, and following the advice of Timolaus resolved to advance upon Sparta. But when they had marched as far as the Nemea, the Lacedaemonians were already at Sicyon, and continued their advance till they were only ten stades distant from the enemy.* §§ 16, 17. *The Lacedaemonians numbered 13,500 foot and 600 horse besides light troops: the enemy mustered 24,000 foot, 1,550 horse, besides a considerable body of light troops.* §§ 18-23. *Battle of the Nemea—In engaging both armies swerved towards the right. The Lacedaemonians on the right wing far outflanked the Athenians opposed to them and easily defeated them, though all their allies were fairly beaten. The Lacedaemonians, however, successively routed the Argives, Corinthians, and some of the Thebans, as they returned from their pursuit, and thus finally gained the victory.*

§ 1. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. At this point Xenophon resumes his narrative of events in Greece, interrupted at iii. 5. 25.

τὰ χρήματα: cp. iii. 5. 1.

τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας: cp. iii. 5. 2 συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

§ 2. Ἐπικυδίδαν : if Schneider's conjecture in v. 4. 39 be right, he was afterwards slain by the Theban cavalry not far from Thespieae in 378 B.C. during Agesilaus' first invasion of Boeotia. Plutarch's account (Ages. 15) of the message of Epicydidas and the ready obedience of the king is worthy of study.

§ 3. ἀναγκαῖον . . . τῇ πατρίδι : Plut. (Apo. Lacon. 41) quotes from Agesilaus' letter to the Ephors—ἄρχω γὰρ οὐκ ἔμαντῶ ἀρχάν, ἀλλὰ τᾷ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις.

οὐ μὴ : an emphatic negative, the fear expressed by μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι being denied by οὐ : cp. Cyrop. iii. 2. 8 οἱ Ἀρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέξωνται τοὺς πολεμίους : Goodwin, M. T. 296.

§ 5. Εὐξενον ἀρμοστήν : cp. iii. 1. 4 Θίβρωνα ἀρμοστήν ; iv. 8. 1, 3 ; and Appendix, p. 348. No further mention is made of Euxenus and his troops.

οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Although the representatives of the Asiatic allies had voted βοηθεῖν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, the majority of the soldiers themselves, i.e. the Asiatic contingents and mercenaries, preferred to stay in Asia.

προεῖπε . . . ὥς . . . δώσω : instead of a direct object, e.g. ἄθλα, after προεῖπε, the participial clause is added for the sake of clearness.

§ 6. εὐκρινεῖν does not occur elsewhere, though the compound διευκρινεῖν, in the sense of 'to keep in good order,' is common : cp. Oecon. 8. 6 διευκρινημένους ὀπλίτας. If the reading be retained, the passage must be translated 'that it was their duty to keep their men on the march in good order.' Of the conjectures, for which cp. Critical Note, Kurz's gives the most satisfactory meaning : ὅστις τοὺς στρατευομένους διευκρινεῖ.

§ 7. ἔλαττον : adverbial for ἀπ' ἐλάττονος, like πλέον, iii. 4. 13.

ἀπό : cp. Anab. i. 1. 9 στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων.

τοσοῦτων . . . κατεσκευάσθη. 'However, though so large a sum was expended, arms worth a great deal of money were obtained for the expedition.' Dindorf's conjecture χρημάτων, πάμπολλα ὅπλα would make the meaning much clearer, which evidently is that the weapons so obtained were worth a great deal more than the cost of the prizes : cp. Critical Note.

§ 8. διέβη : according to Paus. iii. 9. 12, from Abydos to Sestos.

Μένασκος . . . Ὅρσιππος : nothing more is known of them.

Ἑριππίδας : cp. iv. i. 11-20.

εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως : distributive like εἷνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, ii. 4. 23.

βασιλεύς, i. e. Xerxes in 480 B.C. : cp. Ages. 2. i ἦν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτην μείον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

§ 9. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, 'meanwhile' : Xenophon here returns to events in Greece, which he had left in § 1.

Ἀγησίπολις : the son of the exiled king, Pausanias : cp. Paus. iii. 5. 7.

τοῦ γένους : of the royal family : cp. iii. 3. 3.

προδίκον : cp. Plut. Lyc. 3 τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὀρφανῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτρόπους Λακεδαιμόνιοι προδίκους ὠνόμαζον.

§ 10. συνειλεγμένοι : in Corinth, Diod. xiv. 82.

ἐβουλεύοντο : sc. οἱ ἐναντίοι.

§ 11. Τιμόλαος : one of the demagogues, who had received the Persian gold through Timocrates, iii. 5. 1.

ὅμοιον . . . οἰόνπερ : the same correlative particles are used Cyrop. i. 4. 11 ; 5. 10.

ἰσχυρότερον : without τοσούτῳ, as ii. 2. 2.

§ 12. ἔνθεν = ἐκεῖ ἔνθεν.

τὸ πῦρ : the article expresses the *well-known* means of destruction.

§ 13. περὶ ἡγεμονίας : cp. the compromise between the Thebans and the Athenians as to the battle array, § 18.

εἰς ὅπόσους, 'how many deep' : cp. εἰς δύο, iii. 1. 22.

τὴν ἀμφίαλον : cp. Critical Note. The text seems hopelessly corrupt : ἀμφίαλος is a poetic word, meaning 'sea-girt.' To supply ὁδόν with Leonclavius is not in accordance with the facts ; for the Lacedaemonians evidently marched by the straight inland road through Tegea and Mantinea to Sicyon. No conjecture hitherto made gives a satisfactory meaning : cp. Grote ix. 130.

§ 14. ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ . . . ἐν τῇ Σικυνῶνι, 'in the district near the Nemea . . . in the district of Sicyon' : cp. iv. 4. 15 εἰς Φλιοῦντα ἐμβαλὼν ; v. 2. 25 ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. The Nemea is the brook flowing between Corinth and Sicyon.

αὐτῶν, i. e. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

Ἐπιείκειαν : its situation is doubtful ; in iv. 4. 13 Xen. says that it was fortified by Praxitas (in 392 ?) ἵνα φρούριον εἴη πρὸ τῆς φίλιας

τοῖς συμμάχοις. It must have been on some high ground near the Nemea, not far from the sea.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων, 'from above': cp. vii. 4. 13 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου.
αὐτούς, i. e. τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

§ 15. κατέβησαν : supply οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

οἱ ἕτεροι = οἱ ἀντίπαλοι : so vii. 5. 8.

ἀπελθόντες : Grote (ix. 129) very properly defends this, the MSS. reading, against the vulgate ἐπελθόντες. After a general advance towards Sicyon, keeping to the high ground, where their light-armed troops came into conflict with the enemy, the Corinthian allies seem now to have retired (ἀπελθόντες), and encamped near the Nemea, some five or six miles from Corinth, still on rough and rocky ground.

τὴν χαράδραν : cp. Diod. xiv. 83 γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως παρὰ τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμόν : Aeschines ii. 168 τὴν Νεμεάδα καλουμένην χαράδραν.

§ 16. Ἡλείων . . . Λασιωνίων. Hence it appears that the arrangements made at the end of the Elean War, 397 B.C., still continued : cp. iii. 2. 30, 31.

Κρηῆτες τοξόται, mercenaries : cp. Thuc. ii. 9 ; vii. 57.

Μαργανέων . . . Λετρίνων . . . Ἀμφιδόλων : cp. iii. 2. 30 note.

ἐκεχειρίαν, i. e. a holy truce during a festival ; from iv. 4. 15 it appears that the governing party at Phlius were not very well disposed towards Sparta, so that the truce was probably a mere excuse, as so often in the case of the Argives : cp. iv. 7. 2.

§ 17. Ὀρχομένιοι : cp. iii. 5. 6 note.

πλεον ἦν : cp. Critical Note. Some words seem to have dropped out : for ψιλῶν or ψιλόν without the article can scarcely mean that the light-armed troops together with those of the Corinthians were more numerous than those of the Lacedaemonians. Of hoplites Xenophon's items give a total to the Lacedaemonians of 13,500, and to the enemy of 24,000. But on the Lacedaemonian side the contingents of some of the states do not seem to be mentioned : for he has not included the Tegeate and Mantinean contingents of which he himself speaks in § 13, nor again the Achaean over against whom the Athenians were at first posted, § 18. Diodorus (xiv. 82) does not help us to solve the difficulty : he estimates the Lacedaemonian infantry at 23,000, and the Corinthian and their allies at only 15,000.

Ἀκαρνᾶνες : Wachsmuth's conjecture Αἰνιᾶνες is made extremely

probable by the fact that in the list of allies (iv. 3. 15) who fought at Coronea all these names reappear except the Acarnanians, in whose place stand the Aenianes. In iii. 5. 6 the Aenianes are mentioned in connexion with the Melians.

§ 18. *ἕως μὲν . . . εἶχον* : cp. Introd. p. xxx. Xenophon's narrative is so bald, that the motive of the Thebans is by no means clear. Either the Thebans were afraid of the Lacedaemonians, or the holding of the right wing may have implied the commandership-in-chief for the day (cp. § 13 *περὶ ἡγεμονίας διεπράττοντο*) : against the first hypothesis may be urged the bravery of the Thebans a few weeks later at Coronea in fighting the Spartans hand to hand. Against the second nothing much can be said, except that in the time of Epaminondas at any rate the Thebans peculiarly affected the left wing.

τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα, to be taken as a substantive : 'the formation into sixteen deep.' This apparently was the depth agreed upon in § 13 *ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν*. The ordinary depth of the Greek phalanx was eight only : cp. Thuc. v. 68.

βαθείαν παντελῶς : for the position of the adverb cp. v. 3. 2 *ὀλίγην παντελῶς*.

τὴν φάλαγγα : their own division or phalanx.

ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ : Thucydides (v. 71) notices this tendency of all Greek armies, due to the soldiers' desire to keep the right or unshielded side out of reach of the enemy.

τῶν πολεμίων : the genitive depends on *ὑπερέχοιεν*.

§ 19. *ἐπαίνισαν*, sc. *οἱ πολέμιοι*.

ξυναγοί : cp. iii. 5. 7 ; Appendix, p. 349.

τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, neuter : 'the leading company' ; cp. Anab. ii. 2. 4.

αἱ μὲν ἐξ φυλαῖ . . . αἱ δὲ τέτταρες. The Athenian military organization was based on their political division into ten tribes, cp. Thuc. ii. 4. 4 ; vi. 98. For the article cp. i. 1. 18. Lysias (xvi. 15) tells how specially ill his own tribe fared in this encounter.

§ 20. *τῇ Ἀρροτέρᾳ* : a name of Artemis. Cp. Resp. Lac. 13. 8 *ὅταν γὰρ ὁρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάινωτον εἶναι*.

τὴν χίμαιραν : the article expresses the customary nature of the sacrifice.

ἐκατέρων : the partitive genitive stands as subject to ἔπιπτον, as as if it were ἐκατέρων τινές.

§ 21. ὅσον . . . τῶν Ἀθηναίων : i. e. the six Athenian tribes opposite to them : the partitive genitive depends on ὅσον.

ἐπορεύοντο, i. e. towards the left.

αὐτῶν, i. e. of the Athenians in the four tribes : the partitive genitive is helped out by the following εἴ τις. For εἴ τις cp. Anab. v. 3. 3 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χιόνος καὶ εἴ τις νόσφ.

§ 22. παρεῖναι, from παρίημι : 'Some one, it is said, shouted, "Let their front ranks pass,"' Dakyns.

εἰς τὰ γυμνά : their right or unshielded side.

§ 23. τὰ τεῖχη, i. e. of Corinth, as appears from what follows. Xenophon by ἔπειτα δέ after τὸ μὲν πρῶτον seems to imply that the first fugitives were admitted, but that soon afterwards the gates were shut. Demosthenes (xx. 53) says that at first the philo-Laconian party refused to open the gates, but that afterwards their opponents ἀνέωξαν τὰς πύλας ἡμῖν βία τῶν πολλῶν.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1, 2. *At Amphipolis Dercylidas met Agesilaus with the news of the victory and was sent by the king to Asia to encourage the allies with these tidings.* §§ 3-9. *As he marched across Thessaly, Agesilaus was much annoyed by the Thessalian cavalry hanging on his rear. At last he ordered his own cavalry to charge them : they were completely routed, and he then continued his march without hindrance as far as Boeotia.* §§ 10-14. *On the frontiers Agesilaus heard of the defeat and death of the admiral Pisander at Cnidus. To keep up the heart of his soldiers he announced that Pisander had been killed in the moment of victory.* §§ 15-20. *Battle of Coronea—The hostile forces met on the plain of Coronea. The Argives fled before Agesilaus, who commanded the right wing, without a blow. Herippidas and the Asiaticallies were victorious in the centre : but on the left the Thebans cut completely through the Orchomenians. Then they tried to make their way to their allies, who had fled to the slopes of Helicon. Agesilaus intercepted them so that only a portion fought their way through.* §§ 21-23. *Next*

day Agesilaus ordered a trophy to be set up, and the Thebans sent heralds to recover their dead. Then Agesilaus dedicated a tithe of his spoils at Delphi, while Gylis, the polemarch, led the army through Phocis into Locris. The Locrians attacked his rear, and slew him and many of his staff.

§ 1. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγισίλαος ; Xenophon here takes up the narrative interrupted at iv. 2. 8.

σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας. According to Plutarch (Ages. 16) the king marched without opposition as far as the country of the Trallians, whose feeble resistance he overcame without difficulty.

Δερκυλίδας, last mentioned as one of Agesilaus' envoys to Tissaphernes in 396 B.C. (iii. 4. 6). In the interval he must have returned to Sparta.

νικῶεν, 'are victorious': present tense as in § 13.

ὀκτῶ . . . παμπληθεῖς : Ages. 7. 5 ὀκτῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τῶν πολεμίων. Diod. xiv. 83 estimates the loss of the Lacedaemonians and their allies at 1,100, and of their opponents at 2,800. According to the Ages. l. c. the king exclaimed on hearing the news, φεῦ, ὦ Ἑλλάς, ὅποτε οἱ νῦν τεθνηκότες ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ζῶντες νικᾶν μαχόμενοι πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους.

§ 2. συμπεμπουσai : for the fact cp. iv. 2. 4.

εἰκὸς . . . εἶναι : for the present infinitive cp. iii. 5. 10 note.

Εὐθυμοτέρους : κατὰ σύνεσιν, as if πολίτας had preceded.

ἔφαμεν : cp. iv. 2. 3.

§ 3. Θεσσαλίαν : cp. Introd. p. xxix. Xenophon has omitted altogether to record the expedition of Ismenias the Theban northwards in the winter months, 395-394. From Diod. (xiv. 82) it appears that Ismenias at the head of 2,000 Boeotians and Argives first helped Medius, the tyrant of Larisa, to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison from Pharsalus, and then marching southwards seized Heraclea, slew all the Lacedaemonians in it, drove out the Peloponnesian colonists and restored the city to the Trachinians (cp. iii. 5. 6 note). Shortly afterwards Ismenias persuaded the Aenianes and Athamanes to revolt from Sparta, and defeated the Phocians under the command of the Lacedaemonian Alcisthenes at Naryx in Locris.

From this section it seems that the appearance of Ismenias in Thessaly had even been more far reaching in its effects than Diodorus records : for the Crannonians and Scotussians as well as the Larisaeans and Pharsalians are called σύμμαχοι Βοιωτοῖς, and

all the Thessalians, except the exiles, united to harass Agesilaus on his march.

§ 4. ἐν πλασιῳ: in a hollow square, the van of which was called στόμα and the rear οὐρά. This was the usual marching order adopted by the Greeks, when they were exposed on all sides to attacks from the enemy. Cp. Anab. iii. 4. 43.

τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. Probably not the select body of 300 horsemen, who usually formed the body-guard of the king (Her. viii. 124 ; Thuc. v. 72) but τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν μάλα εὐρώστους, whom Agesilaus had enlisted in Asia: cp. § 6 ; iii. 4. 15 ; iv. 2. 5.

§ 5. μάλα σωφρόνως: for the expression cp. Ages. 6. 7 ἡσύχως δὲ [ἦγε ὁ Ἀγησίλαος] ὥσπερ ἂν παρθένος ἡ σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνοι.

§ 6. τοῖς ἄλλοις, sc. ἱππεῦσι.

παραγγέλλειν: διώκειν has to be supplied from the following clause.

§ 8. τῷ Ναρθακίῳ: in Thessaly Phthiotis.

§ 9. Πραντός: Steph. Byz. Πρὰς πόλιν Περραιβική: it lay to the north of Narthacium.

τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ . . . ὄρη: Mount Othrys. Plutarch (Ages. 16, 17) here follows some different authority. At this point, he says, Diphridas the ephor met Agesilaus with orders to march immediately into Boeotia. The king at once obeyed, although rather reluctant as he wished for larger reinforcements, passed through Thermopylae, crossed the friendly territory of the Phocians, and finally encamped near Chaeronea. This route agrees with Xenophon.

μέχρι πρὸς: for the double preposition cp. Anab. vi. 4. 26 μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

§ 10. ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ: the march round the Aegean coast was accomplished μείον ἢ ἐν μηνί according to Ages. 2. 1.

μνηοειδής: cp. Introd. p. xlv. Xenophon doubtless means to connect the ill omen with the naval defeat.

τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. The article is noticeable: it seems to imply that the sea-fight off Cnidus is already well known to the reader, although Xenophon has related none of the circumstances that led up to it. In fact not a word has been said about the Lacedaemonian fleet, since Agesilaus appointed his brother-in-law Pisander as its admiral in the summer of 395 (iii. 4. 29). Pisander apparently

(if we follow Diod. xiv. 79, 81, 83) during the next twelve months accomplished absolutely nothing either against Rhodes or against Conon: Conon too was prevented from continuing his successes for want of supplies, until—probably in the winter six months 395-394—he himself undertook a journey to lay his case in person before Artaxerxes at Babylon. His mission was completely successful. The Persian king promised him the necessary money and supplies, and more important still, allowed him to choose whom he would among the Persian officials to collect them. Conon's choice fell upon Pharnabazus, who was at the time smarting under the invasion of Agesilaus. Accordingly next summer Conon and Pharnabazus put to sea with a fleet of more than 90 vessels, and cruised about Loryma in the Cnidian Chersonese, where, on hearing that the enemy's fleet was at Cnidus, they prepared for battle. The Spartan admiral sailed out of Cnidus at the head of 85 vessels and put in to Phycus in the same peninsula. Just outside the two fleets met in battle; Conon was victorious and Pisander himself was slain. Cp. iv. 8. 1; Isocr. v. 61-64; ix. 52-57; Cor. Nep. Con. 3, 4; Justin vi. 3; Ctesias, fr. 62, 63; Paus. iii. 9. 2; vi. 3. 16.

§ 11. *ταῖς Φοινίσσαις*: cp. iii. 4. 1.

Κόνωνα: this is the first mention of Conon since Xenophon (ii. 1. 29) recorded his flight to Salamis after the battle of Aegospotami.

τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, sc. *ναυτικόν*. Plato (Menex. 245 a) calls these Greeks *φυγάδας καὶ ἐθελοντάς*. Isocrates (ix. 56) speaks of Evagoras of Salamis as supplying *τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν πλείστην*. Cp. Dem. xx. 68.

ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. Diodorus also (xiv. 83) speaks of Pisander as at first successfully engaging with *ταῖς προπλεούσαις ναυσὶ*: but, when the Persian triremes came up, he goes on to say, the Peloponnesian allies fled to land, and Pisander, left alone, fell fighting bravely. Conon pursued the Lacedaemonians to the shore and captured 50 triremes and 500 men. But most of the crews and the rest of the triremes escaped in safety to Cnidus.

§ 12. *ἐλαττόνων* . . . *Ἑλληνικοῦ*. Once more the question of numbers presents hopeless difficulties. While Diodorus represents the difference between the two fleets as one of about five ships

only, Xenophon apparently means that Conon's Greek fleet alone, without the Phoenician ships of Pharnabazus, far outnumbered the Lacedaemonian fleet.

αὐτῷ φεύγειν : a kind of *dativus incommodi*.

ἐμβολὰς . . . τριήρει, i.e. with his trireme staved in by the charges of the enemy's ships.

§ 13. οἶον . . . μετέχειν : οἶον = τοιοῦτον ὥστε : cp. ii. 3. 45 οἶος . . . μεταβάλλεσθαι.

οὐκ ἀνάγκη εἶναι . . . αὐτοῖς : the infinitive, the construction being changed, depends on ἐνεθυμήθη, 'that there was no necessity for them to share it.' The dative αὐτοῖς depends on ἀνάγκη.

μεταβαλὼν, sc. τὰ ἡγγελμένα : cp. Plut. Ages. 17 τὰναντία λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἥκοντας.

§ 14. ἅμα . . . λέγων : ἅμα goes with the participle as in iii. 1. 20.

εὐαγγέλια : neut. plur. accusative after ἐβουθύτει : cp. i. 6. 37 ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

τῶν τεθυμένων : partitive genitive, serving as object to διέπεμπε : cp. iii. 1. 4.

τῷ λόγῳ : 'in consequence of the report,' Dakyns.

ὥς . . . νικῶντων : for the participial construction cp. iii. 4. 1.

§ 15. Βοιωτοί . . . Λοκροί. All these allies fought at the battle of Corinth except the Aenianes, unless indeed Αἰνιᾶνες is to be read for Ἀκαρνᾶνες in iv. 2. 17 (cp. note). The Melians too did not fight at Coronea, probably because Agesilaus had just marched through their territory.

διαβᾶσα, i.e. over the Corinth gulf, because the Isthmus was held by the enemy ; cp. iv. 4. 1.

Ὀρχομενοῦ : cp. iii. 5. 6. Lysander had induced Orchomenus to revolt from Thebes, whereupon the Lacedaemonians must have garrisoned the town.

νεοδαμώδεις, i.e. the survivors of the two thousand, who had crossed with Agesilaus to Asia in 396 : iii. 4. 2.

οὗ . . . ξενικῷ : cp. Ages. 2. 11 ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινες : cp. iii. 4. 20.

ἀπὸ τῶν . . . Ἑλληνίδων : cp. iv. 2. 4-8.

αὐτόθεν, i.e. from the immediate neighbourhood.

§ 16. διηγῆσομαι. Xenophon, according to Plutarch (Ages. 18), was himself present at Coronea: καὶ παρὴν αὐτὸς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ συναγωνιζόμενος ἐξ Ἀσίας διαβεβηκώς. He makes no attempt, it is to be remarked, to give the exact numbers of the opposing forces: in Ages. 2. 7, 9 we are told that the two armies were about equal.

δεξιόν: without the article: cp. v. 2. 40 εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχων.

τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, sc. στρατεύματος.

§ 17. ὥς . . . τριῶν: to be taken together, 'about three.'

§ 18. ἐξελίξας, 'having deployed': cp. Cyrop. viii. 5. 15.

πρὸς Ἐλικῶνι: the dative expresses that they had not only fled to the mountain, but had come to a halt there.

§ 19. παρέντι . . . τοὺς ὅπισθεν: cp. Plut. Ages. 18 παίειν ἐπόμενος παραλλάξαντας.

έωθοῦντο . . . ἀπέθνησκον: for the *asyndeton* cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 38 προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, έώθουν, έωθοῦντο, έπαιον, έπαίοντο.

διαπίπτουσι: cp. Plut. l. c. διέστησαν . . . αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διέσχον.

§ 20. τετρωμένος: According to Plutarch (l. c.), his body-guard (cp. § 4) ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκθύμως καὶ προκινδυνεύοντες ἄτρωτον μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν φυλάξαι, πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων δεξάμενον εἰς τὸ σῶμα πληγὰς δόρασι καὶ ξίφεσι μόλις ἀνήρπασαν ζῶντα.

πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα: Plut. Ages. 19 οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἀπῆλθεν ἢ φοράδην ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων συγκεκομισμένους.

τῷ νεῷ: Plut. Ages. 19 πλησίον γὰρ ὁ νεὼς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς. The article=the well-known temple, famous as the place of meeting for the Boeotian League (Paus. ix. 34. 1) and for the trophy erected there by the Boeotians after their victory over the Athenians under Tolmides (Plut. Ages. 19).

§ 21. παρατάξαι . . . τὸ στράτευμα. According to Plut. l. c. βουλόμενος ἐξελέγξαι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, because the victory of the day before had not been decisive. Cp. Polyaeus ii. 1. 23 ἦν ἀμφίρροπος ἡ νίκη· νύξ γὰρ διέλυσε τὴν μάχην: he makes out (doubtless incorrectly) that Agesilaus' order to remove the Lacedaemonian dead within the lines was a stratagem, whereby the Thebans were deceived into believing that their own dead were

much greater in proportion to the Lacedaemonian than they really were, and next morning in this belief acknowledged themselves beaten by sending envoys to recover their dead.

τῷ θεῷ: probably Apollo: cp. *infr.*

εἰς Δελφοὺς: Plutarch (Ages. 19) adds Πυθίων ἀγομένων. Most authorities are now agreed that the Pythian festival was held in August every third Olympic Year: cp. v. 2. 29 note, and Dict. Antiq. ii. 528.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας . . . ἀπέθυσεν: Plut. l. c. τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λαφύρων. For ἀπέθυσεν cp. iii. 3. I note.

Γῦλις: Diodorus (xiv. 84) says that at Delphi the wounded Agesilaus τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. The indecisive victory at Coronea did not justify any further attack upon Boeotia (cp. § 9 note), so that Gylis now led the army through the friendly district of Phocis into Locris to punish the Ozolian Locrians for siding with the Thebans at Coronea (§ 15), and at the same time to secure a port of embarkation as the Isthmus was occupied by the enemy.

§ 22. τελευταίῳ, i. e. bringing up the rear, the allies marching in front as being less reliable troops.

§ 23. παραστατῶν, 'of his comrades in arms.' Cp. vi. 5. 43.

δειπνοῦντες: cp. § 22 note: the allies in front must in the meantime have pitched the camp for the night.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-3. *The army was disbanded and Agesilaus sailed home. When the war was renewed, the Boeotians and their allies made Corinth, the Lacedaemonians Sicyon, their headquarters. To prevent the oligarchical party from joining the Lacedaemonians the Corinthian democrats massacred many of them during the Eucleia.* §§ 4-14. *The younger oligarchs mostly escaped. Two of their number secretly admitted Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch at Sicyon, within the Long Walls of Corinth. The democrats and their allies tried in vain to dislodge him. After his victory Praxitas pulled down portions of the Long Walls, put garrisons in Sidus, Crommyon and Epieicia, and then returned to Sparta. All further operations on a large scale ceased, though the garrisons of the contending parties in Corinth and Sicyon carried on the war vigorously.* §§ 15-17. *To protect themselves*

from the ravages of Iphicrates' peltasts the Phliasians admitted a Lacedaemonian garrison within their walls. These peltasts spread terror everywhere among the Lacedaemonian allies, only the Spartans themselves daring to meet them. §§ 18, 19. The Athenians repaired the Corinthian Long Walls: whereupon Agesilaus, having first ravaged the Argolis, retook them at the same time that his brother Teleutias captured the docks.

§ 1. *μετὰ τοῦτο*, i.e. August or September, 394.

ἀφείθη. Neither Xenophon nor any other authority state what became of the Cyreians or Agesilaus' Asiatic allies.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου: cp. *Introd.* p. xlvii.

ἐκ Κορίνθου. Lysias (xvi. 16) tells us that after the battle of Corinth the strongholds in the Corinthian territory were occupied by the Corinthians and their allies *ὥστε τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δύνασθαι προσιέναι*, and that when the main body of the allies marched northwards to meet Agesilaus in Boeotia, they left detachments behind them to act as garrison: cp. iv. 4. 7.

ἐκ Σικυῶνος. In iv. 2. 23 Xenophon said nothing of what became of Aristodemus' army after the battle of Corinth. From iv. 3. 15 it appears that one regiment of it (*μόρα*) joined Agesilaus in Boeotia: probably therefore when it was disbanded, a strong force was left at Sicyon.

ἀποθνήσκοντας: Stephanus inserts *πολλούς* before *ἀποθνήσκοντας*; but if *πολλούς* be omitted (cp. *Critical Note*), *ἐαυτῶν* must be taken in the second clause as a kind of partitive genitive, to which *τινάς* must be supplied to agree with *ἀποθνήσκοντας*: cp. iv. 2. 20. The parallel sentence following with *αὐτοὺς . . . αὐτῶν* makes it more probable that some word like *πολλούς* has fallen out.

393-392 B.C.

οἱ πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι resumes the subject of the sentence, *οἱ Κορίνθιοι*, but is only a part instead of the whole. *βέλτιστοι* is used, as the sequel shows, in its political significance of aristocrats, and Xenophon here claims that they formed the majority of the citizens.

§ 2. *οἱ . . . μετεσχηκότες*. In iii. 5. 1 Xenophon has narrated how Timolaus and Polyanthes in Corinth shared in Timocrates' Persian gold: but it also appears from iv. 8. 8 that in the spring of 393 Pharnabazus and Conon visited the isthmus and left behind

them a fresh supply of money. In this passage therefore, οἱ . . . μετεσχηκότες, if the chronology proposed (cp. Introd. p. xlvii) be right, can equally well be referred to both occasions.

παλιν. The reference is probably general, i.e. to the part played by Corinth at the time of the Peloponnesian War, and not to the division of opinion just after the battle of Corinth, when some wished to treat with the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 2. 23; Dem. xx. 52.

πρωτον μὲν . . . ὡς δέ (§ 3). The first enormity was the scheme itself; the second the manner of carrying it out.

Εὐκλείων. Pausanias speaks of a temple of Eucleia at Athens (i. 14. 5) and of Artemis Eucleia at Thebes (ix. 17. 1). Plutarch (Aristid. 20) speaks of the identification of Artemis with Eucleia as disputed. Nothing is known as to the date of this festival at Corinth: cp. Introd. p. xlvii.

§ 3. τὸν μὲν τινα . . . τὸν δέ τινα: τις is added to ὁ μὲν, ὁ δέ, to show that the person is indeterminate.

συνεστηκότα ἐν κύκλῳ, 'standing talking with a group': cp. Anab. v. 7. 2 σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι συνίσταντο.

κριτήν, i.e. a judge of the contests going on in the theatre: cp. Diod. xiv. 86 ἀγώνων ὄντων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ φόνον ἐποίησαν.

§ 4. Κρανεῖφ: cp. Paus. ii. 2. 4 ἀνιῶσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον (from Cenchreae) πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον.

§ 5. του κίονος: του is Schneider's correction for τοῦ: cp. Critical Note. The MSS. all read τοῦ, but no authority throws any light on what famous column Xenophon could have meant, so that he should have used the article.

ιοῦσαι: for the participle in the sense of 'coming one after the other' cp. iv. 8. 5 τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἄρμους.

§ 6. τοὺς τυραννέοντας: cp. Critical Note, Appendix, p. 360, and iii. 1. 5 note.

τὴν πόλιν, i.e. Corinth as an independent sovereign community.

*Ἄργος . . . ὀνομάζεσθαι: cp. Diod. xiv. 92 Ἀργεῖοι . . . τὴν πόλιν (i.e. Corinth) ἐξιδιοποιησάμενοι τὴν Κορινθίων χώραν Ἀργεῖαν ἐποίησαν. Argos was a thoroughly democratical state (Thuc. v. 31), and the Corinthian democrats, now victorious, apparently hoped to secure their position by a kind of *συνοίκις* with Argos. No details

about the interpolitical arrangement between the two cities are known.

πειρωμένους . . . ποιῆσαι . . . ἀποδείξαι . . . ἄξιον εἶναι . . . γενέσθαι . . . τυχεῖν. The infinitives *ποιῆσαι* and *ἀποδείξαι* depend on the participle *πειρωμένους*; *ἄξιον εἶναι* is the infinitive after *ἐνόμισαν*: the infinitives *γενέσθαι* and *τυχεῖν* depend on *ἄξιον εἶναι*, and the participle *πειρωμένους* is in agreement with their subject.

§ 392-391 B.C.

§ 7. *Λέχαιον*: the seaport of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf was connected with the city by two Long Walls, twelve stades in length, like Piraeus with Athens, and Nisaea with Megara.

διαπραξάμενος ὥστε . . . καταμεῖναι: usually constructed with the infinitive alone without *ὥστε*: cp. v. 1. 25; 2. 6.

ἔπραττε, i.e. began making preparations for.

§ 8. *τὸ τροπαῖον*: set up by the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 2. 23.

οὕτως ἀπλῶς, 'in so straightforward a manner.'

§§ 9-11. The difficulties in understanding the fight between the Long Walls of Corinth are due to Xenophon's carelessness of writing, or, it may be, to lacunae in the text. He has omitted to state whether the Lacedaemonians drew up in front or behind their stockade. He says nothing as to how the Corinthians from the city, who were posted opposite the Lacedaemonians, fared at their hands. He leaves us to infer that the mercenaries of Iphicrates after their defeat by the Corinthian exiles made good their escape within the city walls. He does not state whether the ladders, whereby the Argives, hemmed in by the Lacedaemonians on one side and the Corinthian exiles on the other, attempted to escape, were laid against the Eastern Long Wall or the city Wall. Finally he does not explain how so many of the Boeotian garrison at Lechaeum came to be killed.

The solution of all these difficulties is hardly possible, and in any case must involve several assumptions. The Long Walls, it is to be remembered, ran North and South, being about one mile and a quarter in length, and there being a considerable distance between them. To strengthen their position, the Lacedaemonians had hastily built up a stockade with a trench in front, i.e. facing south,

and it is therefore to be assumed that on the day of battle, when owing to the reinforcements received by the enemy the odds were still greater against them than at first, they posted themselves behind the stockade, with their front towards Corinth, the Lacedaemonians themselves being on the right, the Sicyonians in the centre, and the Corinthian exiles by the Eastern Wall on the left, Pasimelus and his handful of horse being probably in the rear on the right. The enemy took up their position opposite, the Corinthians on the West, opposite the Lacedaemonians, the Argives in the centre, and Iphicrates and his mercenaries on the East. At the first onset the Argives easily overwhelmed the Sicyonians, broke through the stockade and pursued their opponents down to the sea. At the same time, the Corinthian exiles repelled the attack of Iphicrates, and coming out of the stockade (at least so it is to be supposed) pursued him and his mercenaries almost up to the walls of Corinth. The Lacedaemonians meanwhile, we must assume, these Corinthians not being mentioned again after § 9, had easily defeated the Corinthians opposed to them, but had not gone outside the stockade to pursue them. They preferred to wait for the Argives; and accordingly before their return left the stockade (ἐξελθόντες), which was broken in the centre, and formed anew just outside it with their front facing East ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα. The Argives, having overcome the opposition of Pasimelus and his dismounted horsemen, hastened back southwards ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, and thus exposed their unshielded side to the Lacedaemonians stationed on their flank. Naturally they swerved in the opposite direction, i.e. eastwards under the Long Wall, and thus met the Corinthian exiles returning from the pursuit of Iphicrates' mercenaries. Their position was now, as Xenophon describes, hopeless, their only means of escape being the ladders leading to the top of the Long Wall (for the battle took place, it is to be remembered, *inside* the walls). Those who were fortunate enough to climb on to the wall were no better off than those in the *mêlée* below; for they perished in the attempt to jump down the other side.

Diodorus (xiv. 86) gives a totally different account of the attack of the Corinthian exiles and their Lacedaemonian allies, which cannot in any particular be reconciled with Xenophon's

narrative. Its result, he says, was the capture of Lechaeum and the docks.

§ 9. *πρὸ αὐτῶν*, i. e. facing Corinth towards the south.

ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν. The reflexive pronoun (however grammatically impossible) can here only be referred to the Lacedaemonians themselves: for from what follows it is plain that they were posted near the Western Long Wall, fronting southwards.

Ἰφικράτην. For the restoration of this name in the text instead of the MSS. *Φιλοκράτη*, Schneider relies upon Diod. xiv. 86 and Polyaeus. i. 9. 45. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 10. *ἐκράτησαν*, sc. οἱ Ἀργεῖοι.

ἱππαρμοστής: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, i. e. of the Sicyonian fugitives: horse-soldiers, as a rule, were not armed with shields: cp. ii. 4. 24.

τὰ σίγμα: *σίγμα* in the best authors is indeclinable. Cp. Critical Note. For similar devices upon shields cp. ii. 4. 25; iii. 4. 17; vii. 5. 20; and for the mistake made by the Argives cp. Arist. Nic. Eth. iii. 8. 16.

σιῶ: Doric for *θεῶ*, the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

ὕμέ: Doric for *ὕμᾱς*.

χωρεῖν: infinitive dependent on *λέγεται*.

§ 11. *τοὺς καθ' αὐτούς*, i. e. Iphicrates and his mercenaries.

ἀνω: southwards towards Corinth.

τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου, the city wall: often, as in v. 3. 22, *κύκλος* means a line of circumvallation.

κρατούμενα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικυωνίους. The correctness of this reading, although it involves the interpretation of *κατά* in quite a different sense from what it bears two lines above, seems to be proved by the following *βοηθοῦσιν*; this word is otiose, if Breitenbach's conjecture *κρατοῦντα* be adopted, although he is thereby enabled to translate *κατά*, 'opposite to,' 'over against.' Reading *κρατούμενα*, we must translate *τὰ κατὰ κ.τ.λ.* 'the part of the army near the Sicyonians': cp. Anab. iv. 8. 18 οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί; Plat. Rep. 435 e οἱ κατὰ Θράκην.

ἐξελθόντες, i. e. ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, so that they marched probably through the gap made by the Argives southwards towards the city, and then reformed with their front towards the Eastern Long Wall—*ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα*.

ὅπισθεν ὄντας: because the new movement on the part of the Lacedaemonians was evidently meant to cut off the retreat, which had previously been open to the Argives.

ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, i. e. through the gap which they themselves had made: cp. ἐξελθόντες said of the Lacedaemonians just above.

τὰ γυμνά: the right and unshielded side.

πρὸς τῷ τείχει: the Eastern Long Wall.

τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Κορινθίων: returning from the pursuit of Iphicrates' mercenaries.

ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν, 'they turned back again,' being hemmed in by the Long Wall on the East, the stockade on the North, the Corinthian exiles on the South, and the Lacedaemonians on the West.

κλίμακας . . . τείχους. It is evident from the context that Xenophon must mean the ordinary ladders or steps leading to the top of the Eastern Long Wall, and not ladders let down by the citizens from the city wall to rescue the fugitives: else why should they have jumped down the other side and been killed thereby? Such headlong haste is only explicable, supposing τοῦ τείχους to mean the Long Wall.

§ 12. οὐδένα τρεπόμενον . . . πάντας . . . ὑπηρετούντας: accusatives in a sort of loose apposition to πλῆθος.

οὕτως belongs to πολλοί: cp. ii. 4. 17 note.

οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι . . . φύλακες. Andocides (iii. 18-20) says that the result of this victory was the capture of Lechaeum, and Diodorus also in his confused version of these events (xiv. 86) speaks of the capture of both τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον. Xenophon himself in this same chapter § 17 represents the Lacedaemonians ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαιίου ὁρμώμενοι σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων φυγάσι, although he does not relate the capture of τὰ νεώρια till § 19. Again in iv. 8. 10, when he is bringing up the naval events of the war to the same date, he speaks of the Corinthians as masters ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλφῳ, until Teleutias appeared upon the scene. We must assume (cp. Introd. p. xlix) that it was Teleutias' capture of τὰ νεώρια that made the Lacedaemonians once more masters of the Gulf. There are two ways of reconciling these conflicting statements. *Either* we may suppose that after the victory of Praxitas the Lacedaemonians occupied Lechaeum

(into the heart of which they certainly penetrated even according to Xenophon's story) *σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων φυγάσι*, but were subsequently expelled in some manner unrecorded; for they cannot have been in Lechaeum, whilst the Athenians were repairing the Long Walls § 18, or before Teleutias captured *τὰ νεώρια* § 19. Or we may suppose that Diodorus and Andocides are wrong, and that Praxitas withdrew the whole of his forces after his victory both from the Long Walls and from Lechaeum. This second hypothesis necessitates the supposition that Xenophon has related (§ 18) the sally of the Lacedaemonians *ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαιίου* out of its chronological order, and grouped it with his story about the Mantineans on account of the close connexion of subject; but that the event really occurred after Teleutias' capture of *τὰ νεώρια* § 19. Parallel cases for such grouping can be found in vii. chaps. 2, 3 and 4, and this permanent Lacedaemonian garrison of Lechaeum reappears iv. 5, 7, 11, 18. Xenophon's narrative and the confusion of Diodorus at this point seem on the whole to favour the second hypothesis.

Breitenbach's theory that the Lacedaemonians retained their mastery over the town of Lechaeum, but lost the docks, seems to be negatived by geographical considerations. For it appears from Paus. ii. 2. 3 and Strab. viii. 551 that practically there was no town of Lechaeum apart from the docks.

§ 13. *οἱ σύμμαχοι . . . ἐβοήθουν*: as expected before the battle § 9. *τῶν τειχῶν*: for the partitive genitive without *τι* used as the object cp. iii. 1. 4.

Σιδοῦντα . . . Κρομμῶνα, on the S. coast of the Isthmus on the road to Megara.

Ἐπιείκειαν: cp. iv. 2. 14.

φιλίας: sc. *χώρας*.

§ 14. *στρατιαὶ . . . μεγάλαι . . . φρουροὺς . . . μισθοφόρους*: *στρατιαί*, armies of citizen troops, are here opposed to *μισθοφόροι*, and *στρατιαὶ μεγάλαι* to *φρουροί*, small contingents of citizen troops sent as garrisons. The money to pay the mercenaries was doubtless furnished on the Lacedaemonian side by Agesilaus' Asiatic booty, and on the Corinthian side by the Persian gold of Pharnabazus and Conon (cp. iv. 8. 8). The numbers of men willing to serve as mercenaries were continuously on the increase, not only because

the long wars had interrupted trade and commerce, but because the endless political revolutions were always followed by the exile of citizens, who were thus deprived of all other employment. Cp. iii. 1. 13 note.

§ 15. Ἰφικράτης. Demosthenes had been the first Athenian general to discover the value of light-armed troops in his Aetolian and Acarnanian campaigns of 426 (Thuc. iii. 94 sqq.), and Cleon brought him some peltasts among the light-armed troops as reinforcements for the attack upon the Lacedaemonians in Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 28). Brasidas in his Thracian campaign had some peltasts in his army (Thuc. iv. 111). Their accoutrement seems to have been of Thracian origin (Her. vii. 75 ; Xen. Mem. iii. 9. 2 ; Aristoph. Achar. 159), consisting of javelins (ἀκόντια), targets or small shields (πέλται), and dirks (ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά). Iphicrates increased their efficiency by lengthening the javelin by one half, doubling the length of the dirk, and perhaps in some way modifying the shape or size of the target (Diod. xv. 44 ; Corn. Nep. Iphic. 1). They were thus enabled to attack not only by throwing the javelin, but with the sword at close quarters, if necessary, and at the same time they could move with as much activity as the ψιλοί, who were armed only with missile weapons and carried no shield. The πέλτη, from which the name πελταστής was derived, seems thus to have been described by Aristotle (frag. 456)—εἶδος ἀσπίδος, ἥτις ἴτυν οὐκ ἔχει οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐπίχαλκος οὐδὲ βοὸς ἀλλ' αἰγὸς δέρματι περιτεταμένη. Arrian (Tac. 3) concisely contrasts the peltasts with the hoplites and light-armed troops: τὸ πελταστικὸν δὲ κοινότερον μὲν τύγχανει ὃν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ—ἡ γὰρ πέλτη σμικροτέρα τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ ἐλαφροτέρα, καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων καὶ σαρισῶν λειπόμενα—βαρύτερον δὲ τοῦ ψιλοῦ.

Φλειοῦντα : on the upper Asopus, some 10 miles S. of Sicyon. Polyaeus (iii. 9. 54) gives rather a different version of this exploit of Iphicrates.

τοσοῦτους : Diodorus (xiv. 91) says 300.

οὐ δεχόμενοι : cp. iv. 2. 16 and note.

κατάγειεν, sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

φυλάττειν, infin. of purpose ; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

οἶανπερ : in agreement only with τὴν πόλιν, both because ἡ πόλις is the principal idea of the sentence and because the word παρέ-

λαβον is only appropriate to πόλις. According to Diod. xiv. 91 Iphicrates immediately afterwards attacked Sicyon, defeated the Sicyonians and slew 500 of them: cp. Polyae. iii. 9. 24.

§ 16. ὥς=ὥστε: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 608.

ἐκ τοσούτου, 'from so great a distance,' i. e. ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος.

οἱ νεώτεροι: cp. iv. 5. 14 and Appendix, p. 347.

§ 17. ἐπεκδραμόντες πελτασταῖς, 'having sallied out against the peltasts.'

ἐκ τοῦ . . . τείχους: cp. §§ 7 and 13. Probably one of the Long Walls is meant.

ὥσπερ μορμόνας: cp. Plat. Crito 46 c ὥσπερ παῖδας ἡμῶς μορμολύττηται.

ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου ὁρμώμενοι: cp. § 12 note.

ἐστρατεύοντο. This, the MSS. reading, seems better than Schneider's ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, because Xenophon evidently means mere marches round the walls of Corinth which were intended to show that the Lacedaemonians still remained masters of the country.

§ 18. διήρητο: cp. § 13.

ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. The Long Walls blocked the road across the isthmus. Cp. Ages. 2. 17, where Agesilaus, when he took these walls, is described as ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας.

§ 391-390 B. C.

§ 19. Ἀργεῖους . . . τῷ πολέμῳ. Similarly Andocides (iii. 27) says of the Argives, apparently just before Agesilaus' invasion, that αὐτοὶ ἰδία εἰρήνην ποιησάμενοι τὴν χώραν οὐ παρέχουσιν ἐμπολεμεῖν: cp § 1.

Ἀγησίλαος. No exploits of Agesilaus have been recorded since his return to Sparta after the battle of Coronea in the autumn of 394: cp. Ages. 2. 16, 17; and Plutarch (Ages. 19, 20), who says that in Sparta προσφιλὴς μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς τοῖς πολίταις καὶ περιβλεπτός ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς διαίτης, and that he discovered among the papers of Lysander evidence of a conspiracy against himself, which however he refused to publish.

ὑπερβαλὼν, i. e. across the mountains separating the Argolis from Corinth. The same word is similarly used without an object expressed in v. 4. 41.

κατὰ Τενέαν: cp. Ages. 2. 17 κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον.

Τελευτίας: cp. Plut. Ages. 21 μέγιστον οὖν δυνάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει διαπράττεται Τελευτίαν τὸν ὁμομήτριον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ γενέσθαι. This victory seems to be the event alluded to in Xenophon's chronicle of maritime affairs, iv. 8. 11.

τὰ νέωρια: cp. § 12 note.

τὸ πολιτικόν: opposed to the μισθοφόροι of § 14.

οἷκαδε ἀπήγαγεν: Ages. 2. 17 οἷκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει. This festival was celebrated about midsummer.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1-5. *On an expedition to Piraeum Agesilaus surprised the Argives celebrating the Isthmian games. By a ruse he captured much booty and many prisoners in Piraeum.* §§ 6-10. *Puffed up with pride he refused to notice some Theban envoys, who had come to ask for peace: just at the moment news was brought him of the annihilation of the Spartan mora. The envoys said no more about peace. Next day Agesilaus marched up to the gates of Corinth and encamped round Lechaeum.* §§ 11-17. *This Spartan mora was returning to Lechaeum from escorting the Amyclaeans on their homeward march to take part in the Hyacinthia, when it was suddenly attacked by Iphicrates and his peltasts. The hoplites were no match in speed for the light-armed troops, and their resistance to the onset grew feebler until their discomfiture was completed by the arrival of Callias and the Athenian hoplites. Only a remnant escaped to Lechaeum.* §§ 18, 19. *Agesilaus retired hastily to Sparta. Iphicrates further succeeded in capturing Sidus, Crommyon, and Oenoe: but the Lacedaemonians held Lechaeum.*

? 390-389 B. C.

§ 1. ἐκ δὲ τούτου: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

〈οἱ〉 ἐν τῇ πόλει, i.e. Corinth.

ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ. This τὸ Πείραιον must not be confused with ὁ Πειραιός of Thuc. viii. 10. As appears from the context and from Strabo viii. 380, Xenophon means the district on the NW. side of the Isthmus terminating in the promontory of the Heraeum. Ages. (2. 18) gives as an additional motive for the expedition ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ Κρέυσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνοντο.

ὁ μὲν ἐν ᾧ Ἰσθμία γίνεται. The Isthmian games were celebrated every two years, about April in the first and third Olympic years: cp. *Intro.* p. xlix.

Ἄργους τῆς Κορίνθου: cp. iv. 4. 6 note and *Diod.* xiv. 92 Ἀργεῖοι . . . τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν κατελάβοντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξειδιοποιήσαντες τὴν Κορινθίων χώραν Ἀργεῖαν ἐποίησαν.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, i. e. of Posidon.

περιέμενεν. The Corinthian exiles had asked Agesilaus to offer the sacrifice himself, but this he had refused to do, *Plut.* Ages. 21.

ἔστι μὲν ἃ . . . ἐκηρύχθησαν. *Tr.* 'for some prizes (ἃ accus. of respect after ἐνίκηθη) the same competitor was twice vanquished, while for others the same competitors were twice proclaimed the winners.'

§ 3. τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ: the exact details of time and place are noticeable throughout the whole of this expedition.

τὸ ἄστυ, i. e. Corinth.

μετεπέμφαντο: from Piraeum, as appears from Ages. 2. 19 βεβοηθηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασσυδία.

τὰ θερμά. These hot springs are close to the sea near the modern village of Lutraki at the foot of a SW. spur of Mt. Geranea.

§ 4. μικρῷ καιρῷ δέ: for the absence of μὲν cp. *Anab.* iv. 8. 9 ὄρος μέγα προσβατὸν δέ.

πάνυ qualifies ὑψηλοῦ: cp. μάλα § 1.

καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν . . . σπειρία: parenthetical.

ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἔχοντων, i. e. they had no appetite for their supper.

ἠλείφοντο. Similarly the Cyreians, caught in a snowstorm on the Armenian mountains, πῦρ ἔκαον καὶ ἐχρίοντο, *Anab.* iv. 4. 12.

ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. Either the celebrated temple on the Isthmus near which the Isthmian games were held, or a small temple in the Piraeum not far from the Heraean promontory, which *Curtius* (*Peloponnesos* ii. 553) suggests may have been dedicated to Posidon.

§ 5. τὸ Ἥραιον: a temple of Hera Acraea on the headland formed by the westernmost spur of Mount Geranea.

Οἰνόην: a fortress on the north side of the Isthmus which protected the Corinthian frontier towards Megara.

ἐντετειχισμένον, i.e. in the district of Piraeum: cp. Ages. 2. 19 τὰ τεῖχη ἃ ἐντετείχιστο.

τῶν σφαγέων: for the massacre cp. iv. 4. 2-4.

τοῖς φυγάσι, i.e. the Corinthian oligarchs: cp. § 2.

πραθῆναι: according to the practice of Greek warfare. Contrast Agesilaus' reply to those same Corinthian oligarchs, when they wished on some other occasion to enslave their own city, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν, Ages. 7. 6.

§ 6. πρεσβεῖαι . . . πολλαί. It appears from Andocides' speech De Pace, the probable date of which (cp. Introd. p. xlviii) is 392-391 winter, that there had already been many but fruitless negotiations for peace: cp. iv. 8. 15 note.

οὐδ' ὁρᾶν ἐδόκει: cp. Plut. Ages. 22 ὁ δὲ μισῶν μὲν αἰὲ τὴν πόλιν (Thebes), οἰόμενος δὲ τότε καὶ συμφέρειν ἐνυβρίσαι, προσεποιεῖτο μήτε ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀκούειν ἐντυγχανόντων.

Φάρακος: perhaps the same Lacedaemonian as the Pharax who had been admiral in 397: cp. iii. 2. 12, 14.

τὴν λίμνην. There is a lake, now called Buliasmeni, just eastward of the Heraeum: where it adjoins the temple, there are considerable ruins.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων, 'from the camp': cp. ii. 4. 6.

§ 7. τὸ . . . πάθος: the article seems to presuppose the reader's previous knowledge of the disaster: cp. iv. 3. 10 and Introd. p. xxx. The details of the event are given in §§ 11-17.

τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας: cp. iv. 4. 12 note.

πολεμάρχους . . . ξεναγούς: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 8. τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν, sc. σκηνὴν: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 4 ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε. The σύσκηνοι of the king were the Polemarchs and three Spartiatae, ibid. 13. 1: cp. iv. 7. 4; vi. 4. 14.

δορυφόροι: cp. iii. 3. 9 and Appendix, p. 347.

τοῦ μὲν: Agesilaus.

τῶν δὲ: οἱ περὶ δαμοσίαν.

τὰ θερμά: § 3 note.

ἀνηρημένοι εἴησαν, i.e. ὑπόσπονδοι: cp. iii. 5. 24, 25.

διετίθετο, i.e. sold them.

§ 9. εἰς ἄστυ, i.e. to Corinth.

§ 10. τὸ τροπαῖον. Trophies were held sacred.

Κρεῦσιν: the nearest seaport to Thebes on the Corinthian Gulf.

ἐν χώρῃ, 'on the spot,' i. e. in battle.

λαμπροὶ . . . περιῆσαν: cp. the reception at Sparta of the news of the battle of Leuctra, vi. 4. 16.

§ 11. τὰ Ὑακίνθια. 'This festival the Dorian conquerors [of Laconia] took over from the Amyclaeans. It was celebrated at the end of the month Hecatombaeon (July) and lasted three days. On the first day the offering of the dead was brought to Hyacinthus. His urn was opened, and the ashes drenched with wine and milk. The funeral feast was then eaten in solemn silence. On the next day, which was sacred to Apollo, the rites were more cheerful. The day began with a great procession in which all the Amyclaeans, a large portion of the Spartans, and many of the neighbouring population, took part. The procession was accompanied by a poem in anapaestic measures, and ended with the presentation to the god of the robe woven by the Spartan women. The remainder of the day was occupied with a sacrifice and feast and various kinds of amusements. The third day was devoted to games, of which the throwing of quoits formed a large part.' Abbott, Hist. of Greece, I. vi. 22: cp. Her. ix. 7; Thuc. v. 23; Paus. iii. 19. 3; 16. 2; Athenaeus iv. 139.

ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα: on the second day of the festival.

κατέλιπε, i. e. before the march to the Isthmus and Piraeum.

τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μύρῃ: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 12. κατεφρόνονν: the accusative and infinitive expresses the opinion that they contemptuously held. 'They arrogantly presumed that no one would attack them,' Dakyns: cp. v. 4. 45 μέγα φρονούντες μὴ ὑπείξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις; Her. i. 66 καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι.

§ 13. Καλλίας reappears as the Athenian orator at the Congress in Sparta in 371 B.C., vi. 3. 2. He is one of the interlocutors in Plato's Protagoras: he owned the most splendid house in Athens, and had spent more money on the Sophists than all the rest of the world: Plat. Prot. 337 d; Apol. 20 a.

τῇ ὁδῷ, 'if [the Lacedaemonians] marched along the road.'

εἰς τὰ γυμνά: the right unshielded side: cp. iv. 4. 11.

ἀποφυγεῖν: subject, Callias and Iphicrates.

§ 14. ὁ μὲν τις . . . ὁ δέ: cp. iv. 4. 3 note.

τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς: shield-bearers, mostly slaves, who followed the hoplites even on the field of battle: cp. iv. 8. 39; Anab. iv. 2. 20.

τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν, i.e. with honour untarnished according to Spartan notions: cp. § 17.

τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης: cp. ii. 4. 32 note and Appendix, p. 347.

§ 15. ἦρουν: better ἦρουν, 'caught,' 'overtook': cp. Appendix, p. 360.

ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς, i.e. the hoplites could not come within a spear's throw of the peltasts. The prep. ἐκ is used to denote the distance the pursuers were *from* the pursued.

καὶ γὰρ . . . ἐκέλευε. This seems to give the reason why the hoplites could not come up with the peltasts, so that the subject to ἐκέλευε must be ὁ Ἰφικράτης and αὐτοὺς must mean τοὺς πελταστάς. Breitenbach, however, understands the subject to be ὁ πολέμαρχος, αὐτοὺς to be the Lacedaemonian hoplites, and τοὺς ὀπλίτας to be the Athenian hoplites—an interpretation which seems to involve greater difficulties both of translation and meaning. Moreover, Callias and his hoplites were at the time of the first attack a long way off: cp. §§ 14 and 17.

ὡς τάχους: the genitive depends on ὡς: cp. ii. 1. 14; iii. 4. 16 note.

ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου: the prep. ἐκ is accounted for by the following verb ἡκόντιζον: cp. iii. 1. 22.

§ 16. τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης: men between thirty and thirty-five years old.

οἱ ἱππεῖς, i.e. the escort to the Amyclaeans, § 12.

τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις, i.e. the hoplites sent out to skirmish.

τούτοις, neuter: the things already described.

καὶ αὖθις, 'again and again.'

§ 17. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαιῶν must mean Lacedaemonians or their allies forming part of the garrison at Lechaëum, who were not sufficiently numerous to force their way by land past Callias' hoplites to the assistance of the distressed *mora*, and therefore attempted to help them by sea.

τοὺς ὀπλίτας: commanded by Callias, § 14.

περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους: the smallness of these numbers is suspicious, as Xenophon in § 12 estimated the total strength of the *mora* at 600, and apparently very few escaped alive.

§ 18. οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο. Iphicrates received extraordinary honours from the Athenians for this victory: cp. Dem. xxiii. 198; Corn. Nep. Iphic. 2 moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia.

διῶν, i. e. through the towns, as appears from εἰς τὰς πόλεις.

ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος: the difficulty of this passage is that the distance of Orchomenus from Mantinea is seven or eight English miles, in other words two hours' march. If then Agesilaus started at dawn, how could he have passed Mantinea ἔτι σκοταῖος? Büchsenschütz's conjecture πρὸ ὄρθρου solves the difficulty. Campe's alteration of the order of the words into ἔτι σκοταῖος ἀναστὰς ὄρθρου is not so good, because, as Büchsenschütz remarks, the point emphasized is that Agesilaus marched past Mantinea, not at daybreak, but ἔτι σκοταῖος: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σκοταῖος: for the adjective in place of an adverb cp. Anab. ii.

2. 17 σκοταῖοι προσιόντες.

χαλεπῶς ἄν: to be taken with θεάσασθαι.

τοὺς Μαντινέας. Not only had there been old causes of hostility between the Spartans and Mantineans (cp. iii. 2. 21), but recently the Spartans had taunted them with fearing Iphicrates' peltasts ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια, iv. 4. 17.

§ 19. ὑπὸ Πραξίτου: cp. iv. 4. 13.

ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου: cp. § 5.

εἶλε: for Iphicrates' departure from Corinth cp. iv. 8. 34 and note.

παρπλέοντες καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι, i. e. sailing along the coast to Lechaeum and sallying forth from thence: cp. Critical Note.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1-12. *At the entreaty of the Achaeans, who wished to secure Calydon against the attacks of the Acarnanians and their allies, Agesilaus led an expedition into Acarnania. By a long march into the heart of the country he captured rich booty, but on his return extricated his army with great difficulty from the mountains, inflicting however considerable loss upon the Acarnanians.* §§ 13, 14. *Discontented at these results the Achaeans entreated Agesilaus to stay longer in the country. Promising a second invasion he retired through Aetolia to Rhium and thence homewards.*

? 389-388 B. C.

§ 1. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : cp. *Intro.* p. xlix.

τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας : acc. to *Thuc.* iii. 102 the ancient name of this district, including Calydon and Pleuron, was Aeolis.

πολίτας πεποιημένοι, i. e. admitted to membership of the Achaean League ; cp. *Thuc.* iii. 63, the Thebans said to the Plataeans, ἐγένεσθε . . . Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται.

οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες : cp. iv. 2. 17. In the Peloponnesian War they were allies of Athens (*Thuc.* ii. 9, 68 ; iii. 105, 114), and sent a contingent to the Athenian expedition against Syracuse (*Thuc.* vii. 57).

συμμάχους εἶναι ; for the alliance cp. iii. 5. 2 note.

§ 2. ἐπόμεθα : cp. iii. 2. 26 against Elis, and iv. 4. 17 at the battle of Corinth.

§ 3. τοῖς τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ : cp. *Appendix*, p. 341.

τὸ μέρος, i. e. proportionate contingents from the Spartan allies : cp. vi. 1. 1.

§ 4. οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν : *Diodorus* (xix. 67) represents Cassander as advising the Acarnanians in 314 B.C. ἐκ τῶν ὀχυρῶν καὶ μικρῶν χωρίων εἰς ὀλίγας πόλεις μετοικῆσαι.

εἰς Στράτον : situated upon the Achelous, the largest city of the Acarnanians. From this passage it appears to have been the place of meeting of the Acarnanian League : cp. *Thuc.* ii. 80, 82, 102.

ἐαυτοῦς, i. e. the Lacedaemonians : cp. iii. 1. 3.

§ 5. ἢ . . . ἢ, 'either . . . or' : σταδίων is the genitive dependent on πλέον : cp. *Hipparch.* 8. 25 καταλιπὼν ἢ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων ἵππων.

§ 6. τὴν λίμνην : *Xenophon* seems here as elsewhere (cp. iv. 5. 7 note) to assume in the reader a previous acquaintance with the facts. Reckoning the distance of Agesilaus' marches, we may perhaps assume that *Xenophon* means the largest lake in Acarnania, some seven miles long, to the NW. of Stratus.

διεπώλει, i. e. to the λαφυροπῶλαι : cp. iv. 1. 26 note.

§ 7. πελτασταί : cp. *Thuc.* ii. 81 δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν (i. e. σφενδονᾶν) ; *ibid.* vii. 31 ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν χωρίων σφενδονήτας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς ξυναγείρων.

κατεβίβασαν δέ, i.e. compelled the Lacedaemonian army to come down to the level ground.

στρατιῶται, i.e. the Lacedaemonian soldiers.

§ 8. καταλαβόντες, sc. τὰ κύκλω περιέχοντα ὄρη.

§ 9. πρὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς, i.e. places inaccessible to hoplites and horsemen.

ἔγνω διώκειν, for the infin. cp. iii. 1. 12.

τοὺς . . . προσκειμένους, i.e. the Acarnanians who attacked him on the left.

§ 10. μάλα κατεῖχον, 'were pressing him very hard': cp. Thuc. v. 5 αὐτοὺς κατεῖχεν ὁ . . . πόλεμος; ibid. i. 103 αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον.

τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης: cp. iv. 5. 14, 16.

§ 11. ἠφίεσαν: imperfect with double augment from ἀφίημι.

τοῖς δόρασιν: generally used to thrust, not as missile weapons: cp. ii. 4. 15.

§ 12. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου: adverbial='afterwards': cp. vii. 1. 44 τὸ μέχρι τούτου.

τὸ μετόπωρον: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

§ 14. Ναύπακτον . . . ἀπολαβεῖν. According to Paus. x. 38. 10, at the end of the Peloponnesian War the Locrians regained possession of the town, which had originally belonged to the Aetolians (cp. Thuc. i. 103). In 367 B.C. it was in the hands of the Achaeans (cp. Diod. xv. 75) as well as Calydon and Dyme; when however they seized the place, is unknown.

τὸ ῥίον: at the narrowest point of the Corinthian Gulf, less than two miles from Antirrhium on the Achaean coast.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: nothing more is known of the presence of an Athenian squadron in these waters at this time, i.e. about 389, when they were showing great naval activity in the Aegean: cp. iv. 8. 31; v. 1. 1-9.

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. *The threat of a second invasion speedily induced the Acarnanians to make peace with the Achaeans and to enter the Spartan League.* §§ 2-7. *Agisipolis headed a second invasion of the Argolis. Before entering the country he consulted the gods in Olympia and Delphi, whether he might*

lawfully refuse to acknowledge the Sacred Truce, which on similar occasions the Argives had fraudulently pleaded. Assured that he might, he entered the country and advanced to the very gates of Argos, doing great damage.

¶ 388-387 B.C.

§ 1. τοῦ ἥρος : cp. Introd. p. xlix.

ἔφαινεν, sc. ὁ Ἀγισίλαος : elsewhere the phrase is used only of the Ephors or the Assembly ; cp. Appendix, pp. 337, 342.

ἐν μεσογείᾳ . . . τὰς πόλεις : so that no supplies could reach them by sea.

συμαχίαν : Ages. 2. 20 Ἀχαιοὶς μὲν φίλους ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἐαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους, i.e. the Amphilochean Argives.

§ 2. ἐκ δὲ τουτου, cp. Introd. p. xlix.

Ἀγισίπολις : cp. iv. 2. 9 and note.

ἐγένετο, 'were favourable' : cp. iii. 1. 17 note ; iii. 4. 3.

τὸν θεόν : Zeus.

ὁσίως . . . ἔχοι=ὄσιον . . . εἴη : cp. four lines lower. For the fact cp. iii. 2. 22 note.

οὐχ ὁπότε . . . τοὺς μῆνας. Pausanias (iii. 5. 8) in narrating the same incident speaks of πατρώους δὴ τινὰς σπονδὰς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστώσας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. We may therefore infer that at the time of the Carnean and other such festivals (the plural τοὺς μῆνας shows that there were more than one) the various Dorian states felt themselves bound to respect the Holy Truce during their celebration, when it was duly proclaimed. The Argives apparently availed themselves of the chaos of the Greek Calendars, which were reckoned differently in different states, to proclaim such a truce, whenever it suited their convenience (cp. ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν § 3), even when they did not resort to tricks still more disreputable, like that practised in 419, when they invaded the territory of Epidaurus only a few days before the Carnean festival. On that occasion, according to Thucydides (v. 54), instead of keeping the month Carneia, they pretended that they were continuing to keep the 27th day of the preceding month, until they withdrew their forces.

ἐμβάλλειν . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι. No such instances are recorded. Xenophon mentions no such attempt to hinder either of Agesilaus' invasions : cp. iv. 4. 19.

ὑπέφερον, 'pretended': cp. Thuc. v. 54 τὸν μῆνα προφασίσαντο.

ἐπεσήμεινεν, i. e. indicated by signs observed in the sacrificial victim. On the other hand, Apollo at Delphi spoke through the mouth of the Pythoness, ἀπεκρίνατο.

κατὰ ταῦτά: cp. Arist. Rhet. ii. 23. 12 Ἑγήσιππος (Ἀγησίπολις) ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπρώτα τὸν θεόν, πρότερον κεκρημένος Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν, εἰ αὐτῷ ταῦτα δοκεῖ ἄπερ τῷ πατρί, ὥς αἰσχρὸν ὄν τὰναντία εἰπεῖν.

§ 4. σπονδῶν: for the custom of pouring libations at the end of a meal cp. Sympos. 2. 1 ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπεισαν καὶ ἐπαίανισαν.

ὁ θεός, i. e. Posidon.

τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας: cp. iv. 5. 8 note.

ᾤοντο ἀπιέναι, 'thought that they ought to retire.'

Ἄγης: cp. iii. 2. 24.

σεῖσειε: the optative is used, because a general principle is enunciated.

ἐπικελεύειν: ἐπί in composition denotes assent or encouragement: cp. § 2 ἐπεσήμεινεν.

§ 5. οὐ. The MSS. οὐ seems hardly consistent with the context, since it was Agesipolis' ambition to advance farther than Agesilaus had done before him. If it be retained, the statement must be taken to refer strictly to the shortness of that particular day's march. Tillmann's simple conjecture αὖ removes all difficulty.

νεωστί: 391 B.C.: cp. iv. 4. 19.

ὥσπερ πένταθλος. The comparison applies to πάντη: just as the πένταθλος strives to distance his competitor in every one of the five contests, so Agesipolis tried to surpass Agesilaus in every respect. There is no need to discover in this rather comical rivalry traces of political jealousy, as some commentators have done, relying on v. 3. 20.

§ 6. καὶ . . . ποτε introduces one of the instances in which Agesipolis tried to advance farther than Agesilaus: καὶ γάρ is more usual. Xenophon means that on one occasion Agesipolis had come so near to the walls that he was exposed to the fire of missiles from the towers, which compelled him to retreat.

Λακωνικήν: for geographical reasons Madvig conjectures Σαρωνικήν.

προσαπαρέναι : a poetical word, never elsewhere used in Attic prose.

οἱ Κρηῆτες : Cretan archers fought on the Lacedaemonian side at the battle of Corinth : cp. iv. 2. 16.

Ναυπλίαν : a coast town, six miles SE. of Argos.

§ 7. τὰς εἰρκτάς. What this inclosed space was is entirely unknown. Pausanias (iii. 5. 9) says the thunderbolt fell when the king ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρατοπεδεύετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀργείων.

πληγέντες . . . ἐμβροντηθέντες : cp. Paus. l. c. καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἰβρονταί.

παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν. The MSS. of Strabo (viii. 328) have Κηλώσσα, for which Κοίλωσσα and Κοιλοῦσσα have been conjectured. It was a mountain in the territory of Phlius.

ἄλοβα : cp. iii. 4. 15 note.

CHAPTER VIII

§§ 1-4. *Meanwhile after their victory Pharnabazus and Conon expelled the Spartan harmosts from the islands and coast cities. At Ephesus Pharnabazus gave Conon 40 ships and bade him meet him at Sestos, because Dercylidas kept fast hold of Abydos.* §§ 5, 6. *Dercylidas further secured Sestos, so that Pharnabazus found these two cities unassailable. The satrap left Conon in the Hellespont with orders to collect a large fleet for the next campaign.* §§ 7, 8. *In the spring Pharnabazus and Conon crossed to Melos, ravaged the Spartan coasts, garrisoned Cythera, and supplied the allies at Corinth with money.* §§ 9-11. *Pharnabazus returned home, but allowed Conon to remain with the fleet to help the Athenians rebuild their Long Walls and the Wall of Piraeus. This was successfully accomplished. With the Persian gold the Corinthians fitted out a fleet, and it was not until the appointment of Teleutias that the Spartans could regain the mastery of the Corinthian Gulf.* §§ 12-15. *Alarmed at Conon's successes the Spartans sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, at the same time that the Athenians and their allies sent envoys to counteract his influence. The terms that he proposed to the Satrap were for various reasons rejected by all the other envoys.* §§ 16-19. *Tiribazus, having supplied Antalcidas with money and arrested Conon, went up to the Persian King. His place was taken by Struthas, who vigorously supported the Athenians. The Spartans despatched Thibron to make war upon him : but he soon contrived to surprise*

and slay Thibron and to scatter his forces. §§ 20-22. Alarmed lest the Athenians should win over Rhodes, the Lacedaemonians at the entreaty of the Rhodian oligarchs sent out Ecdicus with 8 ships, and at the same time despatched Diphridas to replace Thibron. Diphridas was more successful against Struthas; but Ecdicus, finding the Rhodian democrats too strong, remained inactive at Cnidus. §§ 23, 24. Telentias was sent to supersede Ecdicus. On his way to Rhodes he captured an Athenian squadron sailing to the help of Evagoras in Cyprus. He brought back his spoils to Cnidus, and then proceeded to Rhodes. §§ 25-30. Hereupon the Athenians despatched Thrasybulus with 40 ships. First he persuaded Medocus, king of the Odrysae, and Seuthes to become allies of Athens. Then he sailed to Byzantium, sold the tolls, and set up a democracy. Next he made friends with the Chalcedonians. Arrived in Lesbos, where only the Mytilenians were friendly, he collected an army, attacked Methymna, defeated and slew the Spartan harmost, and raised a large sum of money, besides winning over some of the other cities. Before sailing for Rhodes he extorted money both from other cities and from Aspendus. In revenge the Aspendians slew him. §§ 31-39. The Athenians sent out Agyrrhius to replace Thrasybulus. The Ephors despatched Anaxibius to supersede Dercylidas at Abydos, where he did much damage to Athenian interests. The Athenians accordingly sent out Iphicrates and his peltasts to the Hellespont. Iphicrates surprised and slew Anaxibius as he was returning from Antandros.

394-393 B. C.

§ 1. ἐν ᾧ δὲ . . . διηγέσονται. Xenophon groups together all the most important events that happened by sea between 394 and 387 in iv. 8. 1-v. 1. 30: cp. *Introd.* pp. xvii, 1.

γράφω . . . παρήσω: cp. *Introd.* p. xxix.

τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, i.e. at Cnidus in 394: cp. iv. 3. 11 and notes *ad loc.*

τὰς νήσους κ.τ.λ. According to Diod. xiv. 84 Pharnabazus and Conon first caused Cos, Nisyros, and Teos to revolt: then Chios expelled the Lacedaemonian garrison and the like was done by Mytilene, Ephesus and Erythrae—all of which joined the victors. Of the rest some similarly expelled the Lacedaemonian garrisons and asserted their independence, whilst others went further and actively supported Conon: so that the Lacedaemonians ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον. An inscription (Hicks, 70) records the honours paid by the Erythraeans to Conon, and another (CIA. ii. 11) treaties between Athens and Chios and Phaselis.

τοὺς . . . ἀρμοστάς: cp. iii. 5. 13 note.

αὐτονόμους: cp. Tithraustes' offer to Agesilaus in 395 τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους οὕσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ (βασιλεῖ) ἀποφέρειν, iii. 4. 25.

§ 2. οἱ δέ, i.e. the inhabitants of the πόλεις.

§ 3. τετταράκοντα τριήρεις: cp. Diod. xiv. 83. The combined fleet at Cnidus numbered 90 triremes: cp. iv. 3. 11 note.

Σηστόν. This city had been captured by the Lacedaemonians after Aegospotami (cp. ii. 1. 28 note), and still remained in their hands: cp. infr. §§ 5, 6.

Δερκυλίδας . . . πολέμιος: Agesilaus had in the summer of 394 sent Dercylidas to the Hellespont to announce the Lacedaemonian victory at Corinth to his Asiatic allies. The cause of Dercylidas' personal enmity against Pharnabazus is narrated iii. 1. 9.

τὴν Ἀβυδὸν . . . φίλην: cp. Dem. xxiii. 158 Ἀβύδου τῆς τὸν ἄπανθ' ὑμῖν (i.e. the Athenians) χρόνον ἐχθρᾶς.

§ 4. ὑμῖν . . . φίλοις οὖσι . . . εὐεργέτας. As in iv. 1. 35, the participial clause in the dative agreeing with ὑμῖν expresses the condition, the accusative with the infinitive its result.

ἔστι . . . ἔχον: cp. Anab. iv. 1. 3 καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον.

εἰ . . . ἐκρατήθην: εἰ with the indicative (instead of ὅτι) expresses Dercylidas' unwillingness to recognize the undoubted fact.

οὕτως: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

Ἑλληνικὸν . . . ναυτικόν: Xenophon (cp. iv. 3. 11 and note), calls Conon's division of the fleet τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, so that Dercylidas must here mean by Ἑλληνικόν a fleet from Greece proper, as indeed appears from ἡ Ἑλλάς in the context.

§ 5. ἰόντας . . . ἐδέχοντο . . . μετεπέμποντο: the pres. part. and imperf. tenses express repeated action.

διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους: Dercylidas in 398 had secured the Greeks in the Chersonese against the Thracians by rebuilding the wall across the Isthmus: cp. iii. 2. 10.

Ἀσία . . . βασιλέως. So iii. 5. 13.

Τῆμνος; West of Magnesia on the Hermus.

Αἰγαιεῖς. This place is unknown. Valckenaer's conjecture is exceedingly probable—Αἰγαί εἰσι, Aegae being a place ten miles north of Temnos: cp. Critical Note.

ὁ . . . πολιορκηθήσεσθαι, i.e. both land and sea forces are necessary for the blockade of the place.

αὐ, i.e. as he had already done at Abydos.

ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι, 'kept them from being panic-stricken.' For the genitive cp. Aristoph. Lys. 380 σχήσω σ' ἐγὼ τῆς νῦν βοῆς.

§ 6. ἐπ' οἴκου: to Dascyleum: cp. iii. 4. 13.

ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει: from Dercylidas (iii. 1. 9 ff.) and from Agesilaus (iii. 4. 12 ff.; iv. 1. 1 ff.).

393-392 B. C.

§ 7. ἅμα δε τῷ ἔαρι: 393 B. C.

διὰ νήσων: the islands of the Aegean, without the article as in vi. 2. 12: cp. Diod. xiv. 84 τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους προσαγαγόμενοι.

καταπλεύσας, sc. ὁ Φαρνάβαζος.

Φαράς: at the head of the Messenian Gulf, the modern Kalamas.

τὰ τῆς βοηθείας, i.e. the danger of a Spartan force coming to the rescue.

§ 8. ἄρμοστήν. This term, usually restricted to Spartan, Xenophon also uses of Theban governors in vii. 1. 43; 3. 4, 9.

τοῖς συμμάχοις, 'the confederates,' as § 13. There is no trace in Xenophon of any formal alliance either as already existing or concluded at this time between Persia and the anti-Lacedaemonian confederacy (cp. iii. 5. 1, 2), so that Diodorus (xiv. 84) must be incorrect in representing Pharnabazus and Conon at Corinth *συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι*.

§ 9. λέγοντος . . . καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη . . . ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος: an easily intelligible anacoluthon.

τὰ μακρὰ τείχη: destroyed by Lysander in 404: cp. ii. 2. 23.

οὗ . . . βαρύτερον: for the importance of these walls to Athens cp. Thuc. i. 69, 93.

χρήματα: cp. Cor. Nep. Con. 4 Conon . . . muros dirutos a Lysandro utrosque et Piraei et Athenarum reficiendos curat pecuniaeque quinquaginta talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

§ 10. ὥρθωσε: CIA. ii. 830, 831, cp. 161; iv. 2, 830 b; Diod. xiv. 85. The first inscription proves that the rebuilding of the Athenian fortifications by Conon was begun in the archonship of

Eubulides (July 394 to July 393) Αἰγεῖδος τειχοπ[οιοὶ . . .] ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου αἶρ[εθέντες] . . . μισ[έωτης] Κόνων: the second shows that the work went on for some time—at least to the archonship of Philocles, 391-390. Similarly Diodorus (l. c.) under the year of Eubulides states—ὁ δ' οὖν Κόνων μισθωσάμενος πλῆθος τεχνιτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν πληρωμάτων ὄχλον εἰς ὑπερεσίαν παραδούς, ταχέως τὸ πλείστον μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνφοκοδόμησε.

Βοιωτοί. Contrast their conduct eleven years previously: ii. 2. 19.

§ 11. ἐπιστολεύς: cp. i. 1. 23; 5. 1; ii. 1. 7.

Ἑριππίδας: last mentioned as a xenagus at the battle of Coronea; iv. 3. 17: cp. iii. 4. 20 note.

Ῥίον: cp. iv. 6. 14 note.

392-391 B. C.

Τελευτίας, brother of Agesilaus: iv. 4. 19.

αῦ . . . πάλιν: αῦ to be joined with οὗτος, i. e. Teleutias as opposed to the other admirals; πάλιν goes with ἐκράτει.

§ 12. Τηρίβαζον. Tiribazus, satrap of Western Armenia during the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Anab. iv. 4. 4) and one of the royal benefactors (Diod. xv. 10), seems to have succeeded Tithraustes (iii. 5. 1) as satrap of Ionia (v. 1. 28), and as commander of the Persian forces in Asia Minor (cp. § 17 with i. 4. 3).

Ἀνταλκίδαν, son of Leon, is represented by Plutarch (Ages. 23: cp. Artax. 21) as the personal and political enemy of Agesilaus.

τῇ πόλει ποιείσθαι. The middle is used in its reflexive force 'to make peace for their own state': εἰρήνην ποιεῖν would mean 'to bring about a peace in general': cp. Andoc. iii. 24, 41.

§ 13. μετὰ Κόνωνος. Conon must therefore have remained about a year at Athens. Not only had he rebuilt the Long Walls, but he had given his fellow-citizens fifty talents (Cor. Nep. Con. 4), feasted them at his own expense (Athenaeus i. 5) and erected a temple to Aphrodite at Peiraeus to commemorate his victory at Cnidus (Paus. i. 1. 4). The Athenians in gratitude conferred ἀτέλεια upon him and erected a bronze statue in his honour like those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, with the inscription ἡλευθέρωσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους (Dem. xx 70; Isoc. ix. 57; Paus. i. 3. 2).

§ 14. ἐκεῖ: at Sardis.

τῶν . . . ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ . . . πόλεων. Tithraustes, the successor of

Tissaphernes, had offered similar terms to Agesilaus in 395 : cp. iii. 4. 25.

§ 15. *Λήμνου κ.τ.λ.* These three islands, among the earliest Athenian possessions won by Miltiades (Her. vi. 40) and Cimon (Thuc. i. 98) and the last to be given up at the end of the Peloponnesian War (cp. ii. 2. 15 note), must have recently been recovered through the influence of Conon.

οἱ Θηβαῖοι κ.τ.λ. Supremacy over the other Boeotian states, the constant aim of the policy of Thebes (cp. Thuc. iii. 65, 66), was only realized for a few years under the leadership of Epaminondas : cp. Appendix, p. 357.

οἱ Ἀργεῖοι : cp. iv. 4. 6.

ἡ εἰρήνη . . . ἀτελής. It would appear from Andocides' speech *De Pace* that Sparta shortly afterwards—probably in the winter of 392-391—made another effort to bring about a general peace in Greece, this time without any appeal to Persia. Andocides, one of the Athenian envoys, strongly advocated the peace, the terms of which were according to him peculiarly favourable to Athens. Notwithstanding a general clause to make *τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους*, the Athenians were to retain possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros and to keep their newly built Long Walls and triremes without interference. The Boeotians were to recognize the independence of Orchomenos and the Argives to give up their hold upon Corinth. Andocides represents the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians as eager for the peace, the Argives and Corinthians as opposed to it. The historian Philochorus (fr. ap. Andoc. *de Pace* *ὑπόθ.*) stated that the Lacedaemonian envoys *ἀπράκτους ἀνελθεῖν μὴ πείσαντος τοῦ Ἀνδοκίδου* : cp. iv. 5. 6 note.

§ 16. *λάθρα . . . χρήματα.* Doubtless because his neighbour Pharnabazus was, with the approval of the king, supporting the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians.

ὅπως ἂν . . . προσδέοιντο : *πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ* stands as protasis to *προσδέοιντο ἂν* : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 330.

Κόνωνα . . . εἶρξε : cp. Diod. xiv. 85 *πρόφασιν μὲν λαβὼν ὅτι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς δυνάμεσι τὰς πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις κατακτᾶται, προσαγαγόμενος δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Σάρδεϊς συνέλαβε καὶ δήσας εἰς φυλακὴν κατέθετο.* This was the end of Conon's public career. Lysias (xix. 39-41) speaks of his dying of disease in Cyprus. Nepos (Conon, 5) mentions

a conflict of testimony, one story being that he was carried up to Susa and put to death, the other that he escaped from Tiribazus. Isocrates (iv. 154), like Diodorus, only mentions his arrest, ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησαν.

‡ 391-390 B. C.

§ 17. τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν, i. e. as *κάρανος* of Asia Minor; cp. i. 4. 3 ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ; Diod. xiv. 99 Ἀρταξέρξης μὲν Στρούθαν στρατηγὸν καταστήσας ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν μετὰ δυνάμεως Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμήσοντα.

Θίβρωνα. Apparently the same Thibron who had been superseded in his command by Dercylidas in 399, recalled to Sparta and punished with exile for his misconduct towards the Asiatic allies (iii. 1. 8).

διαβάς: this was the first Lacedaemonian squadron to cross the Aegean since the battle of Cnidus.

Πριήνης . . . Λευκόφρυος . . . Ἀχιλλείου: cp. iii. 2. 17, 19 notes.

§ 18. περιβαλλομένους . . . δύναιτο, 'to surround and carry off whatever they could'—a hunting metaphor, taken from driving wild animals into a confined space.

διασκηῶν. The verb is used of soldiers leaving their mess and retiring each to his own quarters: cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 38 διασκηνοῦντων μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον.

ἄτε λακωνίζων: Thersander was an Ionian: cp. Polyae. vi. 10.

§ 19. ὀλίγους τοὺς πρώτους. According to Diodorus (xiv. 99), Thibron's army numbered 8,000 men.

πλείους . . . βοηθείας. However the lacuna be supplied, the meaning must be that still more escaped with their lives, because they heard of the engagement too late to take any part in it: cp. Critical Note.

§ 20. Ῥοδίων. Xenophon has made no previous mention of Rhodian affairs, and the antecedent events can only imperfectly be put together out of Diod. xiv. 79, 97. The revolt of the island from Sparta and the admission of Conon to the harbour (cp. iii. 4. 28 note) in 395 implied, it would seem, the supremacy of the democratic party. But in 391 the oligarchs rose against the democrats, expelled them from the city, and defeated them in a pitched battle. Then further to secure their position they sent envoys to Sparta περὶ βοηθείας, εὐλαβούμενοι μή τινες τῶν πολιτῶν νεωτερίσωσι.

This story of Diodorus explains the small number of the ships which the Spartans sent to aid the Rhodian oligarchs, but it is inconsistent with Xenophon's οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου and with § 25 τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας (where τεῖχος can only mean a fort, not the acropolis, as Breitenbach suggests, of Rhodes) and τοὺς σφετέρους (Athenian) φίλους . . . τὰς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ μάχῃ κεκρατηκότας. In fact Diodorus seems just to reverse the position of the two parties and in ch. 99 speaks of the democrats as having seized φρούριόν τι and as fighting πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

συνθεμένους, i. e. 'to allow the Athenians to subjugate Rhodes and unite so great a power with their own.'

ναὺς ὀκτώ: Diod. xiv. 97 ἑπτὰ τριήρεις.

Ἐκδικον . . . Διφρίδαν. Diodorus gives the names of τρεῖς ἄνδρας, Εὐδόκιμον, Φιλόδοκον καὶ Διφρίδαν.

§ 22. ἐγχειρητικώτερος: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

§ 23. τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν: cp. iv. 4. 19; 8. 11 notes, and Introd. p. liv.

εἰς τὴν Σάμον. For the hostility of Samos to Sparta cp. iii. 5. 1 note. According to Diod. xiv. 97, Eudocimus and his colleagues πρῶτον εἰς Σάμον κομισθέντες ἀπέστησαν τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναίων.

§ 24. Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου. There is no reason beyond the name and date for identifying this Philocrates with the Philocrates accused in Lysias' Oration xxix.

ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ Εὐαγόρου: cp. iii. 4. 1 note. Evagoras had supplied Conon with a large portion of his fleet at the battle of Cnidus in 394 and on Conon's arrival at Athens had been decreed public honours: cp. CIA. ii. 397; Isoc. ix. 57. Not content with the kingship of Salamis, he had attempted to win supremacy over the other states of Cyprus, three of which—Amathus, Soli, and Citium—appealed to Persia for aid. The king charged the Carian prince Hecatomnus and the Lydian satrap Autophradates with the task of checking his ambitious schemes. Evagoras thus finding himself involved in a war with Persia sought help from the Athenians, who out of gratitude and forgetful of their own need of Persian support against Sparta, first despatched this squadron of ten triremes under Philocrates and, again in 388 a second squadron under Chabrias: v. 1. 10; cp. Diod. xiv. 98; Isocr. ix. *passim*.

ἀμφότεροι . . . πράττοντες : a kind of nominative absolute, the meaning of which is plain from the context : cp. i. 1. 10.

συμμαχίαν = auxiliaries : the abstract for the concrete. So vi. 1. 13.

ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ = ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνον πολέμῳ. So iii. 2. 22. διαθέμενος, i. e. disposed of by sale. So iv. 5. 8.

αὐτῶν, i. e. the Lacedaemonians : cp. Critical Note.

§ 390-389 B. C.

§ 25. πάλιν, i. e. since the battle of Cnidus in 394.

Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα : last mentioned iii. 5. 16. The name of his deme is here for the first time added to distinguish him from Thrasybulus ὁ Κολλυτεύς mentioned in v. 1. 26.

σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν. The first fleet of any considerable dimensions sent out by Athens since the Peloponnesian war.

τείχος : cp. § 20 note.

§ 26. εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον. According to Diod. xiv. 94, he went first to Ionia where he raised money παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων.

οὐδενὸς . . . παρόντος. Dercylidas was still at Abydos, but had no fleet : cp. §§ 5 and 32.

Ἀμήδοκον . . . Σεύθην. Seuthes as a boy had on the death of his father found refuge with Amedocus : cp. iii. 2. 9 ; Anab. vii. 2. 32.

τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Θράκῃ : the usual expression is τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης (ii. 2. 5 and Thuc. *passim*) or simply Θράκη (i. 3. 10 ; 4. 9 ; iii. 2. 9) ; ὑπό is to be understood in its local sense of 'under.' Demosthenes (xx. 59) represents as mainly instrumental in τοῦ γενέσθαι σύμμαχον τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον the surrender of Thasos to Thrasybulus by the party of Ecphantus, who expelled the Lacedaemonian garrison.

§ 27. Βυζάντιον : Dem. l. c. relates that Archebius and Heraclides delivered over Byzantium to Thrasybulus, which made the Athenians κυρίους τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ὥστε τὴν δεκάτην ἀποδόσθαι. Since Aegospotami Byzantium seems always to have remained under Spartan influence : cp. ii. 2. 1 ; Anab. i. 1. 9 ; ii. 6. 4 ; Diod. xiv. 12.

ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην : cp. Alcibiades' conduct after his victory at Cyzicus, i. 1. 22. Thrasybulus' ambition evidently was to re-establish the Athenian Empire on its old footing : cp. iii. 5. 10.

§ 28. Καλχηδονίους: cp. ii. 2. 2.

ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ: Mytilene had revolted from Sparta immediately after the battle of Cnidus; cp. iv. 8. 1 note.

πρὶν . . . συντάξας . . . προσλαβὼν . . . ὑποθείς . . . ταῦτα δέ: an anacoluthon, due to the interposition of the long participial clauses; the particle πρὶν is never used with participles.

τετρακοσίους. The small number of hoplites is perhaps to be explained by Diodorus' story (xiv. 94) that Thrasybulus lost 23 triremes in a storm off Eresus on the west coast of the island. However, if this had really been the case, Xenophon would hardly have omitted to mention the loss of more than half the fleet. Moreover Diodorus seems mistaken in representing the other Lesbian states, except Mytilene, as having recently revolted from Athens.

προστάται πάσης Λέσβου. Cp. the accusation brought against the Mytilenaeans just before their revolt from Athens in 428 B.C., (Thuc. iii. 2) ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσι τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίαν.

§ 29. ἀπῆντων: the plural instead of the singular, κατὰ σύνεσιν; cp. i. 1. 10.

389-388 B.C.

§ 30. τὰς μὲν . . . τῶν πόλεων: cp. Diod. l. c. τὴν μὲν τῶν Μηθυναίων χώραν ἔφθειρε τὴν δ' Ἐρεσον καὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρέλαβε.

ὅπως <δ'> ἂν . . . ποιήσαιο: cp. Diod. l. c. παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων συμμάχων ἀθροίσας ναῦς, and iv. 8. 1 note. For ὅπως ἂν with the optative cp. Goodwin, M. T. 330.

ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων: Halicarnassus especially suffered and Thrasybulus' colleague Ergocles was afterwards condemned to death for the part that he had played in these marauding expeditions. Lys. xxviii. 8, 12; xxix. 2.

Ἀσπενδον: in Pamphylia.

ἀδικησάντων . . . ἀγρῶν: cp. Diod. xiv. 99 χρήματα δ' εἰληφότος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ὅμως τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐδήωσαν τὴν χώραν.

§ 31. μάλα . . . ἀγαθός. On the results of Thrasybulus' attempt to restore the Athenian Empire cp. Appendix, p. 355.

Ἀγύρριον: not again mentioned by Xenophon. He first appears

as γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς in 403-402 B.C., CIA. ii. 1 b. Andocides (i. 133) in 399 accuses him of conspiracy with others to contract for the 2 per cent. customs dues for less than they were worth. Demosthenes (xxiv. 134) states that he was imprisoned for many years for embezzling the public money, but does not specify the occasion. He restored the θεωρικά and was the first to introduce payment of one obol for attendance at the Ecclesia—probably after Conon's arrival at Athens—and this he further increased to three obols (Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 41 and Aristoph. Eccles. 183-300, exhibited c. 391). Hereby he seems to have gained great influence (cp. Aristoph. Plut. 176, exhibited 389-8), was elected στρατηγός and sent out to succeed Thrasybulus: Plat. Com. fr. 185. Harpocration (s.v.) calls him δημαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀφανής, and Suidas adds στρατηγὸς ἦν θηλυδριώδης, ἄρξας ἐν Λέμνῳ (?), ὃς τὸν μισθὸν τῶν ποιητῶν συνέτεμεν.

ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. After Thrasybulus' death the Athenian fleet sailed to Rhodes to help the Rhodian democrats, Diod. xiv. 99.

πεπραμένη: cp. § 27.

ἔχουσι, sc. Ἀθηναίους: participle dependent on εὖ ἔχουσιν, for which Madvig proposes to read εὐνοοῖεν.

§ 32. Δερκυλίδας. Since the battle of Cnidus he had with very insufficient forces gallantly maintained himself in Abydos: cp. § § 3, 26.

Ἀναξίβιος. Xenophon himself had had bitter experience of Anaxibius' duplicity and intrigues, when the latter was ναύαρχος in 400 B.C.: cp. Anab. vii. 1 and 2.

διεπράξατο ὥστε: cp. iv. 4. 7 note.

καὶ πολεμήσειν, i.e. would not only hold Abydos, as Dercylidas had done, but would also fight.

§ 33. κατήγεν, 'he brought into port from the high seas': so v. 1. 28.

τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων: ἐκείνων is gen. dependent on συμμάχων; cp. vii. 1. 13.

§ 34. Ἰφικράτην: cp. iv. 5. 19, where Xenophon records his further successes against the Lacedaemonians after the destruction of the mora.

τῶν ἀργολιζόντων. Diodorus (xiv. 92) agrees with Xenophon, adding, however, that Iphicrates wanted to seize Corinth on behalf of Athens as ἐπιτῆδειον οὖσαν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν, but that the Athenians refused to support him.

ἀπελθών: he resigned his command and was succeeded by Chabrias: cp. Diod. l. c.

§ 35. αὖ . . . πάλιν: cp. § 11 note.

ἐπανελθών: in a pregnant sense, 'having gone to the mountains and up them'—ἐπί, of the object aimed at, and ἀνά, upwards; cp. infra, ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι.

τῆς ἄνω, sc. ὁδοῦ, i. e. towards Proconnesus, § 36. This genitive instead of acc. with verbs of motion is rare even in Attic poetry (cp. Aesch. Choeph. 710; Soph. O. T. 1478) and extremely rare in prose; cp. Thuc. iv. 47 ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς σχολαίτερον προσιόντας; Anab. i. 3. 1 ἵεναι τοῦ πρόσω.

§ 35. ὥς μὲν: without any corresponding δέ.

οὐδὲ . . . γεγενημένων, 'the victims having proved unfavourable': cp. iii. 1. 17 note.

τῆς ἐπὶ Προκοπνῆσου, sc. ὁδοῦ.

§ 37. ἀφηγούμενοι, 'in the van.'

Κρεμαστήν: on the river Rhodius, about nine miles south-east of Abydos. The gold mines were at Astyra in the mountains still further to the south-east; Strabo xiii. 591; xiv. 680.

§ 38. ἐπὶ πολὺ τε . . . ἐκτεταμένον, 'extended over a long and narrow way.'

καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν. The admiration with which Xenophon relates the story of the noble death of his old enemy Anaxibius (cp. Anab. vii. 1) is good evidence of the historian's truthfulness and impartiality.

§ 39. ὑπασπιστοῦ: cp. iv. 5. 14 note.

ἐν χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ: cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 23 αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ, 'there on the spot.'

τὰ παιδικά: cp. Resp. Lac. 2. 13.

ἄρμωστήρων. This Ionic form for ἄρμωστῶν is only used by Xenophon in this passage. These harmosts had taken refuge with Dercylidas at Abydos, § 5.

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

§§ 1-5. *In revenge for acts of piracy encouraged by the Spartans, the Athenians blockaded the Aeginetans and fortified a post upon the island. Teleutias raised the blockade. Hierax, his successor, sailed to Rhodes leaving his secretary Gorgopas at Aegina, who forced the Athenians to abandon their post. The Aeginetans then renewed their depredations.* §§ 6-9. *Antalcidas sailed to Ephesus to replace Hierax, and sent his secretary Nicolochus to the Hellespont. Gorgopas surprised an Athenian squadron off the Attic coast, capturing 4 ships.* §§ 10-12. *Chabrias on his way to Cyprus to help Evagoras defeated and slew Gorgopas, whereupon the Aeginetans stopped their depredations.* §§ 13-24. *Teleutias was reappointed admiral, much to the joy of the Peloponnesian sailors at Aegina. He made a sudden descent on Piræus, and with the rich booty taken thence, and the capture of many cornships and merchantmen amply provided for his sailors.* §§ 25-28. *Antalcidas came down with Tiribazus, bringing terms of peace from the king. He went to Abydos to relieve Nicolochus, who was blockaded there by the Athenians, surprised an Athenian squadron, and being joined by Syracusan and Italian ships gained full command over the sea.* §§ 29-31. *The Greek states, all for various reasons eager for peace, gladly obeyed the summons of Tiribazus to listen to the terms dictated by the king, viz. that the Greek states in Asia should belong to Persia, and that the Greek states in Europe should all be autonomous, except the Athenian possessions, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros.* §§ 32-36. *All the states agreed to the terms except the Thebans; but on the threat of an invasion they submitted. Agesilaus also compelled the Corinthians to dismiss their Argive garrison. All armed forces were disbanded. Sparta reaped great advantages as champion of the King's Peace.*

§ 1. *πάλιν.* Xenophon has told us nothing of any previous visit of Eteonicus, the omission is probably due to carelessness, cp. vii. 1. 41 *αἴθις ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας* and Introd. p. xxix.

ὁ Ἐτεόνικος. Possibly the same as the Eteonicus, who was

harmost of Thasos in 410 B.C. (i. 1. 32), who was stationed at Mytilene at the time of the battle of Arginusae in 406 (i. 6. 35-38), did good service in Chios in 405, and after Aegospotami re-organized the coast towns of Thrace on Lacedaemonian principles (ii. 1. 1-6; 2. 5).

καὶ = καίπερ.

ἐπιμειξία . . . τῶν Αἰγινήτων: for the old hostility between Athens and Aegina cp. ii. 2. 3 note.

τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον, as the context stands, is ambiguous. It may either mean before the arrival of Eteonicus, or before the assumption of open hostilities at sea (ἐπεὶ, κ.τ.λ.).

ἐπεὶ . . . ἐπολεμεῖτο: states the reason for the sudden change of attitude on the part of the Aeginetans.

συνδόξαν: accus. absol.: cp. iii. 2. 19 note; Goodwin, M. T. 851.

λήζεσθαι: for the distinction between πολεμεῖν and λήζεσθαι cp. Thuc. v. 115 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ' ὥς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους λήζεσθαι.

§ 2. Πάμφιλον. Probably the same as the Pamphilus alluded to by Aristophanes (Plut. 174, date c. Feb. 388), ὁ Πάμφιλος δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον (τὸν πλοῦτον) κλαίσεται; he is closely coupled in this passage with Agyrrius: cp. iv. 8. 31.

ἐπετείχισαν: cp. iii. 2. 1 note: the verb is similarly used without an accusative in vii. 2. 20.

Τελευτίας: last mentioned as sailing to Rhodes—probably in the autumn of 391: cp. iv. 8. 24.

τυχῶν . . . ἀφιγμένος. If the reading be correct (cp. Critical Note), the meaning must be, 'having chanced to arrive at one of the islands.' ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι = ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων τινός: for the supplementary participle with τυχῶν cp. Goodwin, M. T. 887.

κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον: cp. i. 1. 8 ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν.

ἀπύλασε, i.e. Teleutias drove away the Athenian blockading squadron.

§ 3. οὐδεὶς . . . ὅς οὐκ, i.e. every one without exception.

ἐστεφάνωσεν . . . ἐταινίωσεν: cp. the honours paid to Brasidas by the Scionaeans, Thuc. iv. 121 δημοσίᾳ μὲν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀνέδησαν ὥς ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐταινίου τε καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ.

ὅμως καὶ = ὅμως καίπερ. The particle ὅμως is similarly placed before the limiting clause in vi. 4. 14.

ἀναγομένου: gen. abs., sc. αὐτοῦ: cp. i. 1. 26.

§ 4. γιγνώσκω: for Xenophon's comment cp. Intro. p. xxvi.

§ 5. αὖ . . . πάλιν: cp. iv. 8. 11, 35: αὖ is to be taken with Ἰέραξ, as opposed to Teleutias: πάλιν means simply 'back again to Rhodes,' which had previously been Teleutias' headquarters (iv. 8. 25).

Γοργώπαν . . . ἄρμοστήν. Xenophon does not state what was the relation of Gorgopas to Eteonicus, who reappears after the death of the former, § 13. For ἐπιστολέα cp. i. 1. 23 note.

οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, i. e. the Aeginetans.

πέμπτῳ μηνί: in the fifth month since the building of the ἐπιτείχισμα, § 2. For the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.

τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου: for the preposition cp. iii. 1. 22 note.

πάλιν αὖ: αὖ here simply strengthens πάλιν: contrast supr. αὖ . . . πάλιν.

Εὐνομον: possibly the same as the Eunomus mentioned by Lysias (xix. 19) as a friend of Dionysius of Syracuse, and sent by Conon as an envoy to that monarch.

ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς: the same phrase is used of Teleutias, § 13: for ἐπί cp. iii. 4. 20. Xenophon here and apparently in i. 6. 29 and perhaps too infr. § 13 uses ναύαρχος in its generic sense: usually he limits the term to the Spartan admiral.

388-387 B.C.

§ 6. Ἀνταλκίδαν . . . Τιριβάζω: cp. iv. 8. 12 note.

εἰς Ἔφεσον. It first appears from § 25 that from Ephesus Antalcidas went to Sardis to meet Tiribazus, and that the two then travelled together up to Susa.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις: 25 in number, § 7: ἐπί is here used with the dative, but in ii. 1. 12 ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε.

Ἀβυδηνοῖς: threatened by Iphicrates and the Athenians, cp. iv. 8. 39; v. 1. 7, 25.

§ 7. οἱ . . . στρατηγοί: including Iphicrates and Diotimus, § 25.

Σαμοθράκης . . . χωρίων: cp. Appendix, p. 355, and iv. 8. 26 note: for κατ' ἐκεῖνα cp. iii. 5. 17.

ἐκ Χερρονήσου. The Chersonese was the headquarters of

Iphicrates and the other Athenian generals, iv. 8. 34-39. Iphicrates made many successful raids upon the Thracians and Odrysae (Polyaen. iii. 9. 4, 41, 46, 50, 60, 62) and replaced Seuthes (iv. 8. 26) on his throne: cp. Cor. Nep. Iphic. 2, 'bellum cum Thraecibus gessit, Seuthem, socium Atheniensem, in regnum restituit.' Xenophon resumes the story of Hellespontine affairs in § 25.

δύο, dative: here as often undeclined.

§ 8. ὥσπερ νομίζεται: 'as is usual': so ii. 4. 36.

λίθων . . . φωνῆς. For the use of the voice cp. Sil. Ital. vi. 360:

'Mediae stat margine puppis
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus
Et remis dictet sonitum.'

For the use of stones cp. the Roman 'portisculus,' a hammer or truncheon, with which the boatswain marked the time for the rowers.

παραγωγῇ, i. e. making the oar strike the water at an angle instead of at right angles—a method known in rowing circles as 'slicing the oar.'

§ 9. Ζωστήρα: a promontory on the west coast of Attica, now Cape Kavouras.

οἱ δέ: as if οἱ μὲν had preceded.

πρὸς τὴν σελήνην: for the preposition cp. Oecon. 16. 13 ὀπτὴν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

§ 10. Χαβρίας. On the recall of Iphicrates from Corinth (cp. iv. 5. 19; 8. 34) Chabrias had been despatched by the Athenians to succeed him (Diod. xiv. 92). It may therefore be conjectured that Corinth was the starting-point of his Cypriot expedition, as he is in this passage said to have received reinforcements καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν, which seems to imply that he was sailing from some port other than Piraeus: cp. Corn. Nep. Chab. 2, 'publice ab Atheniensibus Euagorae adiutor datus.' Xenophon says nothing of Chabrias' splendid achievements in Cyprus, for which cp. Dem. xx. 76; Corn. Nep. l. c.

Εὐαγόρα: cp. iv. 8. 24 note.

καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν implies either that Chabrias put in to the Piraeus to get reinforcements, or that they joined him on his voyage to Aegina.

αὐτὸς . . . τοὺς πελταστάς, i. e. without the hoplites.

τοῦ Ἡρακλείου : the site has not as yet been identified.

Δημαινέτου : mentioned again, § 26.

ἐπέκεινα : 'beyond the Heracleum,' the distance being reckoned apparently from the town of Aegina.

ἔνθα . . . καλεῖται = ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἡ Τριπυργία καλουμένη : cp. Oec. 4. 6 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ σύλλογος καλεῖται. The position of the Tripirgia—apparently some hill—is uncertain.

§ 11. μετὰ . . . σύν : μετά, as distinguished from σύν, here implies that the Aeginetans were the main force accompanying Gorgopas, in which the marines and eight Spartans were only small items.

Σπαρτιατῶν . . . ὀκτώ, i. e. σύν ὀκτώ, οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντες.

ἀπό : similarly used v. 4. 15.

ἐλεύθεροι : cp. vii. 1. 12, where Cephisodotus says of the Lacedaemonian naval forces, οἱ δὲ ναῦται δῆλον ὅτι ἔσονται ἢ Εἰλωτες ἢ μισθοφόροι.

§ 12. ἄτε . . . ἀθρόου ὄντος, 'as there was no close order': cp. iv. 1. 19.

καταδεδραμηκότες means apparently—'who had hastily put in to shore and disembarked' in the manner above described : cp. iv. 7. 6.

§ 13. τῷ Ἐτεονίκῳ. Xenophon has said nothing of the movements of Eteonicus since § 1.

ἐμβάλλειν : the full phrase is κόπη χεῖρας ἐμβάλλειν.

ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον : cp. Critical Note. The sphere of Teleutias' admiralship is limited to these ships in Aegina (cp. § 5 ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς). He had already once held the office of High Admiral, either in 392-1 or 390-89 (Introd. p. li), and at the present time Antalcidas was High Admiral, §§ 5, 25.

§ 14. εὖ δ' ἔστε without ὅτι is usually parenthetical as iii. 5. 11. But it is similarly used vi. 1. 15.

ἢ καί : for καί after a comparative with a negative cp. vi. 5. 39.

τὰ ἐπιτήδεια : object to ἔχειν.

αὐτὸς . . . ὑμᾶς : cp. ii. 1. 26 note.

εἰσιέναι, infin. of purpose : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

§ 15. οἷσθε . . . καρτερεῖν, 'think that you also must put up with': cp. iv. 7. 4; Appendix, p. 360.

§ 16. τὰγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ. A similar expression is used of the Spartans in Plat. Alcib. ii. 148 c Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἰδία καὶ δημοσία ἐκάστοτε παραπλησίαν εὐχὴν εὔχονται τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς διδόναι κελεύοντες αὐτοῖς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

§ 17. κολακεύειν . . . ἔνεκα μισθοῦ: cp. the words of Callicratidas, i. 6. 7.

§ 18. ἄπερ καὶ ὥς ἐμέλλετε, 'as doubtless you were so minded already': for καὶ ὥς cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 17 ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπέπερ καὶ ὥς οἴκοθεν ἀποδημοῦμεν, φρουρήσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία: cp. however Critical Note.

προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι, κ.τ.λ., 'and next provide yourselves, please, with one day's food' (Dakyns). μοι is the ethical dative: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 19. κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος, sc. τοὺς ναύτας: i.e. 'setting the sailors to work at the oars.' Liddell and Scott seem to interpret the verb 'to approach the shore.' Madvig proposes προκομιζόμενος in the sense of 'advancing.'

δώδεκα: the original number left by Hierax in charge of Gorgopas, § 5.

ἐπὶ . . . κεκτημένους, 'against men who had many ships': the participle is used substantively in an indefinite sense: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 827.

§ 20. ἄλλοθι δέκα, i.e. ἐπὶ δέκα ἄλλοθι οὖσας: ἕξω, 'in a foreign harbour,' in the next sentence corresponds to ἄλλοθι.

κατὰ ναῖν . . . σκηνήσειν, 'the sailors would be quartered each on his own ship.'

§ 21. ἀνέπαυεν, sc. τοὺς ναύτας as in § 19.

ὑπέφαιεν: cp. iii. 4. 16 note.

ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ναυσίν: dat. of the instrument, constructed with both καταδύειν and λυμαίνεσθαι.

πειρᾶσθαι: infinitive, as if ἐκέλενε had preceded: cp. Her. vii. 104 οὐκ ἔων φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι (sc. κελεύων).

ἐκ τῶν μειζόνων, sc. πλοίων: to be connected with λαμβάνειν.

Δεῖγμα: the quay on the west side of the harbour, where merchants set out their wares for sale.

§ 22. ἄστυ, i.e. Athens.

§ 23. ἄτε . . . πλέων : this clause explains why so many fishing and ferry boats were captured : they had no suspicion of Teleutias' ships, because they sailed out of Piraeus.

ἀπὸ νήσων : without the article, as in iv. 8. 7.

§ 24. προέδωκε, 'paid in advance' : cp. i. 5. 7.

πλήρεις . . . ἔτρεφε, 'kept the ships fully manned' : cp. i. 5. 5.

387-386 B.C.

§ 25. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας : cp. § 6. According to Plutarch (Artax. 21, 22) Antalcidas had succeeded in personally ingratiating himself with Artaxerxes, notwithstanding that monarch's great dislike to the Spartans in general as ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀναιδισταίτους (cp. iv. 8. 17). It was, moreover, obviously to the interest of Persia to make peace at this moment. For not only had the Athenians recovered their Hellespontine province and some of the islands (cp. Appendix, p. 355), but they had actively supported Evagoras in his revolt against the Great King (iv. 8. 24 ; v. i. 10). Evagoras had just reached the highest point of his success, having subjugated almost the whole of Cyprus, captured Tyre, ravaged Phoenicia, and raised a rebellion in Cilicia. He had too made alliances with and received reinforcements from Acoris, king of Egypt, Hecatomnus, a Carian chieftain, the king of the Arabians, and other rebellious princes, so that it was necessary for Artaxerxes to collect the whole force of the Empire against him : cp. Isocr. ix. 62 ; Diod. xiv. 110 ; xv. 2 ; Justin. vi. 6. 2.

συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα. Even Agesilaus, the opponent of Antalcidas, acquiesced : cp. Plutarch's story (Artax. 22) ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα 'Φεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου μηδίζουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Λάκωνες.' 'Οὐ μᾶλλον,' εἶπεν, 'οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσι.

Ἀθηναῖοι : for the pre-eminent position of Athens cp. Appendix, p. 355.

τῇ εἰρήνῃ : the principal conditions are given § 31.

Νικόλοχον : cp. § 7.

ὡς μεταπεμπομένων : gen. absol. with ὡς : 'a report that (literally, 'as though') the Chalcedonians were inviting him' : cp. iv. 3. 14 ; Goodwin, M. T. 917, 918. Thrasybulus had two or three years before won the Chalcedonians over to the Athenian side, iv. 8. 28.

ἐν Περκώτῃ: on the south coast of the Hellespont, about eight miles north-east of Abydos.

§ 26. αἰσθόμενοι: Foucart (Rev. Archéol. xviii. p. 408) refers with great probability to this deception of the Athenian generals an inscription (CIA. ii. 38) recording an Athenian decree, whereby Phanocritus of Parium, on the Asiatic coast, some thirty miles east of Percote, was rewarded for certain information given to the Athenian generals, which εἰ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπίθοντο, ἐάλωσαν ἂν αἱ τρήρεις αἱ πολέμιαι.

Δημαίετον κ.τ.λ.: cp. § 10: the other Athenian generals are not otherwise known, unless there be an allusion to this Dionysius as an injurer of the Athenian state in Dem. xix. 180. In 378-7 he was chosen as one of three envoys to Thebes, CIA. ii. 17.

τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοπνῆσου, sc. ὄδον as in iv. 8. 36.

τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν: cp. § 28 note. Polyxenus was a kinsman and trusty counsellor of Dionysius the Elder: Diod. xiv. 8, 62.

Θρασύβουλος: ὁ Κολλυτεύς is added to distinguish him from his more famous namesake Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στειριεύς. This Thrasybulus seems to have been punished for the loss of his ships on this occasion: cp. Dem. xxiv. 134 Θρασύβουλον τὸν Κολλυτέα πάντες μέμνησθε δις δεθέντα καὶ κριθέντ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς κρίσεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ· καίτοι τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς οὗτος ἦν.

§ 27. προσπληρώσασθαι . . . καταλειπομένων, 'having ordered them to make up any deficiency there might be in their crews from the ships left behind (at Abydos).'

† τῶν βραδυτέρων: cp. Critical Note.

§ 28. αἷτε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἵκουσιν. This was the first occasion that Dionysius the Elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, sent help to the Lacedaemonians in return for their previous support. For other occasions cp. vi. 2. 33, vii. i. 20, 28. The Lacedaemonians had in 404 B.C. sent an envoy Ariston and shortly afterwards no less a person than Lysander himself to strengthen Dionysius on his newly won throne: ἥλπιζον γὰρ συγκατασκευάζοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπήκοον ἔξειν τὸν Διονύσιον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας (Diod. xiv. 10; Plut. Lys. 2). Again in 398-7 they had supplied him with mercenary soldiers to use against Carthage (Diod. xiv. 44); and two years later the Lacedaemonian Pharacidas, the commander of 30 ships from his allies in Italy and Peloponnesus, had saved the tyrant, when he

was reduced to the last extremity by the Carthaginians without the walls and his rebellious subjects within (Diod. xiv. 63-70). αἷ τε . . . δὲ καὶ αἱ: this irregular combination of particles seems due to the repetition of ἦλθον.

Ἰωνίας, ὅσης . . . Τιρίβαζος: must mean the portion of Ionia recovered by the Persians after the battle of Cnidus, iv. 8. 1, 2. For Tiribazus cp. iv. 8. 12.

ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους: Ariobarzanes was now, it would seem, in addition to his own districts, administering the satrapy of the absent Pharnabazus, which included Aeolis and the Lesser Phrygia; cp. iii. 1. 10; 2. 1. Xenophon has mentioned him once previously (i. 4. 7) as an official subordinate to Cyrus the Younger.

ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ. This explains the assistance now given to the Lacedaemonians from this satrapy; whereas Pharnabazus had been Sparta's bitterest enemy.

τὴν βασιλείως θυγατέρα: Apame, cp. Plut. Artax. 27.

ὁ δὲ . . . ἐκράτει: an independent sentence, instead of an apodosis, due to the length of the parenthetical remarks between it and the original protasis introduced by ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον.

ὀγδοῖκοντα: the largest fleet collected by the Spartans since the battle of Cnidus.

τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, κ.τ.λ.: especially cornships: cp. i. 1. 35.

ἐαυτῶν: for the plural cp. iv. 6. 4.

κατήγεγν: i.e. compelled them to enter the harbours of the Lacedaemonian allies and there discharge their cargo.

§ 29. οἱ . . . Ἀθηναῖοι. Thus it was that with only 32 ships (§ 7) to meet Antalcidas' 80 the Athenians found themselves, for fear of a repetition of their disasters at Aegospotami and afterwards, obliged not only to give up all dreams of further extension of their empire, but to abandon the greater part of what they had already won back: cp. Appendix, p. 356.

ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν: cp. § 24.

οἱ . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Though the Lacedaemonians were now masters of the sea, they owed this supremacy chiefly to the aid given them by Artaxerxes and Dionysius; while on the other hand this paragraph plainly shows that by land in Greece proper they had made no progress since 390: cp. iv. 5. 19.

ἐν Λεχαιῶ: cp. iv. 5. 18.

ἐν Ὀρχομενῶ: in Boeotia: cp. iv. 3. 15.

πράγματα . . . Κόρινθον. This exact repetition of the language of iv. 5. 19 shows that no events of importance had occurred in the war in Greece between 390 and the present date, 387.

οἱ . . . Ἀργεῖοι . . . ὑποφορά. It thus appears that the invasion of the Argolis by King Agesipolis in 388 or 387 had led to no definite results: cp. iv. 7. 2-7.

§ 30. παρεγένοντο: probably at Sardis.

σημεῖα: cp. i. 4. 3 ἐπιστολὴν . . . τὸ βασιλεῖον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, and vii. 1. 39 δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγίδα.

εἶχε δὲ ᾧδε. It appears from the inscriptions (CIA. ii. 15, 17, 17 b) that Xenophon has not, as Grote and others have imagined, given the exact text of the 'Peace,' but only the more important conditions. These inscriptions seem to prove that the phrase used in the original was ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους and not merely αὐτονόμους.

§ 31. ἐαυτοῦ εἶναι. A similar clause had appeared in the third treaty of the year 412 between the Spartans and King Darius: (Thuc. viii. 58) χώραν τὴν βασιλέως, ὅση τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, βασιλέως εἶναι· καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βουλευέτω βασιλεὺς ὅπως βούλεται: and thus the Lacedaemonians were now obliged to take less than the terms offered to Agesilaus by Tithraustes in 395—(iii. 4. 25) τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον διασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν: and even less than the terms previously offered by Antalcidas to the king on his mission of 392 B.C., iv. 8. 12-15: cp. § 36 note.

Κλαζομενάς: a little island between Smyrna and Erythrae. Shortly before this time a dissension had broken out among its citizens (Arist. Pol. v. 3. 13), in consequence of which some of them had migrated and settled at Chyton on the mainland. To strengthen their position, the remaining citizens entered into a treaty with Athens, wherein they agreed to pay ἡ ἐπὶ Θρασυβούλου εἰκοστή, on condition that the Athenians did not interfere with their internal affairs or occupy their city with a garrison against their will (CIA. ii. 14, 14 b). The date of the inscription is the archonship of Theodotus, 387-6, which proves that Antalcidas cannot have become master of the sea before July, 387. Cp. Swoboda, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 174.

Κύπρον: cp. § 25 note.

πόλεις . . . αὐτονόμους : for the formula cp. Thuc. v. 77 τὰς δὲ πόλεις τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτοίνομους εἶμεν.

Λήμνον . . . τὸ ἀρχαῖον . . . Ἀθηναίων : cp. Appendix, p. 354.

ὁπότεροι, i. e. of the two contending parties in the Corinthian war.

ἐγώ. It is curious that here there is the same change from the third to the first person as in the correspondence of Xerxes and Pausanias ; Thuc. i. 128, 129.

μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων. For the meaning cp. Diod. xiv. 110 τοῖς δὲ ἀπειθοῦσι καὶ μὴ προσδεχομένοις τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εὐδοκούντων πολεμήσειν : ' with those who share my views ' (Dakyns). For the advantages which the vague wording of this clause gave to Sparta cp. § 36 note.

§ 32. ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν : cp. Appendix, p. 357. It had always been the Theban ambition to form a *συννοικισμός* of all the Boeotian states similar to that attributed to Theseus in Attica ; but the scheme had never been successful. Plataea, supported by Athens, had always and obstinately maintained her independence : cp. Her. vi. 108 ; Thuc. ii. 2 ; esp. iii. 61 ἡμεῖς (the Thebans) δὲ αὐτοῖς (the Plataeans) διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον ὅτι ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτῆς, ἃ ξυμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξέλασαντες ἔσχομεν, οὐκ ἠξίουον οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεῦσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν, παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. Similarly the jealousy of her powerful rival Orchomenus had always hampered Thebes in Eastern Boeotia ; cp. iii. 5. 6 note. The Thebans now wished to swear as if Thebes were ἡγεμών of ξύμμαχοι ὑπήκοοι, whereas Sparta, although ἡγεμών of the Peloponnesian confederacy, always professedly recognized the liberty and autonomy of her allies (cp. Thuc. v. 79 ταὶ . . . πόλεις ταὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κοιναγεόντων τῶν σπονδᾶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμαχιᾶν αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις, κ.τ.λ.), and seriously consulted them on questions of peace or war : cp. ii. 2. 19 ff. ; iii. 4. 2 ; v. 2. 11, 20, 37 κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.

ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος. Notwithstanding that the peace proposals had emanated from his political opponent Antalcidas, and that by them his own efforts to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor were deliberately abandoned, Agesilaus saw in the Peace an instrument whereby to humiliate the Thebans, the real cause of Sparta's troubles in Greece and of his own recall from Asia, and accordingly

showed himself foremost in enforcing its provisions : cp. §§ 25, 36 notes ; Plut. Ages. 23.

δέξασθαι : for the aorist instead of the future cp. i. 6. 14 and Thuc. v. 22 οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι : Goodwin, M. T. 127.

αὐτονόμους εἶναι : the infin. present denotes the actual fact produced by the royal mandate : cp. i. 3. 9 ; vi. 5. 3. It is noticeable that Agesilaus does not quarrel with the Theban envoys for wishing to swear ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν—Sparta indeed had done the same in behalf of her allies—but for refusing to recognize them as ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι.

οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις : these words and the context seem to imply, as Grote and other historians assume, a second congress of Greek envoys at Sparta, summoned for the purpose of swearing to the Peace.

Ἰτε νυν : cp. iv. 1. 39 note.

§ 33. ἐθύετο, i. e. the sacrifice preliminary to crossing the frontiers on a campaign against the Thebans.

ἐγένετο : cp. iii. 1. 17 note.

τῶν . . . ἱππέων : partitive genitive as iii. 1. 4.

ξυναγούς : cp. iii. 5. 7, where the manner of summoning the contingents is the same.

οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . αὐτονόμους. This seems to imply that the Thebans did indeed swear ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν, only that now they recognized them as ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι instead of σύμμαχοι ὑπήκοοι.

§ 34. τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν : cp. iv. 4. 6 ; 5. 1 note : the Corinthian democrats are meant.

αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς, i. e. the political union with Argos was given up : cp. iv. 4. 6.

οἱ σφαγεῖς : for the massacre cp. iv. 4. 2–4. After capturing the Heraeum Agesilaus had delivered all among his prisoners, who were implicated in it, over to their political opponents, iv. 5. 5. The remainder now sought refuge at Athens, Dem. xx. 54.

αὐτοὶ γόντες, 'of their own accord.'

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες. This statement can only be harmonized with Ages. 2. 21 ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Ἀγησίλαος ἀντείπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἕως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἡνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε

καταδέξασθαι, by referring the latter to the time, when Agesilaus was bringing pressure to bear upon the Corinthians in general, before the withdrawal of the extreme democrats.

§ 35. διελύθη . . . διελύθη: for the *anaphora* cp. ii. 3. 55; vii. 1. 2.

Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . Ἀθηναίοις. This passage proves once more that the Peace of Antalcidas was primarily aimed against Athens: cp. Appendix, p. 355.

τῆς καθαιρέσεως: genitive dependent on ὕστερον: for the order of the words cp. iii. 2. 30.

§ 36. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ . . . πράττοντες, 'In the war the Lacedaemonians had rather been evenly matched with their opponents, but &c.' μᾶλλον, i. e. in comparison with the advantages of their diplomatic success.

ἐπικυδέστεροι. The direct advantages reaped by Sparta were (1) the check imposed upon the Athenian efforts to regain their maritime empire; (2) the separation of Corinth from Argos with the consequent weakening of both those states, Corinth once more entering her Confederacy; (3) the isolation of Thebes and the annihilation of her supremacy over the other Boeotian towns.

τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης. This is the usual name given by the Greek historians to this Peace: ἐπί is temporal, 'in the time of.' For the date cp. Introd. p. lvi.

προστάται, 'champions,' rather than executors or guarantors. The term implies no legal or other right, but only a dignified position: cp. Holm, Greek History, iii. 451. The Spartans abused this championship to their own advantage: Polyb. iv. 27. 5 πάλιν ἐκήρυττον ἀφιέναι τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμους κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην εἰρήνην, τοὺς δ' ἄρμοστὰς οὐκ ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: cp. vi. 3. 8.

Κόρινθον σφετεριζόμενους: cp. iv. 8. 34.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-7. *Wishing now to punish her disaffected allies Sparta first sent Agesipolis against Mantinea. He compelled the Mantineans to surrender and to live for the future in villages. The lives of the democratical leaders were spared at Pausanias' intercession. Under the new aristocracy the Mantineans were more happy than heretofore.* §§ 8-10. *Next the*

Phliasian exiles asked the Spartans to procure their recall. This was accordingly effected, with the understanding that their goods should be restored to them. §§ 11-19. Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia came to Sparta to seek help against the growing Olynthian Confederacy which threatened their independence. The Acanthian Cligenes addressed the Spartan assembly and allies. §§ 20-24. The Spartans and their allies voted to send an army of 10,000 men against Olynthus, but on the urgent representations of the envoys consented to despatch at once a small preliminary force. Eudamidas accordingly with 2,000 men hurried off to Thrace. §§ 25-31. Afterwards his brother Phoebidas set out with the rest of Eudamidas' troops. While he was encamped at Thebes, the Boeotarch Leontiades offered to betray the Cadmea. Phoebidas was accordingly introduced into the citadel during the Thesmophoria: whereon Leontiades announced the fact to the Council, arrested his colleague Ismenias, and on the flight of 300 of his opponents to Athens repaired to Sparta. §§ 32-36. Many at Sparta were opposed to Phoebidas' action, but Agesilaus maintained that the real question at issue was its utility. Leontiades then enlarged upon its advantages. The Spartans resolved to retain the Cadmea, and bring Ismenias to trial. He was condemned for Medism and put to death. §§ 37-43. The Spartans now pressed forward their Olynthian expedition. Teutias, being appointed harmost, marched slowly forwards, collecting forces from every quarter (the Thebans being specially zealous), as far as Potidaea. He ended the campaign with an indecisive victory at the gates of Olynthus.

§ 1. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων. These words seem to cover nearly a year's interval between the acceptance of the Peace and the attack upon Mantinea: cp. Introd. p. lviii.

ἐπέκειντο, 'had been hostile': so vi. 5. 35; vii. 2. 10.

ὥς μὴ δύναντο: for this exceptional use of ὥς cp. Goodwin, M. T. Append. iv.

ἀπιστεῖν = ἀπειθεῖν, 'to disobey.'

τὸ τεῖχος. The Mantineans originally dwelt in five villages in the northern plain of Arcadia, wherein they also held a stronghold on a hill known in later times as πτόλις. Afterwards a συνοικισμός took place at a date which cannot be determined, but which Bursian (Geogr. ii. 209) conjectures to have been just after the Persian wars, when at the instigation of the Argives the Mantineans built themselves a city on the banks of the Ophis just to the south of the πτόλις: Strab. viii. 337; Paus. viii. 8. 7; 12. 7.

περιαιρεῖν: cp. Diod. xv. 5 προσέταττον τὰ μὲν τεῖχη καθελεῖν,

αὐτοὺς δὲ μετοικῆσαι πάντας εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κόμας, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν τὸ παλαιὸν συνώκησαν. Xenophon, more correctly, represents the second condition as an additional demand made by the Lacedaemonians when the town was on the point of being captured.

οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν . . . γενέσθαι, 'they could not otherwise trust them not to side with their enemies,' Dakyns.

§ 2. ἐκεχειρίαν, i. e. a holy truce during a festival: cp. the excuse of the Phliasians (iv. 2. 16) and of the Argives (iv. 7. 2).

ἐφηδομένους, e. g. after the destruction of the Lacedaemonian *moira*, iv. 5. 18.

αἱ σπονδαὶ . . . ἔτει: for the chronology cp. Introd. p. lviii.

§ 3. τῷ πατρὶ. Archidamus: the war alluded to is the so-called Third Messenian War of c. 464 (Thuc. i. 101, 103; Diod. xi. 64), but the particular circumstances are unknown. The pretext going back to an event nearly eighty years before seems to point to some ulterior motive on the part of Agesilaus. But whether the motive was merely to avoid a thankless task, or to excite odium against his colleague Agesipolis, is a matter of mere conjecture. Xenophon seems to cite the similar difficulty felt by Agesipolis to show his own approbation of the latter's strict obedience to the commands of the Spartan government.

Πανσανίου: for his exile since 395 B. C. cp. iii. 5. 25; and for his democratical tendencies cp. ii. 4. 31.

προστάτας: cp. i. 7. 2 note.

385-384 B.C.

§ 4. πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἐδῆον. Pausanias (viii. 8. 4; ix. 13. 1) and Plutarch (Pel. 4) speak of a pitched battle, of which Xenophon and Diodorus (xv. 5, 12) know nothing. But Plutarch's story (reproduced by Pausanias probably from the lost 'Life of Epaminondas') that on this occasion Epaminondas saved the life of Pelopidas, both being present as members of a Theban contingent on the Spartan side, will hardly stand criticism: cp. Stern, pp. 36, 37. Diodorus relates that the Mantineans sought aid from the Athenians, who, not wishing παραβαίνειν τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας, refused it.

τοῖς . . . προκαθημένοις . . . ἐργαζομένοις: datives of the instrument (the so-called military dative): cp. iii. 5. 9; Anab. vi. 4. 27 φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύλαξι.

τῶν ταφρενόντων : genit. dependent on πρό in composition.

πρύχειν . . . τὴν πόλιν, i. e. the Spartan state.

ρέοντα . . . διὰ τῆς πόλεως. Xenophon here, as in § 6, conceives the success of Agesipolis' device to have depended on the river flowing through the town, but Diodorus (xv. 12) and Pausanias (viii. 8. 7) on diverting the stream, which flowed *past* the town, and bringing it by canals against the sun-dried bricks of the walls. At the present day the river Ophis is at a considerable distance from the ruins of Mantinea, as it was rebuilt in 370 B. C. (vi. 5. 5). The ancient authorities can be reconciled by supposing that in 385 the Ophis actually did flow through the city, but that the authority of Plutarch and Pausanias was only acquainted with Mantinea as it stood subsequently to 370 B. C., and hence made his account of the stratagem square with the then existing state of things.

§ 5. πλίνθων : cp. Paus. viii. 8. 7 τὸ τεῖχος ὡμῆς ᾠκοδομημένον τῆς πλίνθου : bricks, Pausanias states, offered a better resistance to siege engines than stone.

ὥς μὴ πίπτοι : cp. § 1 note.

ὁ πύργος, i. e. the tower in connexion with that part of the wall which was sinking.

§ 6. τῶν ἀργολιζόντων. As in 420-418 (Thuc. v. 29 ff.), the Mantinean democrats looked to democratical Argos for support : cp. § 2 ; iii. 5. 11-25.

ὁ πάτηρ : Pausanias : cp. § 3.

οἱ βέλτιστοι : cp. iv. 4. 1 note.

§ 7. διφκίσθη . . . τετραχῇ. Ephorus (fr. 138), Diodorus (xv. 5), and Strabo (viii. p. 337) state that Mantinea was split up εἰς πέντε κώμας. Modern historians try to reconcile this statement with Xenophon by supposing that the latter has not reckoned in the fifth of the Mantineans, who were allowed to remain on the site of the city itself.

οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας = οἱ βέλτιστοι.

ἦδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις : but after the battle of Leuctra, the Mantineans immediately rebuilt their city : cp. vi. 5. 3 ; Introd. p. lxxvii.

οὐ καθ' ἓν . . . ξιναγόν, 'not as a single state but four, one for each village' : cp. § 16 τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν εἴη. For ξιναγόν cp. iii. 5. 7 note.

προθυμότερον : cp. the conduct of the Phliasian (§ 8) and Theban oligarchs (§ 37).

τὸ . . . ποιέισθαι, acc. of respect, 'not to conduct a river through city walls': for διὰ τειχῶν cp. § 4 note. For the contemporary feeling condemning the Spartan treatment of the Mantineans cp. Isocr. iv. 126 ; viii. 100.

§ 8. οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες. The Phliasians had refused to send a contingent to the Lacedaemonians at the battle of Corinth 394 (iv. 2. 16), but some two years later, after suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Iphicrates (iv. 4. 15), had invited a Lacedaemonian garrison which had in course of time been withdrawn without restoring the oligarchical exiles or in any other way interfering with the internal affairs of the city. Again c. 387, just before the Peace of Antalcidas, king Agesipolis (iv. 7. 3) had made Phlius the place of rendezvous for his army, with which he was about to invade the Argolis. Now, however, that Sparta appeared to be so much stronger, these exiles saw their opportunity for restoration.

§ 9. τῶν ἔνδοθεν = τῶν ἔνδον, cp. iii. 1. 18 note.

ἐμμενείς, sc. τοῖς φεύγουσι.

οἷα δὲ, 'as is usual.'

τὴν φυγὴν = τοὺς φυγάδας, the abstract for the concrete, as συμμαχία iv. 8. 24 ; vi. 1. 13.

§ 10. τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, 'undisputed property,' Dakyns.

αὖ: with reference to the Mantinean affair and the general policy of Sparta towards their allies cp. § 1.

382 B.C.

§ 11. Ἀκάνθου . . . Ἀπολλωνίας: both in Chalcidice: for the chronology cp. Introd. lix.

πρὸς . . . τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: cp. Appendix, p. 342.

§ 12. ὅτι μὲν: there is no corresponding δέ: cp. vi. 3. 15 ; 4. 20.

Ὀλυνθος. The pre-eminence of Olynthus, situated at the bottom of the Toronean Gulf a little distance from the sea, had in the first instance been due to a συνοικισμός of the coast towns brought about by Perdiccas, king of Macedon, at the time of the revolt of Potidaea from the Athenian Confederacy 432 B.C. The Olynthians revolted at the same time, and never again acknowledged the supremacy of Athens (Thuc. i. 58 ; v. 18, 39). Shortly after the Peloponnesian war the Olynthians and some of the neighbouring Greek states formed a confederacy known as τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Χαλκιδέων, wherein

they enjoyed the same laws and shared in the same πολιτεία (cp. Corinth and Argos, iv. 5. 1 ; 8. 34) and in the rights of ἐπιγαμία and ἔγκλησις (§ 19).

τῶν πόλεων: for the partitive genitive without τινάς cp. iii. 1. 4 note. Cp. Critical Note.

τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις . . . ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου. Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas' brother Arrhidaeus, had seized the Macedonian throne about 390 B. C. In order to maintain his position he had shortly afterwards entered into a defensive alliance with the Chalcidian League, whereby certain commercial advantages were to be secured by the contracting parties (Hicks, Insc. 74). Notwithstanding this alliance he was in 385 expelled by the Illyrians, who placed the pretender Argaeus upon the throne. Thereupon the Chalcidians took advantage of the confusion to secure—really for themselves, though nominally in the name of their ally Amyntas—τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις: and when two years later in 383 Amyntas was suddenly restored to his throne by the Thessalians, they refused to give up these towns, which had meanwhile entered their Confederacy. Cp. Isocr. vi. 46 ; Syncellus, p. 260 b ; Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 223.

Diodorus (xiv. 84, 89, 92 ; xv. 19) follows a different and in many respects inconsistent tradition. The author of a recently discovered letter to ? Alexander the Great (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 13) makes the exaggerated statement Θηβαῖοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμύνταν τὸν πατέρα τὸν Φιλίππου μετ' Ὀλυνθίων ἐπεχείρησαν ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀποστερῆσαι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας: it is plain from Xenophon (§§ 13, 38) that the proposed alliance between the Olynthians and Thebans, if ever formally concluded, was never really effective.

§ 13. Πέλλαν: the capital of Macedonia.

ὅσον οὐκ . . . ἤδη, 'already all but expelled': cp. vi. 2. 16.

§ 14. αὐτοπολῖται εἶναι, opposed to συμπολιτεύειν of § 12, 'citizens of an independent state': cp. Thuc. v. 79 αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις.

† ὀκτακοσίων, evidently too small a number for so strong a confederacy: cp. Dem. xix. 263 (referring to this time) ἐκείνοι γὰρ (οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι) ἤνικα μὲν τετρακοσίους ἵππείας ἐκέκτηντο μόνον, καὶ σύμπαντες οὐδὲν ἦσαν πλείους πεντακισχιλίων τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὕτω Χαλκιδέων πάντων

εἰς ἐν συνφικισμένων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντων κ.τ.λ.; but no great reliance can be put on this statement of the orator, and there exist no other means of correcting this manifestly corrupt number : cp. § 24 ; Diod. xv. 21 ; and Critical Note.

§ 15. Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, against whom the Peace of Antalcidas had been especially directed.

ὁρᾶτε, 'take care' = φυλάττεσθε.

Ποτεΐδαιαν, only six miles south of Olynthus : cp. § 24.

§ 16. καθ' ἑν : cp. iii. 4. 27 note : for the breaking up of the Theban Confederacy cp. v. 1. 32, 33 notes.

ξύλα . . . ναυπηγίσμα : cp. Hicks, Insc. 74 b (treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalcidian League) ἐξαγωγή δ' ἔστω πίσεως καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομιστηρίων πάντων, ναυπηγησίων δὲ πλὴν ἐλατίνων.

γε μὴν, stronger than a mere repetition of δέ : πολυανθρωπία is named last as the result of the other material advantages.

§ 17. Θράκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, as opposed to the Thracians in the NE. districts : cp. iii. 2. 9 ; iv. 8. 26. Similarly Thuc. ii. 29 ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε· πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρακῶν.

πολλή . . . δύναμις the predicate, αὕτη being the subject.

τῷ Παγγαίῳ, in the territory of the Edones, NW. of Thasos.

χεῖρα . . . ὀρέγοι, 'would stretch out a helping hand' : a curious metaphor with an inanimate subject.

§ 18. τῆς πολιτείας : cp. § 12 note.

§ 19. ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι : ἐπιγαμία = jus connubii : ἐγκτήσεις, i. e. γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, the right of possessing landed property and houses in the dominions of another state.

εὐλυντα ἔσται : subject, τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, opposed to δυσπάλαιστος ἐστίν of § 18.

§ 20. ἐδίδοσαν . . . λόγον, i. e. gave them permission to speak.

στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, 'to create an army,' an unusual expression for the more common στρατιὰν συλλέγειν or παρασκευάζεσθαι, or φρουρὰν φαίνειν.

χαρίζεσθαι. According to Diod. xv. 19 king Agesipolis and his supporters were steadily adverse to these efforts of Sparta to aggrandize herself at the expense of the other Greek states.

τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα . . . πόλιν, i. e. that each state should

send its proportional contingent necessary to make up the total of ten thousand men : cp. § 37 *τὴν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν*.

§ 21. *τριώβολον*: three obols (i. e. half a drachma), on the Aeginetan standard, are equivalent to sixpence ; so that twelve obols, or a didrachma or stater, would be equivalent to two shillings, reckoning silver at five shillings an ounce Troy. About 377 when Sparta reorganized the system on which she summoned contingents from her allies, this ratio of hoplites to horsemen was still maintained : Diod. xv. 31 *ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν ὀπλίτης πρὸς δύο ψιλοὺς τεταγμένος, ὁ δ' ἵππεὺς πρὸς τέτταρας ὀπλίτας ἰσαζόμενος* : cp. v. 4. 37 note.

§ 23. *στήναι ἄν*, 'would be brought to a standstill,' Dakyns. The metaphor is similar to that contained in *προσκεχωρηκίας*.

382-381 B.C.

§ 24. *νεοδαμώδεις* : cp. i. 3. 15 note.

Σκιριτιῶν. The men of the Sciritis, the frontier district between Lacedaemon and Arcadia. They always fought on the left wing of the Spartan army, and were specially charged to give assistance to any troops hard pressed in the fight : cp. v. 4. 52 ; Thuc. v. 67 ; Xen. Cyrop. iv. 2. 1 ; Diod. xv. 32 ; Appendix, p. 348.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία : cp. iv. 8. 26 note.

ἐκείνων, i. e. the Olynthians : cp. § 15.

§ 25. *ὁ . . . Φοιβίδας*. Diod. xv. 19, 20 erroneously represents him as the original commander of the expedition against the Olynthians, and as removed from his command after the capture of the Cadmea in favour of his brother Eudamidas.

οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες : from § 37 it appears that Xenophon means the remainder of the troops assigned to Eudamidas, not those required to make up the total of 10,000 : cp. §§ 20, 24.

τὸ γυμνάσιον. Pausanias (ix. 11. 7 and 23. 1) speaks of two gymnasia at Thebes, the first near the Heracleum (*τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλείου γυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ στάδιον, ἀμφότερα ἐπ' ὠνυμα τοῦ θεοῦ*), to the south of the Cadmea, the other outside the Proetidian gate (*πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶ τῶν Προιτίδων καὶ τὸ Ἰολάου καλούμενον γυμνάσιον καὶ στάδιον*). As Phoebidas was marching from the south, the former is the more probable site of his camp.

πολεμαρχοῦντες. The Polemarchs, the chief officials at Thebes both in peace and war, were in most, if not all, Boeotian states

three in number, assisted by a secretary (cp. v. 4. 2): whether in this year there was a third polemarch or not cannot be determined from the context: cp. Appendix, p. 358; Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 441.

Ἴσμηνίας, one of those who had received the Persian gold of Timocrates (iii. 5. 1), and who was famous for his wealth: Plat. Men. 90 a; Rep. 336 a.

Λεοντιάδης (called Λεοντίδης by Plut. Pel. 5) came of a family always closely connected with Sparta: Her. vii. 205, 233; Thuc. ii. 2; ps.-Dem. lix. 99.

τῶν ἐταιριῶν. These were political clubs or secret societies, organized for party purposes, ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς, and naturally were most active in times of στάσις: cp. Thuc. iii. 82; viii. 54; Plat. Rep. 365 d; Theat. 173 d; Laws 636; Arist. Pol. ii. 8. 2.

§ 27. ἀποκεκήρυκται: cp. § 15; this shows that the democratical party were in the ascendant.

τῷ ἀδελφῷ: Eudamidas.

§ 28. λογιστικός . . . φρόνιμος: cp. Introd. p. xxxi.

ἐκέλευσεν, sc. ὁ Λεοντιάδης.

§ 29. ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ: to the north of the Cadmea, the usual place of meeting.

θέρους . . . ὕντος: cp. Introd. p. lx.

ἀποστρέφει: from the course of his march.

βαλανάγραν: the key or rather hook inserted through a hole in the door to take the bolt-pin out of the bar across it on the inside.

§ 30. λαμβάνω . . . Ἴσμηνίαν: cp. the similar procedure of Critias against Theramenes ii. 3. 51, 54.

οἱ λοχαγοί: nominative with the article, instead of the vocative.

ἐνθα εἴρηται: cp. ii. 3. 55 οὗ δέ.

§ 31. ἀπεχώρησαν. Diodorus (xv. 20), with rhetorical licence, represents these three hundred as formally banished by Phoebidas after that he had defeated them in a battle.

Ἀνδροκλείδα: like Ismenias, he too had shared in the Persian gold: iii. 5. 1.

§ 32. πολέμαρχον . . . ἄλλον. Archias: cp. v. 4. 2; Plut. Pel. 6; Ages. 23.

οὗ προσταχθέντα. Whether Phoebidas acted in accordance with secret instructions from Sparta, as Diodorus represents (xv. 20

ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ; cp. Oxyrh. Pap. i. 13 and § 12 note), or whether he yielded merely to the temptations of Leontiades, must of necessity remain an open question. Some commentators have urged against Xenophon's view of the circumstances, that the mere presence of Phoebidas at Thebes at all, which is out of the direct line of march towards Olynthus, is a sufficient evidence of the preconcerted nature of the affair : but Thebes is so short a distance out of the direct line, that the advantage of Phoebidas' appearing in person to receive the Theban contingent, evidently expected for the Olynthian campaign, is quite a sufficient motive to explain his *détour*. It is curious, however, that Xenophon should wholly have omitted the story of his punishment with a fine of 100,000 drachmae, which is too well attested by Plutarch (Pel. 6 ; Ages. 24), Diodorus (l. c.), and Nepos (Pel. 1) to admit of doubt. The punishment can have been little more than nominal : for in 378 he reappears as harmost of Thespieae (v. 4. 41).

§ 33. τοὺς ἐκκλήτους : cp. § 11 and ii. 4. 38.

δισμενέσι : used as a substantive with the possessive pronoun : cp. iv. 1. 36 ; Apol. Socr. 27 τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὖνοις.

οὐκ . . . οὐκ ἤθελσαν. The first οὐκ introduces the question, the second negatives ἤθελσαν : cp. Anab. vii. 6. 24 οὐκ . . . οὐκ εἶα . . . ; for the event in 403 cp. ii. 4. 30 ; iii. 5. 8.

Φωκεῦσι. In 395 Androclides and his party persuaded the Thebans to help the Locrians against the Phocians : iii. 5. 4.

§ 34. ἐποιοῦντο, imperfect of endeavour : for the alliance does not seem to have been actually formed : cp. § 12 note and § 15.

τότε μέν, i. e. before the seizure of the Cadmea, as is plain from νῦν δὲ . . . τὰδε.

πότε ἀκούσεσθε : cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σκυτάλη : cp. iii. 3. 8 note.

ἐκείθεν : from Thebes.

§ 35. ἔδοξε . . . φυλάττειν : cp. Plut. Pel. 6 ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἀφείλοντο τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν μυριάσιν ἐζημίωσαν (cp. § 32 note), τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν οὐδὲν ἦττον φρουρᾷ κατέσχον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἀτοπίαν, εἰ τὸν μὲν πράξαντα κολάζουσι, τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν δοκιμάζουσι.

κρίσιν ποιῆσαι, i. e. 'to bring Ismenias to trial.' In iv. 2. 6 τὴν κρίσιν . . . ποιήσιν is used in a different sense.

πέμπουσι, i. e. to Thebes : whereas Plut. (Pel. 5) states that he was carried to Lacedaemon and condemned there.

καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης : cp. Thuc. i. 125 ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρήσαν ἐξῆς, καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει.

βαρβαρίζοι . . . ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ. This accusation, coming from the Spartans and the philo-Laconian Thebans, sounds strangely after the Peace of Antalcidas.

παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων : cp. iii. 5. 1.

τῆς . . . ταραχῆς πάσης : this, the so-called Corinthian War, was doubtless the real cause of Ismenias' condemnation.

§ 36. τὸ μὴ οὐ . . . εἶναι. The infinitival phrase constitutes the object to ἔπειθε : the double negative μὴ οὐ is due to the negative οὐκ ἔπειθε : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 794, 814.

κατεψηφίσθη. At the same time, according to Plutarch (l. c.), Πελοπίδης καὶ Φερένικος καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδης μετὰ συχνῶν ἄλλων φεύγοντες ἐξεκρηύχθησαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε τῷ καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ὥς ἀπράγμων, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ὥς ἀδύνατος.

εἶχον . . . τὴν πόλιν. In the winter 379-378 the Spartans had a garrison of 1,500 Lacedaemonians and allies in the Cadmea (Diod. xv. 25 ; Plut. Pel. 12, 13) under three harmosts.

§ 37. συναπέστελλον : for the date cp. Introd. p. lxi ; the preposition σύν denotes that it was a joint expedition of the Spartans and their allies.

Τελευτίαν : last mentioned, when he led the attack upon Piraeus : v. i. 13 ff.

τὴν . . . σύνταξιν : cp. § 20.

ἅπαντας : no satisfactory emendation for the MSS. ἅπαντες has yet been proposed : cp. Critical Note. Breitenbach, adopting this reading, interprets it to mean that now the Spartans sent all their troops, required to make up their contingent towards the 10,000, in one body and not in detachments, as previously under Eudamidas and Phoebidas.

οὐκ ἀχάριστος : for the character of Teleutias cp. v. i. 3, 13, 18 and Diod. xv. 21 θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

ἀδελφοῦ : cp. iv. 4. 19.

προθύμως : because of the debt of gratitude which the Theban oligarchs, now in power, owed to Agesilaus : cp. § 7.

§ 38. καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν. Hence it appears that the efforts of the

Apolloniates and Acanthians had induced Amyntas to become an ally of the Lacedaemonians: cp. §§ 11, 12. Diodorus (xv. 19), who knows nothing of their embassy, represents the Lacedaemonians as persuaded to send the expedition solely by Amyntas.

ὥς . . . εἶναι: ὥς with the infinitive here expresses purpose: cp. i. 6. 20; iii. 4. 27; Goodwin, M. T. 608.

Ἑλιμίās: the district in the SW. of Macedonia on the borders of Epirus.

§ 39. τὴν ἐαυτῶν συμμαχίδα, sc. πόλιν: for the plural ἐαυτῶν (i. e. Lacedaemonians) cp. iv. 8. 24.

συνταξάμενος. The συν in composition may imply a junction of Teleutias' forces with those of Eudamidas, who had made Potidaea his head quarters (§ 24); but in an analogous passage (Cyrop. ii. 4.32) Xenophon uses the term merely of marshalling soldiers in close marching order, ready for immediate action—αὐτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος, ἢ ἄριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἴ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. Diodorus (xv. 21) adds that Teleutias assumed the command of Eudamidas' troops and ravaged the country.

§ 40. ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα: in order to prepare his troops for battle.

ἐὐνυμον . . . αὐτὸς ἔχων: instead of the right wing, which was the traditional post of the Lacedaemonians in battle: cp. Her. ix. 28.

ὥς εἰς: cp. iv. 1. 18.

ὥς . . . παρείη, sc. ὁ Δέρδας, 'partly as a mark of courtesy to Derdas which should make him not regret his coming,' Dakyns.

§ 41. κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτοὺς: obviously the Lacedaemonian and Boeotian cavalry are meant.

τὸ . . . ἵππικόν, i. e. including the Macedonians.

τὸ ἐχόμενον . . . αὐτῶν: αὐτῶν depends on ἐχόμενον: cp. iii. 4. 1.

§ 43. ἀπιὼν ἔκοπτε: cp. § 39.

τοῦτο . . . τὸ θέρος: cp. Intro. p. lxi.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-6. *The next campaign opened with skirmishes: in one the Olynthian cavalry suffered considerably, in another they enticed Teleutias with his whole army close to the walls of the city. Teleutias was slain with many others, and the whole besieging forces were obliged to disperse.* § 7. *Xenophon's comment on the disaster.* §§ 8-9. *The Spartans undismayed sent against*

Olynthus an armament under Agesipolis still larger than before. §§ 10-17. *The returned exiles at Phlius, unable to recover their goods, appealed to Sparta. The Ephors declared war upon the other Phliasians, and despatched Agesilaus against them. He met all their overtures for peace with the demand that they should surrender the citadel. On their refusal he laid siege to the city.* §§ 18-20. *After some small operations in Olynthian territory and the capture of Torone, Agesipolis died of fever, much to the grief of Agesilaus. He was replaced by Polybiades.* §§ 21-25. *After a prolonged siege the Phliasians at last applied to Agesilaus for leave to send envoys to Sparta to arrange terms. Highly indignant he persuaded the Ephors to leave the matter to him: he set up a provisional government to draw up a constitution, and after leaving a garrison in the city disbanded his army.* § 26. *Polybiades starved the Olynthians into coming to terms: they agreed to enter the Spartan Confederacy.* § 27. *Thus everywhere Sparta seemed to be stronger than ever.*

381-380 B.C.

§ 1. ἄμα . . . τῷ ἦρι: cp. Introd. p. lxi.

ὑποφαινομένῳ: elsewhere only used in the active in this sense: cp. iii. 4. 16.

ἄμβάτας: this, the Ionic and poetic form of ἀναβάτας, is Dindorf's correction: cp. Mem. iii. 3. 2 and Critical Note.

§ 2. ἐλέγετο: for the imperfect cp. iii. 5. 21.

ὀλίγην παντελῶς, 'a very small part of their territory': for the position of the adverb cp. iv. 2. 18.

§ 3. ὥς . . . φθείροι: for the final use of ὥς cp. Goodwin, M. T. Append. iv.

τὸ ἐναντίον στρατεύμα = τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατεύμα.

§ 4. φεύγουσι: dative of the participle after ἐπιδιέβαινον.

§ 5. μὲν οὖν: introduces a general observation applied by καὶ . . . δέ to the particular case.

τοῦ καιροῦ = ἡ ὁ καιρὸς ἦν, genitive of comparison: cp. ii. 3. 24.

§ 6. τοὺς ἱππέας: they must therefore have retreated within the walls.

Σπαρτῶλου, five miles due west of Olynthus.

ὅτιπερ ὄφελος ἦν, 'the serviceable part of the army': cp. vi. 2. 23. Diodorus (xv. 21) states that more than 1,200 Lacedaemonians were slain.

§ 7. ἀτάρ: emphatic: cp. v. 4. 17.

ἀπρονόητον: for the neuter without ἐστὶ cp. De Re Equest. 6.

13 ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐξεργάζεται ὧν μεταμέλειν ἀνάγκη.

§ 8. ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου: the preposition *μετά* is not repeated, because *μετ' αὐτοῦ* here precedes the object with which it is to be compared.

τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν: cp. iii. 4. 2 note.

§ 9. ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων: strangers who, like Xenophon's own sons (Diog. Laert. ii. 54), went through the course of Spartan discipline.

νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, sons of Spartans by helot women; it is doubtful, whether they are to be identified with the *μόθακες* or *μόθωνες*: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. i. 446.

τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν, i. e. the course of Spartan discipline, and the rights and privileges assigned to men so trained: cp. v. 4. 32, 33.

ταῦτα πράττων, 'faring so,' 'under these favourable circumstances.'

§ 10. ἐπαινεθεῖσα: for the friendly relations between Phlius and Agesipolis cp. iv. 7. 3.

χρήματα. The money was probably paid as a substitute for personal service under the regulation cited v. 2. 21.

ἀμφοτέρους . . . ἔξω Σπάρτης. There was nothing very unusual in the two kings being absent from Sparta at the same time: thus Pausanias in 395 marched into Boeotia, while Agesilaus was in Asia, iii. 5. 17: cp. Appendix, p. 338.

τῶν δικαίων: cp. the decree which the Phliasians had passed, c. 384, when they restored their oligarchical exiles, v. 2. 10.

ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, where the democrats still controlled the government and apparently nominated the judges. Later Agesilaus set up a court composed of fifty of the returned exiles and fifty democrats: cp. § 25.

δίκη: without the article as predicate: cp. v. 2. 17.

§ 11. τῶν οἰκοθεν: for the adverb in -θεν cp. iii. 1. 18.

§ 12. Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν: cp. v. 2. 8.

βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδόναι, 'refused with violence to repay': for the inf. cp. Thuc. vii. 79 ἐβιάσαντο πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐλθεῖν.

αὐτούς: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 13. φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν: cp. iii. 2. 23 note.

ἀχθομένῳ: for dative cp. iv. 1. 11 note. For Agesilaus' conduct cp. Ages. 2. 21 εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη πῃ ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὖν φιλε-

ταιρία γε πραχθέντα φανερά ἐστι; and Isocrates' remark (v. 87) on his desire τοὺς ἐταίρους εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν καταγαγεῖν καὶ κυρίους ποιῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων. συνέβαινεν οὖν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πραγματείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν κακοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Ἀρχιδάμῳ : cp. v. 2. 3 note.

αὐτῷ : cp. v. 2. 9.

Προκλέα : cp. vi. 5. 38; Podanemus is not again mentioned.

§ 14. τῶν διαβατηρίων : cp. iii. 1. 17; 4. 3 notes.

ἐδίδοσαν : imperf., 'offered.'

§ 15. τὸ πρότερον : v. 2. 10.

πρόσθεν . . . ποιήσαντες : cp. iv. 4. 15.

§ 16. ἐνέβαλε : Diodorus (xv. 19) compresses his account of the Phliasian affair into two lines : ἐτέραν δὲ δύναμιν ἐπὶ Φλειουντίους ἐκπέμψαντες καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες, ἠνάγκασαν ὑποταγῆναι τοὺς Φλειουντίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

πολλῶν . . . Λακεδαιμονίων : cp. § 13 note.

πλέον : without ἧ, cp. iv. 5. 4.

ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἔξω, 'in a place visible to the besiegers outside the walls.'

ὁ μέντοι : an easy anacoluthon due to the intervening clauses ὥς . . . ἐκκλησιάζον.

§ 17. ἐξίοιεν : without a definite subject expressed : sc. τῶν Φλειασίων τινές.

ἐδίδασκε, sc. τοὺς φυγάδας, to which αὐτῶν must be referred. The meaning seems to be : 'The king instructed the exiles to form their kinsmen into messes with themselves (αὐτῶν) and to give such as were willing to undergo training, enough to provide necessaries.'

ἄριστα . . . ἔχοντας = ἀρίστους ὄντας : ἄριστα is adverbial, as appears from iii. 4. 16 ἄριστα σωμαίων ἔχοι and Oecon. 21. 7 οἱ ἂν αὐτῶν ἄριστα τὸ σῶμα ἔχωσι—τὰ σώματα being the accusative of respect.

380-379 B.C.

§ 18. Ἀγησίπολις : cp. § 9.

Τορώνην : on the SW. side of the peninsula of Sithonia : cp. ii. 2. 3.

§ 19. θέρους : cp. Intro. p. lxii.

Ἀφύτει : on the east side of the peninsula of Pallene.

ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ, i. e. he was carried outside the temple that his dead body might not pollute the sacred precinct.

ἐν μέλιτι τεθείς : Diodorus (xv. 93) relates that the corpse of Agesilaus, who died in Cyrene, was embalmed in the same manner.

τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς : cp. iii. 3. 1 note.

§ 20. ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ : cp. Diod. xv. 19 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον (since 383) οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διεφέροντο ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν Ἀγησίπολις μὲν γάρ, εἰρηνικὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος, ἔτι δὲ συνέσει διαφέρων, ἔφη δεῖν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας μὴ καταδουλοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας . . . ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὢν φύσει δραστικός, φιλοπόλεμος ἦν καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀντείχετο. For the more pleasant and social traits in the character of Agesilaus cp. Ages. 7. 2.

συσκηνοῦσι : cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 4 and Plut. Ages. 20 συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶντες φιδίτιον, ὅταν ἐπιδημῶσιν.

§ 21. ὅσου : genit. dependent on σίτος : cp. § 25 μισθὸν ἐξ μηνῶν ; Thuc. ii. 23 χρόνον . . . ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

τοσοῦτον . . . διαφέρει, 'self-restraint is so superior to appetite' : cp. Critical Note.

τελεῖν, 'to pay,' 'to serve out rations.'

τοῦ εἰκότος : genit. of comparison : cp. § 5 τοῦ καιροῦ.

§ 22. εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς . . . ἵεναι, 'to go to their posts,' 'to mount guard.'

φυλακάς, 'posts of the enemy.'

τοῦ . . . κύκλου, 'of the line of circumvallation' : genit. dependent on ἄλλῃ.

§ 23. οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι, i. e. 'the three hundred.'

σπείσασθαι πρεσβείαν . . . ἰοῦσι, 'to give pledges of safe conduct to those going on an embassy' : cp. Critical Note and § 24 ἐσπείσατο τῇ πρεσβείᾳ.

χρήσασθαι . . . βούλονται : cp. ii. 4. 37.

§ 24. ἄκνρον. Constitutionally the Phliasians were right, as appears from the instances of Agis and Lysander in the negotiations with the Athenians in 405-404 ; politically of course they made a mistake : cp. Appendix, p. 339.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως : cp. iii. 1. 18, 22 and v. 1. 5 τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου.

στιγματίας, 'a branded slave'—a word used by Xenophon only in this passage.

§ 25. πεντήκοντα μὲν : cp. the earlier demand of the returned oligarchical exiles, § 10.

τῶν οἰκοθεν : the democrats, as in § 11.

ἔως δ' ἂν . . . διαπράξωνται : for the subj. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 614.

τοῖς φρουροῖς : cp. the similar treatment of Athens in 404 ; ii. 3. 1-14. Phliasian exiles are mentioned (vii. 2. 5 ; 4. 11, date 366-365) as unable to effect their return to the henceforth oligarchically governed state.

ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ : cp. *Intro.* p. lxii.

§ 26. ὁ Πολυβιάδης : cp. § 20.

κακῶς ἔχοντας : cp. *Diod.* xv. 23 αἰὲ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐημερῶν καὶ πλείοσι μάχαις νικήσας, συνέκλεισε τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους εἰς πολιορκίαν.

τὸν αὐτὸν . . . Λακεδαιμονίους, the regular formula sworn to by members of the Spartan Confederacy : cp. *Diod.* (l. c.) ἐγγραφέντων δὲ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. Thus in 377 Olynthian horse served under Agesilaus in Boeotia : v. 4. 54.

§ 27. Προκεχωρηκότων. If the passage be genuine (cp. Hartman, *ad loc.*), Xenophon here sums up Sparta's successful championship of the Peace of Antalcidas ; cp. v. 1. 36. For the genitive absolute without a subject cp. ii. 4. 29.

Θηβαίους . . . καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς : cp. v. 2. 36.

Κορινθίους : cp. v. 1. 34.

Ἀργεῖους : cp. v. 1. 29, 34.

διὰ τὸ μηδὲν . . . ὑποφοράν Breitenbach, &c., condemn as an interpolation from v. 1. 29.

Ἀθηναίους : cp. v. 1. 29, 35 notes, and *Appendix*, p. 355.

συμμάχων κεκολασμένων : *Mantineia*, v. 2. 1-7 ; *Phlius*, v. 2. 8-10 and 3 *passim*.

ἡ ἀρχή : cp. the parallel passage in *Diod.* xv. 23 διὸ καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς πλείστον ἴσχυσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρχον ἔμφρουροι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας πολέμους ὑπῆρχον τεταπεινωμένοι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν πολεμουμένων κληρουχίας ἡδόξουν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν . . . διόπερ οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν τότε δυναστῶν, λέγω δὲ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην Διονύσιον, ἐθεράπευον τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἔσπευδον συντίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Similarly *Isocrates* (iv. 126, date c. 380) sums up the case : τὴν μὲν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων Καδμεῖαν κατέλαβον, καὶ νῦν Ὀλυνθίους καὶ Φλειασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, Ἀμύντα δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασι-

λεῖ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράνῳ καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας κρατοῦντι συμπράττουσιν, ὅπως ὡς μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔξουσιν.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. *Xenophon's comment on the story of Sparta's downfall.* §§ 2-9. *The scribe Phillidas conspired with the fugitive Melon at Athens to put down the Theban despots. Melon thereupon with six comrades entered Boeotia by night, passed the day in a deserted spot, and the next night and day in Charon's house in Thebes. By a stratagem they succeeded in killing the polemarchs; then they slew Leontiades. Next they released the prisoners from the gaol, armed them, proclaimed that Thebes was free, and sent the news to two Athenian generals on the frontier.* §§ 10-12. *The Spartan harmost in the Cadmea sent to Plataea and Thespieae for help, but in vain. He then agreed to evacuate the citadel on the promise of safety. The Thebans however cruelly massacred many of their political opponents.* §§ 13-18. *The Spartans put their harmost to death and declared war against Thebes. Agesilaus declining to serve, the Ephors sent Cleombrotus at the head of the expedition. After a few desultory operations in Boeotia, he returned home, leaving Sphodrias with a garrison in Thespieae.* § 19. *The Athenians in alarm put to death their two generals, who had been privy to Melon's conspiracy.* §§ 20-24. *Sphodrias, persuaded by the Thebans, attempted to surprise Piraeus, but being overtaken by daylight at Thriae returned to Thespieae, committing sundry depredations on his march. The Athenians thereon arrested three Spartan envoys, who were in the city, but on their protesting their ignorance of the plan soon released them. Sphodrias was brought to trial for the outrage, but was acquitted.* §§ 25-33. *The real reason of Sphodrias' acquittal was the friendship of his son Cleonymus with Archidamus the son of Agesilaus: for Archidamus interceded with his father for his life.* §§ 34-41. *The Athenians strengthened Piraeus, built ships, and supported the Boeotians. The Spartans again collected an army against Thebes. Agesilaus, being overpersuaded to lead the expedition, having first secured Cithaeron, took up his quarters at Thespieae, and ravaged Boeotia with varying success. At last he fortified Thespieae, left Phoebidas as harmost, and returned home.* §§ 42-46. *After many skirmishes Phoebidas was slain and his troops routed. The Thebans regained their courage and attacked the neighbouring cities. The Lacedaemonians sent a polemarch with a mora by sea to guard Thespieae.* §§ 47-55. *In the spring Agesilaus once more led an expedition against Thebes: though on one occasion he penetrated nearly to Thebes, no decisive action was fought. At the end of the campaign after ending a dissension at Thespieae, he retired homewards.* §§ 56, 57. *Hard pressed by these two invasions the Thebans bought corn*

from Pagasae, which on its way fell into the hands of the Spartan commandant at Oreus. The crews of the cornships, being left unguarded, induced the city to revolt from Sparta, and so the Thebans recovered their corn. §§ 58-61. Next spring the Lacedaemonians once more assembled an army against Thebes. Agesilaus being ill, Cleombrotus commanded the expedition, but being unable to cross Cithaeron, which was guarded by the Thebans and Athenians, he at once disbanded his army. Their allies being discontented at the length of the war and the growing power of Athens at sea, the Spartans manned a fleet of 60 triremes with their admiral Pollis at its head. Pollis cut off the Athenian corn supply, but was soon defeated by Chabrias. §§ 62-66. At the request of the Thebans, the Athenians sent Timotheus with 60 ships round the Peloponnesus. The Thebans, being thus left at peace, recovered many of their neighbouring cities. Timotheus won Corcyra over to the Athenian side, and defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus at Alyzia. Being further reinforced he became complete master of the sea, yet was obliged to send to Athens for money.

§ 1. μὲν οὖν . . . γε μὴν: cp. v. 3. 5 note.

οἱ ὁμόσαντες: cp. v. 1. 32.

αὐτῶν μόνων, 'single-handed,' Dakyns.

πρῶτον = πρότερον: cp. Hiero, 4. 2 καὶ τούτων πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύσασθαι.

οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνός, stronger than ὑπ' οὐδενός: cp. ii. 2. 10 οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτία. Cp. Appendix, p. 360.

ἐκολάσθησαν: cp. Diod. xv. 1 βιαίως καὶ χαλεπῶς χρώμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἔτι δὲ πολέμους ἀδίκους καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ἐνιστάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἀλόγως ἀπέβαλον τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀβουλίας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν τὸ μῖσος τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἔλαβε καιρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς προηδικηκότες.

τῶν πώποτε, sc. γενομένων: cp. iii. 5. 14.

τοὺς . . . εἰσαγαγόντας . . . βουλευθέντας . . . ἀρχήν, accusatives after καταλῦσαι. The sentence is very irregular; αὐτοῖς is in the nominative case, as if a relative sentence, οἱ . . . εἰσῆγαγον, had preceded the antecedent τούτων, instead of the participial clause τοὺς . . . βουλευθέντας.

ἐπτά: cp. § 3 notes.

379-378 B.C.

§ 2. ἐγραμμάτευε: cp. Plut. Pel. 7 Φιλλίδας δὲ διεπράξατο τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον γραμματεὺς γενέσθαι πολεμαρχούντων.

τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολέμαρχοις : cp. Plut. Daem. Socr. 377 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πολέμαρχοῦσι. It is curious that in v. 2. 25 Xenophon should mention only *two* polemarchs and that Plutarch on this occasion should speak only of Archias and Philip as polemarchs, and yet that both authors should use the phrase οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολέμαρχοι, which in classical Greek cannot be used of less than three persons. It is tempting therefore to suppose that in Thebes, as in most Boeotian towns, there were three polemarchs (cp. v. 2. 25 note), and that Xenophon has, from some reason or other—perhaps from ignorance—omitted to name the third. In support of this hypothesis it may be remarked that he does not even call Philip one of the polemarchs (τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα), although Plutarch throughout so styles him ; that in §§ 5, 6 he speaks of three of the conspirators dressed up ὡς δεσποίνας and of their sitting παρ' ἐκάστῳ (i. e. of the polemarchs ?) ; and that in vii. 3. 7 he speaks of the assassination of οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, although here he never names Hypates, and it is only from Plutarch that we learn the manner of his death. Plutarch moreover is not consistent : in the Life of Pelopidas and the Daemonium Socratis he calls only Archias and Philip polemarchs, but in the Life of Agesilaus 24, he says, τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ τὸν Λεοντίδαν ἀπεκτόνεσαν . . . πολέμαρχους ὄντας, although it seems to follow from Xenophon's narrative (especially § 7 παρὰ τῶν πολέμαρχων), as indeed from his own, that Leontiades was not polemarch at the time. On the whole, therefore, it seems easier to suppose that there were three polemarchs than that Xenophon has used the phrase οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολέμαρχοι of only two persons. Cp. Appendix, p. 358.

ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε. Plutarch knows nothing of Phillidas' visit to Athens.

Μέλων. It has been objected against Xenophon that he says nothing of the part played by Pelopidas in the liberation of Thebes. It is remarkable, however, that though in his Life of Pelopidas Plutarch (cp. Corn. Nep. Pel. 2 dux erat Pelopidas) represents the leading part as taken by that hero, yet in his Dem. Socr. Melon occupies the more prominent place.

τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγόντων. Plutarch (Pel. 6) relates that the Lacedaemonians had formally demanded the expulsion of these exiles, but that the Athenians in gratitude for the kindness shown

by the Thebans to Thrasybulus and their democratical exiles in 404-403 (cp. ii. 4. 1) had refused to comply; whereupon the Theban oligarchs had secretly plotted against the exiles and had procured the assassination of Androclides, one of their leaders (cp. iii. 5. 1, 4; v. 2. 31, 35).

τὰ περὶ . . . τὴν περὶ . . . τυραννίδα. This strangely-worded distinction between Archias and Philip seems to show that Xenophon did not regard Philip as holding office at the time. The repetition of the article and irregular sequence of καί after τε seems to denote that the different action of the two men in their respective spheres combined to produce one tyranny. In both Xenophon and Plutarch, Archias appears as the chief figure among the Theban oligarchs, and next to him Leontiades: cp. §§ 6, 19; Plut. Pel. 10, 11; Daem. Socr. 576, 577, 596, 597; Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

αὐτοῦ = ἡ αὐτόν.

§ 3. ξξ. According to Plutarch twelve in all: cp. Pel. 8 ὑφίσταται δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν Πελοπίδας πρῶτος, εἴτα Μέλων καὶ Δαμοκλείδας καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἄνδρες οἴκων τε πρώτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν φιλικῶς καὶ πιστῶς, ὑπὲρ δὲ δόξης καὶ ἀνδρείας αἰεὶ φιλονεικῶς ἔχοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ οἱ σύμπαντες δώδεκα, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Daem. Socr. 576.

τὴν χώραν, Boeotia: Plutarch (Pel. 8) speaks of a considerable body of exiles under the command of Pherenicus waiting on the frontier ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ, whilst the twelve conspirators headed by Pelopidas made their way into Thebes. In the Daem. Socr. 576, 594 he is less exact, and speaks only of the twelve crossing Cithaeron in the guise of huntsmen.

πρὸς τὰς πύλας. Plut. Pel. 9 διελόντες αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς πόλεως παρεισῆλθον: cp. Daem. Socr. 594.

ὥς δὲ ἐξ ἀγροῦ. Plut. Pel. 9 ἐσθῆτας γεωργῶν μεταλαβόντες, whereas in ch. 8 he had spoken of their being disguised as huntsmen: cp. Daem. Socr. 576 μετὰ κυνῶν περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα θηρεῦσαι. Nepos (Pel. 2) combines the two versions: cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter.

οἱ . . . ὀψιαίτατοι, sc. ἀπiónτες ἦλθον. Plut. (Daem. Socr. 594) adds that a snowstorm assisted their entering unnoticed.

Χάρωνί τινι. According to Plut. Pel. 7, when Pelopidas first

conceived the scheme of attack upon the polemarchs, and sent notice of it to his friends at Thebes, Charon, ὅσπερ ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος, agreed to offer his house : but in Daem. Socr. 576 Charon only offers his house on the receipt of a message from Pherenicus that the twelve youths had already started. On their arrival their friends met them at the several gates—so Plutarch says in both narratives—and conducted them to the house of Charon, where ἐγένοντο σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντες (Pel. 9).

τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν. Plutarch makes the attack follow immediately on the arrival of the twelve : Pel. 9 ; Daem. Socr. 594, 596.

§ 4. τὰ ἄλλα, 'in all other respects' : adverbial accusative, as in iv. i. 40, &c.

ἐπεμελείτο. According to Plutarch (Daem. Socr. 577) the conspirators, to whom Phillidas was a party, had previously agreed upon a day and Phillidas arranged his feast to suit them : οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν (ὁ Φιλλίδας), ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν παρασκεύακα σήμερον, ὥς δεξιόμενος Ἀρχίαν, καὶ παρέξω ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ τοῖς ἀνδράσι εὐχέριωτον. Rather inconsistently, Plutarch adds that an additional motive for haste was the fear lest the polemarchs should give orders for the immediate execution of Amphitheus, a democratical leader then in prison : cp. l. c. 594.

Ἀφροδίσια : to be understood, not as a festival in honour of the goddess, but in the same sense as in Plut. Comp. Cim. et Lucul. i τὸ δ' ἐφ' ἡδονήν, ὥς τέλος, καταστρέψαντα τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἤδη λοιπὸν Ἀφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα παίζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. The Boeotian official year began with the new moon after the winter solstice : cp. Böckh. CIG. i. p. 732.

§ 5. ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν. According to Plutarch a warning reached Archias and his boon companions—οὕτω πάνυ πόρρω μέθης οὔσιν—whereupon he summoned Charon to his presence. On his arrival Archias and Philip went to the door to meet him, but he and Phillidas contrived to disarm them of their suspicions. Again, a letter from Archias the Athenian hierophant, giving all the details of the conspiracy, was put into the hands of the polemarch, but he thrust it away under his pillow, exclaiming οὐκοῦν εἰς αὔριον τὰ σπουδαῖα : cp. Pel. 10 ; Daem. Socr. 594-596.

τρέις μὲν : cp. § 2 note.

§ 6. οὐκ ἂν . . . ἔσοιτο . . . δοὺς οἶνον. Plutarch says nothing of this precautionary measure of the conspirators.

εἰς ἑνός, sc. οἶκον or δωματίον.

§ 7. ὡς κωμαστὰς . . . ἀποκτεῖναι. Plutarch rather combines the two stories. Pel. II Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον, ἐσθῆτας ἐπενδεδυμένοι γυναικείας τοῖς θώραξι, καὶ δασεῖς στεφάνους ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης περικείμενοι κατασκιάζοντας τὰ πρόσωπα. Daem. Socr. 596 Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων . . . ἡμιθωράκια ἐνδεδυμένοι καὶ στεφάνους δασεῖς ἔχοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλάτης, οἱ δὲ πεύκης, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χιτώνια τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμπεχόμενοι, μεθύοντας ἀπομιμούμενοι κόμφ χρωμένους μετὰ γυναικῶν. In the Daem. Socr. Plutarch describes the fight between the polemarchs and the conspirators at some length. First Melon slays Archias, then Charon wounds Philip, who is despatched by Lysitheus. Theopompus kills Cabirichus, the sacred archon. A few of the servants are also slain, the rest are locked up within the house.

λαβὼν . . . τρεῖς. Plutarch represents the conspirators as dividing themselves into two bodies, of which the one headed by Charon and Melon attacked the polemarchs, the other led by Pelopidas and Damoclidus—ἐν ἱματίοις . . . ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἕτερον τῶν ὅπλων ἢ μάχαιραν ἑκάστος—made at the same time for the house of Leontiades; with this second party Phillidas had nothing to do.

παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων. Plut. Daem. Socr. 597 οἱ περὶ Πελοπίδαν . . . ἔφασαν ἡκεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν γράμματα Λεοντίδῃ παρὰ Καλλιστράτου κομίζοντες. In Pel. II they simply burst in as soon as the servant opened the door.

χωρίς. Plutarch (Daem. Socr. 577) says that Phillidas had been anxious to invite Leontiades also to the feast but had been prevented by Archias, ὁ γὰρ Ἀρχίας ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν ἀφίξεσθαι τῇκαῦτα πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ βούλεται παρεῖναι τὸν Λεοντίδην.

τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες. Plutarch (Pel. II; Daem. Socr. 597) describes a long hand-to-hand fight between Leontiades and the conspirators. Leontiades cuts down Cephisodorus, who first entered the room, and is at last overcome in single combat by Pelopidas.

τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα. Plutarch says nothing of the wife.

ἐξιόντες. Pelopidas and his party hastened on, says Plutarch, to the neighbouring house of Hypates, whom they slew as he was attempting to escape over a roof into his neighbour's house. Xen-

phon has for some reason or other omitted to describe the death of Hypates, though, as appears from vii. 3. 7 τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην . . . ἐτιμωρήσασθε, he was well aware of the fact.

κεκλείσθαι, 'to be kept shut': the action was to be decisive and permanent, hence the perfect; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 110.

§ 8. ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον. In the Daem. Socr. 598 Plutarch represents the two parties of the conspirators as uniting before they went to the prison: in the Pelopidas he says nothing of the prison incident. For ἀνάκειον cp. Critical Note and Suidas. Harpocration read ἀναγκαῖον.

εἶπε . . . δέοι. Plut. Daem. Socr. 598 ἐκκάλεσας δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ὁ Φίλλιδας, Ἀρχίας, ἔφη, καὶ Φίλιππος κελεύουσί σε ταχέως ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀμφίθεον: on the jailor's refusing, Phillidas cuts him down. The conspirators then release Amphitheus (cp. § 4 note), and afterwards the other prisoners.

τοὺς δεσμώτας: cp. § 14 ὥς περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Plut. l. c. here gives many picturesque details.

τῶν . . . ὅπλων, partitive genitive, used as object: cp. iii. 1. 4; Plut. Daem. Socr. 598 ὅπλα παρείχον αἱ τε στοαὶ πλήρεις οὖσαι παντοδαπῶν λαφύρων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγύς οἰκούντων ἐργαστήρια μαχαιροποιῶν: so Pel. 12.

τὸ Ἀμφεῖον: the shrine of Amphion, probably just to the north of the Cadmea: cp. Paus. ix. 17. 4.

§ 9. ὥς . . . τεθνεώτων, 'because, as they said, the tyrants were dead': cp. Goodwin, M. T. 864.

ἐξεβοήθουν. Plutarch (Pel. 12) adds that the conspirators sent a messenger to summon the main body of exiles assembled on the Attic frontier (cp. § 3 note), and that ἦκον βοηθοῦντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ περὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, συνειλοχότες οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς βελτίστους (Epaminondas, according to the Daem. Socr. 576, had refused to take any part in the conspiracy from reluctance against shedding citizen blood, but was ready to join the conspirators afterwards, should they be successful). Plutarch goes on to say ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα παρήσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ φυγάδες ὥπλισμένοι, συνήθροιστο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. εἰσῆγον δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πελοπίδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ Γοργίδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων περιεχομένους στέμματα προτεινόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων τοὺς πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς βοηθεῖν. ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ὀρθή πρὸς τὴν

ὄψιν μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοῆς ἐξανέστη, δεχομένων τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτῆρας. Melon, Charon, and Pelopidas were then chosen Boeotarchs—thereby showing that the Boeotian League was once more to be called into existence, as presumably there had been no Boeotarchs elected since the Peace of Antalcidas.

δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . ἀπεστάλκεσαν. Undoubtedly there is here a lacuna of unknown dimensions, in which Xenophon probably explained how these two Athenian generals came to be on the frontier. Even as it stands, from Xenophon's narrative it is evident that these two generals were privy to Melon's plot (§ 19), that they acted on their own responsibility in giving assistance to the conspirators, and that they were afterwards condemned by the Athenians to avoid all appearance of a breach of the peace between themselves and the Lacedaemonians (cp. § 20). Diodorus (xv. 25, 26) gives an utterly inconsistent narrative, which is demonstrably false: the conspirators, he says, sent envoys to Athens to remind the Athenians of their past indebtedness to Thebes at the time of the Thirty, and to ask their assistance πανδημεί. The Athenian Assembly therefore *voted*, and immediately despatched the general Demophon at the head of 5,000 hoplites and 500 cavalry, preparing at the same time πανδημεί στρατεύειν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. But a little further on (c. 29) Diodorus, dealing with the events of the following year, states: τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σπονδὰς πεποιημένοις ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέβαινε μένειν τὴν εἰρήνην μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν καιρῶν. Naturally he makes no allusion to the condemnation of the two Athenian generals, which evidently belongs to a totally different story. His own story, probably taken from Ephorus, seems to have arisen from the garbled versions of the Athenian orators, who, to gratify the national vanity, ante-dated the enthusiasm against Sparta caused by the affair of Sphodrias (§ 34), and mixing up the unauthorized help lent the Theban patriots by the two Athenian generals on the frontier with the measures then adopted against Sparta on the proposal of Cephalus, represented a large force as sent out by the formal vote of the Athenian Assembly: cp. Deinarchus, i. 39 ταυτὶ τὰ μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡλικίας γεγενημένα ὑπὸ Κεφάλου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Θράσωνος τοῦ Ἐρχιέως καὶ Ἡλίου Φορμισίου καὶ ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἐνίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῇ τὰ σώματα. τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς Καδμείας βοηθή-

σαντες τοῖς εἰς Θήβας κατιοῦσι τῶν φυγάδων τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἡλευθέρωσαν πόλιν ἀστυγείτονα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον δουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ πείσαντες ἐξελθεῖν ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους, Κεφάλου τούτου ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ὃς οὐ καταπλαγεῖς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν, οὐδὲ λογισάμενος ὅτι τὸ κινδυνεύειν καὶ τὸ γράφειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισηφάλης ἐστίν, ἔγραψεν ἐξιέναι βοηθήσοντας Ἀθηναίους τοῖς κατειληφόσι τῶν φυγάδων Θήβας· καὶ ἐξελθόντων ἐκείσε τῶν ὑμετέρων πατέρων ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξεβλήθη ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρούραρχος, ἡλευθεροῦντο Θηβαῖοι, διεπέπρακτο ἡ πόλις ἡ ὑμετέρα ἄξια τῶν προγόνων : cp. Grote, ix. 313 note, 507 note. Owing to the lacuna τὸ πρᾶγμα κ.τ.λ. cannot be explained.

§ 10. ὁ . . . ἄρμοστής. Diod. xv. 27 speaks of τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς φρουρᾶς τρεῖς ὄντας, and Plut. Pel. 13 calls them all harmosts. Probably, however, Lysanoridas alone was the proper harmost, the two others were subordinate generals : cp. Daem. Socr. 576 Λυσανορίδαν τρίτον αὐτόν.

Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θεσπιάς. These towns, like Tanagra, had been guarded by Lacedaemonian garrisons since the Peace of Antalcidas : cp. Isocr. xiv. 13.

τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς. After their town was destroyed by the Peloponnesians in 427 (Thuc. iii. 68) the Plataeans had sought refuge in Athens, until they were restored to their city by the Spartans after the Peace of Antalcidas : cp. Paus. ix. 1. 3.

§ 11. ὀλίγοι ὄντες : participial construction, as with αἰσθάνεσθαι, dependent on ἔγνωσαν : cp. Goodwin, M. T. 884. Their numbers were 1,500, if Diodorus and Plutarch be correct, to which must be added the oligarchical refugees.

τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων. Diodorus (xv. 26), following a different version (cp. § 9 note), estimates the besieging force at 12,000 hoplites and 2,000 cavalry, including a large Athenian army. He says that the garrison at once despatched messengers to Sparta for help, and meanwhile defended themselves vigorously against their assailants : but that the Spartans were so long in sending the necessary aid, that the garrison was obliged to surrender just before the reinforcements arrived. So according to Plut. Pel. 12, 13 Cleombrotus' army of rescue had already reached Megara, when the garrison surrendered. Both these stories are wholly inconsistent with Xenophon, who evidently means that the garrison surrendered the day after the assassination of the polemarchs.

ἀναβάσιν, i. e. εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

§ 12. τῶν ἐχθρῶν, i. e. the Theban oligarchs.

ἀπέκτειναν . . . ἀπέσφαξαν. The other authorities do not mention this cold-blooded massacre: cp. the fears of such excesses felt by Epaminondas, Plut. Daem. Socr. 576; and the similar incident at Mantinea, v. 2. 6.

§ 13. τὸν μὲν ἄρμωσθῆν . . . ἀπέκτειναν. According to Plutarch (Pel. 13; Daem. Socr. 598) and Diodorus (xv. 27) the Spartans put two of the commanders to death, Herippidas and Arcissus, and punished the third (Lysanoridas) with a fine and exile, the latter not having been present in the Cadmea at the time: cp. § 10 note.

τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἧβης: cp. ii. 4. 32.

λέξοιεν . . . παρέχοι: cp. the similar reproaches made against Agesilaus in the affair of Phlius, v. 3. 16 and 27 note, and Plut. Ages. 24 Ἀγησίλαος . . . ἔφυγε τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην, αἰσχυρόμενος, εἰ Φλειαίοις ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ φυγᾶδων πεπολεμηκῶς αὐθις ὀφθήσεται Θηβαίους κακῶς ποιῶν διὰ τοὺς τυράννους.

βουλεύεσθαι. Isocrates' statement (xiv. 29) that the Theban patriots immediately sent envoys to Sparta with offers of submission is scarcely credible: cp. Grote, ix. 310 note.

§ 14. Κλεόμβροτον, succeeded his brother Agesipolis: cp. v. 3. 19.

μάλα χεϊμῶνος: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 4. 2.

Χαβρίας: cp. v. 1. 10, 12. According to Diod. xv. 29 he had been recently recalled from Egypt by the Athenians at the request of Pharnabazus from the service of the rebel king Acoris, whose forces he had commanded.

οἱ πελτασταί, i. e. of Cleombrotus.

ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ, i. e. of Mount Cithaeron.

τοῖς . . . λελυμένοις: cp. § 8.

ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας: cp. § 10 note and § 48: some time before 374 Plataea was subjugated by Thebes, vi. 1. 1.

§ 15. Κυνὸς κεφαλᾶς: a village, said to have been the birth-place of Pindar: the site is unknown.

Σφοδρίαν, a personal friend of Cleombrotus, § 25.

ἀπό: cp. v. 1. 11.

§ 16. τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος, sc. ὁδόν: on the sea coast at the foot of the west spur of Cithaeron.

τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, sc. πόλιν or γῆν.

ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας : cp. Polyb. ix. 23 Λακεδαιμονίων δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅσα μὲν διὰ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ βασιλέως πράττειτο, πάντα συμμαχικὴν εἶχε τὴν αἵρεσιν (policy), ὅσα δὲ δι' Ἀγησιλάου, τοῦναντίον : also infr. § 25 ; vi. 4. 5 and Plut. Ages. 26 τὸν Κλεόμβροτον οὐ . . . πρόθυμον ὄντα πολεμεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις.

§ 17. σημαίνειν . . . μελλόντων : σημαίνειν = σημείον εἶναι : cp. Arr. Anab. vii. 22. 5 τοῦτό τε οὖν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημῆναι : τῶν μελλόντων refers to Leuctra.

ἀτάρ : cp. v. 3. 7.

αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, 'baggage and all' : cp. i. 2. 12.

§ 18. τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγοσθένει, south of Mount Cithaeron on the coast : cp. vi. 4. 26.

§ 19. ὀρώντες . . . ῥώμην. This shows that Cleombrotus' expedition in the dead of winter was not without its effect ; not only had he strengthened the Spartan garrison in Boeotia, but he secured the neutrality of Athens. Sphodrias' rash attempt on Piraeus spoilt it all. For the totally inconsistent narrative of Diodorus cp. § 9 note.

ἐν Κορίνθῳ, i.e. before the Peace of Antalcidas, when the Spartans were unable to cross the isthmus unhindered : cp. iv. 4. 13.

κρίναντες : cp. § 9 note. This is alluded to by Plutarch, who, however, combines it with the erroneous narrative given by Diodorus : Pel. 14 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλόντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπείπαντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον παραγόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἐφυγάδευσαν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, κ.τ.λ. : cp. § 34 note.

378-377 B.C.

§ 20. οἱ . . . Θηβαῖοι . . . μαχάνημα. Plutarch (Pel. 14, so also Ages. 24) follows Xenophon : ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Πελοπίδας μετὰ Γοργίδου βοιωταρχῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ συγκροῦσαι πάλιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιόνδε τι μηχανῶνται. Diodorus (xv. 29) regards Cleombrotus as the instigator : Σφοδριάδου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου τεταγμένου μὲν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας, φύσει δ' ὄντος μετεώρου καὶ προπετοῦς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν Κλεόμβροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἐφόρων καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Πειραιέα. Diodorus' view has found little favour with modern commentators, who point to the good understanding

just arrived at between Sparta and Athens and to the political views, so far as known (cp. § 16 note), of Cleombrotus ; probably it arose from the fact that Sphodrias was a friend of Cleombrotus (§ 25). Xenophon's view, reproduced by Plutarch, has found many supporters, including Curtius ; but the arguments of Grote (ix. 315) against it are exceedingly strong : they are (1) that the plans, if successful, would have ruined the Theban cause ; if however the Thebans meant it to fail, they would have given notice to Athens, which apparently they did not ; (2) that, if the Spartans had punished Sphodrias, no breach between Sparta and Athens would have ensued ; (3) that Agesilaus with his hatred of Thebes would never have voted for the acquittal of Sphodrias, had there been any suspicion that he had been bribed by the Thebans ; (4) that in iii. 5. 3 Xenophon, with just as little cause, had imputed to the Thebans a similar refinement of stratagem in leading up to the outbreak of the Corinthian War. He thinks it therefore more in accordance with the facts to suppose that Sphodrias' personal ambition was simply fired by the past success of Phoebeidas, and in support of this view may be added Plutarch's description of his character—Pel. 14 εὐδόκιμος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ λαμπρός, ὑπόκουφος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοήτου μεστός : cp. Ages. 24 οὐκ ἄτολμος μὲν οὐδ' ἀφιλότιμος ἀνὴρ, ἀεὶ δ' ἐλπίδων μᾶλλον ἢ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστός. οὗτος ἐπιθυμῶν ὀνόματος μεγάλου καὶ τὸν Φοιβίδαν νομίζων ἔνδοξον γεγονέναι καὶ περιβόητον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Θήβης τολμήματος, κ.τ.λ. : cp. Callisthenes, frag. ap. Harpocr. [τὸν Σφοδρίαν] εὐήθη τε εἶναι λιάν καὶ κοῦφον πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας.

On the other hand Xenophon's statement—if we leave out altogether the suspicion of bribery—is very definite ; the Theban patriots were in a desperate position, and may have calculated, that, even if Sphodrias' attack were successful—of which, if the character attributed to him be true, there was after all little chance—they had more to gain than to lose from embroiling Athens in the quarrel with Sparta.

χρήματα δόντες : cp. Plut. Pel. 14 πρὸς τοῦτον ὑποπέμπουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν (Ages. 24 adds Melon) ἰδίᾳ ἔμπορόν τινα τῶν φίλων χρήματα κομίζοντα καὶ λόγους, οἱ τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀνέπεισαν αὐτόν.

ἀπύλωτος. This shows that Conon's restoration of the fortifications of Piraeus had never been completed : cp. iv. 8. 10 note.

καθαύσειν, sc. τὴν ὁδόν: cp. § 49.

§ 21. Θριαῖσι, an Attic deme near Eleusis, which gave its name to the Thriasian plain.

ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο: cp. Plut. Ages. 24 ἡμέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ κατέλαβε καὶ κατέλαμψεν ἐλπίσαντα νυκτὸς προσμύξιν τῷ Πειραιεῖ· καὶ φῶς ἀφ' ἱερῶν τινῶν Ἐλευσινόθεν ἰδόντας λέγουσι φρίξαι καὶ περιφόβους γενέσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν. If this reading be adopted (cp. Critical Note), it must be taken to mean, that notwithstanding his failure, Sphodrias now took no measures to conceal his rash inroad, but committed open acts of aggression.

στράτευμα πάμπολυ: Diod. xv. 29 στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων—evidently a great exaggeration.

§ 22. καὶ πρέσβεις. The object of this embassy is unknown: Grote (ix. 318) suspects that it was to demand satisfaction for the part played by the two Athenian generals in the liberation of Thebes.

Καλλία, son of Hipponicus, hereditary torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries (cp. vi. 3. 3), noted for his wealth and patronage of the Sophists as well as for his philo-Laconian tendencies: cp. iv. 5. 13; Plat. Apol. 20 a; Theaet. 165 a; Protag. 337 d.

Ἐγνυμοκλῆς: cp. § 32 and vi. 5. 33.

ᾠκυλλος: cp. vi. 5. 33.

ὥς . . . παρείχον = ὥστε . . . παρείχον: cp. iv. 1. 33.

καὶ ταῦτα, 'and that indeed,' 'especially': cp. ii. 3. 53.

§ 24. καίπερ οὐχ ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν: a pregnant construction involving the idea of ἐαυτὸν παρέχειν, 'although he did not obey the summons to appear at the trial, he was acquitted.'

§ 25. ἐταῖροι . . . τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, i. e. belonging to the same political party: cp. Plut. Ages. 25 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου.

ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, 'were disposed to acquit him': Plut. Cic. 30 συμβατικῶς ἔχειν; Pel. 15 τοὺς ἀποστατικῶς ἔχοντας.

τοὺς διὰ μέσου: those who stood midway between the party of Cleombrotus and that of Agesilaus: cp. Thuc. viii. 75 ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες.

§ 28. φιλιτίου: the place where the common meals of the Spartan citizens were held: cp. Resp. Laced. 3. 5: cp. Critical Note.

παρίει . . . αὐτῷ, 'he would allow them to talk with him.'

§ 29. ἰόντα, sc. πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον : cp. iv. 4. 5.

ἐν παντὶ ᾗσαν, 'were in the greatest terror': the meaning is helped out by μὴ . . . εἶη : cp. vi. 1. 12 εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο.

§ 30. ἀπεκρίνατο : Plutarch (Ages. 25) gives the king's answer differently: οὐ μὴν (ὁ Ἀγησίλαος) ἐνέδωκέ τι τότε χρηστὸν ἢ φιλάνθρωπον ἐλπίσαι δεομένῳ τῷ παιδί, σκέψασθαι δὲ φήσας, ὅ τι καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ πρεπόντως, ἀπῆλθεν.

ἄνδρα μὴ . . . τῆς πόλεως, 'not condemning a man for committing acts of injustice whereby he gained profit for himself to the injury of the state.' καταγινώσκων is here constructed in a very unusual manner with the accusative and infinitive : cp. i. 7. 20 εἰὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν. ἀδικεῖν οἷς = ἀδικεῖν ἀδικήματα οἷς. Cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 31. ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου : cp. v. 2. 5 ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος.

ἡδίκη . . . ἡδίκηκέ τι : the first is general : 'were not in the wrong,' the second is special : 'has done something wrong.'

ὑπὸ σοῦ : cp. Mem. iv. 8. 10 ἐπιμελείας τεύξομαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων.

§ 32. Ἐτυμοκλεῖ : cp. § 23.

οἱ Ἀγησίλαου φίλοι : as opposed to Cleombrotus' friends : cp. § 25.

τὰ καλά : cp. v. 3. 9 note : cp. Plut. Ages. 25 ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλό-τεκνος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διαφερόντως.

§ 33. ὥς . . . αἰσχυρῆς : for this Xenophontine use of ὥς with subj. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Λεύκτροις : cp. vi. 4. 14.

τρίς πεσών : cp. Plut. Ages. 28 ἐν οἷς καὶ Κλεώνυμόν φασι τὸν Σφοδρίου τὸν καλὸν τρίς πεσόντα πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοσαντάκισ ἐξαναστάντα καὶ μαχόμενον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀποθανεῖν.

ἡνίασε : i. e. by his death.

τοιούτῳ . . . τρόπῳ : cp. Diod. xv. 29 συναγωνιστὰς ἔχων τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελύθη.

§ 34. οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες : one of their leaders was Cephalus : cp. Paus. iii. 9. 4 ; Diod. xv. 25, 26 ; Deinarch. i. 39.

οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ καί, 'not only not . . . but even' : cp. ii. 4. 14 ; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 707.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐβοήθουν. Diodorus' story (xv. 25, 26) of the large forces, which the Athenians voted to aid the Boeotians in capturing the Cadmea, seems to have arisen from the national

pride of the Athenian orators. To exalt the part played by the Athenians in the overthrow of the Spartan domination they ante-dated the measures here described in brief by Xenophon, and represented Athens as joining the Thebans immediately after the assassination of the polemarchs (§ 9 note). This activity of Athens showed itself in the next year in the formation of what is known as the Second Athenian Confederacy, cp. §§ 60, 61 note. Even in the present year several alliances, besides that with Thebes, were already formed. Isocrates (xiv. 28) goes so far as to say that after the Peace of Antalcidas *Χῖοι μὲν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι συμπαρέμεινον* (i. e. faithful to Athens), and monumental evidence in a great measure confirms this statement: for CIA. ii. 15 (which Köhler dates at about 386 but Hicks at 378-377) proves that a defensive alliance was formed with the Chians on the basis of the king's peace *ὡς ὥμοσεν βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες*; and CIA. ii. 18, 19 show that similar treaties of alliance were formed in the present year 378 with Mytilene and Byzantium. To the same year must belong the despatch of envoys mentioned by Diodorus (xv. 28) *ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τεταγμένας πόλεις, παρακαλοῦντες ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας*, which that historian incorrectly puts before the attempt of Sphodrias on the Piraeus. Diodorus goes on to say—*διόπερ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων ἀπέκλινον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι· καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ῥόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς νησιωτῶν· αἰὲ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀξιομένης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρμῆς πολλαὶ πόλεις προσέθεντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.* The details which he then gives about the terms of the Confederacy belong to the following year: cp. Plut. Pel. 15 *ἐκ τούτου* (Sphodrias' attempt) *πάλιν προθυμώτατα Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις συνεμάχουν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ περιϋόντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ προσήγοντο τοὺς ἀποστατικῶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχοντας.*

ναὺς . . . ἐνανηγοῦντο: cp. Diod. xv. 29 *κρίναντες δὲ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς, στρατηγούς τρεῖς εἴλοντο τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Τιμόθεον καὶ Χαβρίαν καὶ Καλλίστρατον. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ στρατιώτας μὲν ὀπλίτας καταλέξει δις μυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, ναὺς δὲ πληρῶσαι διακοσίας.* Polybius (ii. 62) halves these numbers: *μυρίους μὲν ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας ἑκατὸν δ' ἐπλήρουν τριήρεις.* To meet the

necessary expenditure the Athenians reorganized their system of finance, once more imposing the *εἰσφορά* or income-tax upon their own citizens, but levying it by a new system of *συμμορίαί*: cp. Dict. Antiq. s. v.

§ 35. *σφίσι*: for the dative with *ἡγεῖσθαι* cp. iv. 2. 9.

ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν: cp. Plut. Ages. 26 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον οὐχ ἑώρα πρόθυμον ὄντα πολεμεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, οὕτω δὲ χαίρειν τὸν νόμον (cp. v. 4. 13) ἔασας, ᾧ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο περὶ τῆς στρατείας, αὐτὸς εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνέβαλεν ἤδη.

§ 36. *Κλητορίους* . . . *Ὀρχομενίους*: two towns in northern Arcadia.

§ 37. *πρῶτον*, i. e. as his foremost duty.

κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. Diodorus (xv. 31) states that the Lacedaemonians, fearing the spread of rebellion amongst their allies, now ἐπαύσαντο τῆς προνπαρχούσης βαρύτητος καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι φιlanθρώπως προσεφέροντο: and that at the same time they reorganized their confederacy, dividing it into ten parts: the first composed of themselves, the second and third of the Arcadians, the fourth of the Eleans, the fifth of the Achaeans, the sixth of the Corinthians and Megarians, the seventh of the Sicyonians, the Phliasians and the states of the Acte, the eighth of the Acarnanians, the ninth of the Phocians and Locrians, and the tenth of the Olynthians and Thrace-ward allies. Diod. xv. 32 estimates Agesilaus' forces at more than 18,000 hoplites, of whom 2,500 were Lacedaemonians, divided into five *morae*, and 1,500 cavalry.

§ 38. *εἰς Θεσπιάς*, where he rested his men several days; Diod. xv. 32.

Θηβαίων χώραν. The campaign is summarized in Ages. 2. 22 εὐρών δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἅπαντα, ὑπερβὰς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδήου τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεος, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλοιντο.

ἀποτεταφρευμένον. Diod. xv. 32, 33, says nothing of this trench and stockade; he together with Polyaeus (ii. 1. 2) and Nepos (Chabrias 1) represents the poor success of Agesilaus as mainly due to the generalship of the Athenian Chabrias, who joined the Thebans with 15,000 foot and 200 horse: the Thebans and their allies could not be dislodged from their various advantageous positions, and on one occasion, when Agesilaus was marching up against them to force them to give battle, Chabrias gave orders to his men τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὸ γόνυ κλίναντας ἐν ὀρθῇ τῷ δόρατι μένειν—

a manœuvre which compelled the Lacedaemonians to retire; Chabrias afterwards chose this attitude for a statue, which the Athenians erected in his honour. Many commentators have seen in this omission of Xenophon's—if omission it be—evidence of the anti-Athenian tendencies of the author. Stern (p. 74) suggests that the story was afterwards invented to account for the peculiar attitude of the statue. Cp. Dem. xx. 76.

τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ: the parts of the country on his own side of the stockade: if the reading be correct, πρὸς is here used in the sense of local direction, and the genitive σταυρωμάτων is dependent on the local conception implied in the phrase πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ; cp. § 49 πρὸς ἔω τῆς πόλεως.

§ 39. τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, sc. ὁδόν.

οἷα δὴ: in this sense ἄτε is more common.

συσκευαζομένων: preparing the meal, i. e. τὸ δεῖπνον.

ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, if the reading be retained, must mean 'still dismounted' in the sense of οὕτω ἀναβεβηκότων, as opposed to those caught in the act of mounting their horses—ἀναβαινόντων: cp. Critical Note.

Ἐπικυδίδαν: cp. iv. 2. 2.

§ 40. τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης: cp. ii. 4. 32.

ὑποπεπωκόσι: cp. what Xenophon says of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra: vi. 4. 8 ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον παροξύναι τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. The point of the comparison lies in the Theban horse failing to judge the distance between themselves and the Lacedaemonians rightly.

τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν: this use of the dative after ὑπομένω finds no parallel: cp. vii. 5. 12 τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίη.

ἐκ τοσούτου, 'from so great a distance,' i. e. so great that their spears did not carry so far.

αὐτῶν δώδεκα limits the extent of the subject implied in ἀναστρέφοντες: cp. vi. 3. 19 ἀπογραφάμενοι . . . οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες . . . οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον.

§ 41. καὶ οἱ πολέμοι, i. e. also like himself: cp. § 38.

δι' ἐρημίας, sc. τῶν πολεμίων: cp. iii. 4. 21.

ἀποχωρήσας: cp. Diod. xv. 33: when Agesilaus' counsellors expressed their surprise at the king's not forcing on a battle, he replied νῦν μὲν ἀκινδύνως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νενικηκέναι· πορθουμένη γὰρ τῇ

χώρα μὴ τετολημῆναι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθῆσαι· εἰ δ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων παρακεχωρηκότων τῆς νίκης ἐβιάσατο τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπομένειν τὸ δεινόν, ἴσως ἂν διὰ τὸ παράλογον τῆς τύχης ἐδύναντο καὶ πταῖσαι κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ταύτης ἔδοξε μετρίως κατεστοχάσθαι τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποβῆναι, ὕστερον δὲ (i.e. after Leuctra) διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεῶν τινα χρησμόν εἰρηκέναι.

Φοιβίδαν : cp. v. 2. 32 note.

ὑπερβαλόν, i.e. over Mount Cithaeron : cp. iv. 4. 19.

τὸ πολιτικόν : cp. iv. 4. 19 note.

§ 42. ἐπεὶ . . . ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. Diod. xv. 33 adds τὴν προφυλακὴν οὖσαν ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων ἀνείλον.

τῇ ἐμβολῇ : Jacob's conjecture τῆς ἐμβολῆς—the genitive of comparison after *θάττονα*—removes all difficulty.

§ 44. ἀποχωροῦντες. Polyaeus (ii. 5. 2) represents the Theban commander Gorgidas as only pretending flight in order to entice Phoebidas out of the rough ground into the plain.

§ 45. ὁ . . . Φοιβίδας : cp. Diod. xv. 33 Φοιβίδας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἔχων, ἐκχυθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προπετῶς τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσι Θηβαίοις ἐπιθέμενος, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλε πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἐναντίοις τραύμασι περιπεσὼν ἥρωικῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

οὗ πολλοί : contrast Diod. l. c.

§ 46. πάλιν αὖ : αὖ following merely emphasizes the πάλιν : contrast v. 1. 5 note.

ἄλλας . . . πόλεις, e.g. Plut. Pel. 15 says that Pelopidas routed the Lacedaemonian garrison at Tanagra and slew their harmost Panthoidas.

ὁ . . . δῆμος . . . ἀπεχώρει : a kind of *συνοικισμός*, which must greatly have strengthened the democrats at Thebes : cp. Mantinea, v. 2. 1 note.

δυναστεῖαι : the unconstitutional rule of the few, like that of Archias and Leontiades at Thebes : cp. v. 2. 36 ; 4. 2 ; Arist. Pol. iv. 5. 2. So the Theban orator in 427 says that at the time of Xerxes' invasion *δυναστεία* ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα (Thuc. iii. 62).

κατὰ θάλατταν : across the Corinthian Gulf to avoid the dangerous passes of Mount Cithaeron. This confession of weakness shows the ill success of Agesilaus' expedition.

377-376 B.C.

§ 47. ἦπερ τὸ πρόσθεν: cp. § 35.

πρὶν καί, 'even before,' contrasted with his procedure in the previous campaign, § 37.

§ 48. ἐγένετο. Diodorus (xv. 34) πάλιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Θήβας.

πάλιν belongs to εἰς τὰς Θεσπιᾶς πρῶτον ἵνα: cp. § 38.

τὰς πρεσβείας: cp. Polyæn. ii. 1. 11 Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος Θηβαίους τὴν κατὰ Σκῶλον πάροδον φυλάττειν, πάσαις ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀναμένειν συνέταξεν· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σιτία τῆς στρατιᾶς συγκομίζειν ἐκέισε. Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα πυθόμενοι μετήλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσπιᾶς πάροδον καὶ ταύτῃ παρεφύλαττον. Ἀγησίλαος δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀνύσας ἡμέρα μιᾷ τὴν κατὰ Σκῶλον πάροδον ἐρήμην εὐρὼν ἄνευ μάχης διήλθεν.

τὴν . . . ἐμβολήν, 'the pass': so iv. 3. 10.

§ 49. ὥς στρατεύματι: explanatory of δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, 'as reckoned for an army.'

Σκῶλον, north of the Asopus, four and a half miles from the road between Thebes and Plataea: its exact site has not been discovered: cp. Paus. ix. 4. 3.

ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς . . . εἰσῆλθε, 'from the watch-post whereby he had entered the time before': cp. § 41.

πρὸς ἑω τῆς . . . πόλεως: cp. § 38 note.

ἔτι γὰρ τότε: cp. § 46 note, whence it appears that notwithstanding the death of its harmost Panthoidas, Tanagra still remained faithful to Sparta.

τὸ τεῖχος, i. e. of Tanagra.

§ 50. Γραὸς στήθει: a hill SW. of Tanagra, so-called after Tanagra or Graia, the wife of Poemander, the founder of the city: cp. Paus. ix. 20. 2; Polyæn. ii. 1. 12.

ἐπεικῶς, 'fairly,' 'rather,' qualifying στενόν.

ἐπισιμώσας: cp. Polyæn. ii. 1. 12 οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάβοντο λόφον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ δύσβατον, καλούμενον Γραίας ἔδος, ὥστε ἦν καὶ τὸ παρατάσσεσθαι δύσμαχον καὶ τὸ προχωρεῖν ἀδύνατον. προσποιεῖται δὲ [ὁ Ἀγησίλαος] λοξώσας τὴν στρατιάν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Θηβαίων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔρημον ἐξεστρατευκότων ἀπάντων, Θηβαῖοι περὶ τῇ πόλει δείσαντες τὸν λόφον καταλιπόντες ἠπείγοντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. Ἀγησίλαος τὸν λόφον ἀκωλύτως διήλθεν.

§ 51. ἔνθα = τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ.

Ποτνιάς: the temple was on the roadside 10 stadia south of Thebes: Paus. ix. 8. 1.

ἀσφαλεστέρα, i. e. than the more direct road: it lay over rougher country.

ἀπαγαγών, sc. τὸν στρατόν, 'while retiring at a distance from the enemy.'

§ 52. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου: means apparently the last of the row of hills along which the Thebans had been running.

Σκίριται: cp. v. 2. 24 note.

§ 53. τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο. Diod. xv. 34 gives a rather exaggerated description of this battle, as is shown by the fact that at the time the city was destitute of troops (cp. § 51, Polyæn. l. c.): γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσχυρᾶς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπροτέρουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Θηβαίων ἐκχυθέντων πανδημεί, θεωρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι δόξαντες τότε πρῶτως μὴ καταδεεστέρους ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κατεθάρρησαν τῆς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν δυνάμεως.

§ 54. ἀπήγαγε. The retreat seems to have been hastened by the discontent of the allies: cp. Plut. Ages. 26 ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαχθὴς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ὥς δι' οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ τι καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπολέσαι ζητῶν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγον δεόμενοι φθείρεσθαι δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλίγοις τοσοῦτοι συνακολουθοῦντες. Details of their discontent are also given by Polyænus ii. 1. 7, 18, 20, 21.

τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς, sc. ὁδόν.

τὸν Χαβρίαν: cp. §§ 14, 38 notes. Chabrias, it seems, must also have commanded the Athenian forces in this second year's campaign.

κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους. For the terms cp. v. 3. 26; also cp. § 37 note.

καθάπερ ἡκολούθουν, sc. οἱ πελτασταί.

§ 55. τοὺς ἐναντίους. For the strength of the oligarchs at Thespieæ cp. § 46 and vi. 3. 1.

§ 56. δυοῖν ἐτοῖν, genitive of space of time: cp. Anab. 1. 7. 18 βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν.

Παγασάς: in Thessaly at the head of the gulf of that name.

᾽Ωρεόν: also called Hestiaea, at the north end of Euboea

Shortly before, the Spartans had assisted the Oreites to expel their oppressive tyrant Neogenes, and out of gratitude the inhabitants had remained faithful to Sparta and had refused to admit Chabrias, the Athenian general, when he induced most of the Euboean states to join the new Athenian Confederacy: Diod. xv. 30.

ἐν ᾧ, temporal, 'while.'

ἐλάττους: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 57. ἀκολουθοῦντος, i. e. 'always at his heels,' 'in close attendance upon.'

περὶ τοῦτον ἦν, 'was wholly wrapt up in him': cp. vii. 4. 28 περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἶχον.

376-375 B.C.

§ 58. ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος, opposed to οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, § 59.

εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον: cp. Plut. Ages. 27 πρὸς τὸ ἀρχεῖον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

ὅποία δὴ: a relative clause without a verb used as an indefinite pronoun, 'some vein or other.'

τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος: the other leg was lame: cp. iii. 3. 3.

ἡρρώσται: cp. Plut. Ages. 27 πολὺν χρόνον ἔσχευ ἀρρώστως καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀδυνάτως; vi. 4. 18 ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὕτω ἴσχυεν, i. e. in 371.

τὸ . . . λοιπὸν θέρος, i. e. of 377.

§ 59. ἔαρ, i. e. 376.

Θηβαίων . . . καὶ Ἀθηναίων. This would seem to prove that the Lacedaemonian garrisons in Boeotia were by this time not strong enough to spare some of their troops to command the passes of Cithaeron, as they had done in the previous year (§ 47) by order of Agesilaus: cp. however § 37.

ἀδύνατον νομίσας. For Cleombrotus' want of zeal cp. § 16 note.

§ 60. ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων: ἀπό denotes the source of origin: cp. Thuc. viii. 93 ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς λόγων γιγνομένων.

διὰ μαλακίαν. For the discontent of the allies cp. § 54 note, and the saying of Antalcidas against Agesilaus quoted in Plut. Ages. 26 ἢ καλὰ τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις μὴ βουλομένους μηδὲ ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας.

πολὺν πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων: cp. § 34 note. The renewed activity of Athens in naval affairs had culminated in the spring of

the preceding year in the definite founding of a new Athenian Confederacy, some account of which—in defiance of chronology—is given by Diodorus (xv. 28-30), but for which monumental evidence remains in the original decree (CIA. ii. 17) proposed by Aristoteles—ὁ πολιτευσάμενος Ἀθήνησι, says Diogenes Laertius (v. 35) οὐδὲ καὶ δίκανκοὶ φέρονται λόγοι χαρίεντες—in March 377. According to this document an alliance was to be formed between the contracting parties on the basis of the Peace of Antalcidas, which secured freedom and autonomy for the separate states of Greece: and their object was to be to secure this independence against the encroachments of Sparta. The official title of the League was οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι: the Athenians promised in no way to interfere with the constitutions of the allied states, to send no garrisons, and to extort no tribute (φόρος). The Athenians also gave up all ἐγκτήματα, whether public or private, that they at the time possessed in any of the allied states—any violation of this clause was to be tried by the σύνεδροι τῶν συμμάχων. The allies were to form a συνέδριον in Athens, in which Athens herself was to have no representation. Whatever this συνέδριον approved was to be laid before the Athenian Assembly, which could either accept it or reject it; and the συνέδριον was at liberty to deal in the same way with the proposals of the Athenian Assembly. A list of allies is subjoined, apparently in chronological order of admission: the first to join were the Chians, Mytileneans, Methymnaeans, Rhodians, and Byzantians (cp. § 34 note): then the Tenedians, Thebans, Chalcidians, and many of the Euboean states, cp. § 56 note: the rest follow, as the alliance continually extended: cp. Hicks, Inscript. p. 141. The omission of this important measure by Xenophon makes it difficult to understand from his pages alone the course of succeeding events. It appears that a few years later συντάξεις (such was the new name invented by Callistratus for the old thing), or contributions were paid by some, though not all, of the allies: but for this cp. vi. 2. 1 note.

ἐλεῖν λιμῶ, as in 404, cp. ii. 2. 21; and as threatened in 387, cp. v. 1. 29.

διαβιβάζειν, i. e. across the Corinthian Gulf.

Κρέυσιος: cp. iv. 5. 10.

§ 61. ἐξήκοντα . . . ἐπλήρωσαν. This change in policy was not so

much due to the illness of Agesilaus, whose hatred against Thebes had for years been the leading motive of Spartan policy, as necessitated by the formation of the new Athenian Confederacy, of which Thebes was now a member.

Πόλλις, secretary to the admiral Podanemus 393-392 ; cp. iv. 8. 11 : no Spartan admiral has been mentioned since Antalcidas.

ἐπολιορκούντο : similarly used in the sense of a blockade by sea in iv. 7. 1 ; v. 1. 2.

Γεραστόν : the southern point of Euboea.

αὐτοί, i.e. the citizens themselves, as opposed to allies or mercenaries.

τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. Xenophon seems to use the article here, as in his allusions to the sea-fight at Cnidus (iv. 3. 10 ; 8. 1) to imply that this battle at Naxos in 376 was well known to the reader. Diod. (xv. 34, 35) gives a long but not very intelligible account of the battle. According to him, Chabrias, to create a diversion, sailed with his whole fleet to Naxos and laid siege to the city. Pollis was thereby obliged to leave his blockade of the Attic coasts and sail to the relief of the island. Between Paros and Naxos with 65 ships under his command he fell in with the Athenian fleet of 83 vessels, and inflicted great loss on the Athenian left wing, killing its commander Cedon. Thereupon, however, Chabrias came up and changed the defeat into a victory, sinking many triremes, capturing others, and taking much booty ; but was afraid to follow up the pursuit, whereby he might have captured the whole Lacedaemonian fleet, remembering the fate of the Athenian generals at Arginusae ; he therefore stopped to pick up the survivors of the 18 ships that he had lost himself and to bury the dead. This was the first victory that the Athenians had won by sea with their own fleet since the Peloponnesian War. Dem. (xx. 77) estimates the Lacædaemonian loss at 49 triremes and 3,000 prisoners. After this victory many more of the islands, including Naxos, joined the new Athenian Confederacy. Cp. also Plut. (Phocion 6, 7 ; Camill. 19) who puts the date of the battle on the 16th of Boedromion, c. Sept. 10. Chabrias sailed back to Piræus, laden with the spoils of victory. The people voted him extraordinary honours (Dem. xx. 84-86).

375-374 B.C.

§ 62. διαβιβάζειν : cp. § 60.

οἱ Θηβαῖοι. Xenophon, it is to be noticed, attributes the instigation of the Athenian expedition round the Peloponnesus to the Thebans, at the same time that he omits altogether the simultaneous expedition of Chabrias to Abdera and the Thracian coast (Diod. xv. 36). Both expeditions were the direct outcome of the victory at Naxos.

πρὸς ἑαυτούς, i. e. against the Thebans.

§ 63. τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον : cp. § 34.

ἐξήκοντα : cp. Isocr. xv. 109 εἰς τὸν περίπλουν τὸν περὶ Πελοπόννησον τρία καὶ δέκα μόνον τάλαντα δούσης αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τριήρεις πεντήκοντα.

Τιμόθεον, Canon's son : he had already been elected general in 378 : cp. § 34 note.

ἔτει. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. lxiv.

ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι. Xenophon has here omitted to give any account of the famous fight at Tegyra, where Pelopidas at the head of the Sacred Band of 300 and a few horsemen defeated in fair and open fight a superior force of Lacedaemonians, which formed the garrison of Orchomenus, but happened to be returning from an expedition against the Opuntian Locrians : cp. Diod. xv. 37 ; Plut. Pel. 16, 17. In vi. 4. 10 Xenophon has an obscure allusion to this and similar battles—διὰ τε τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιάς.

ἀνελάμβανον : cp. vi. I. I note.

§ 64. Κέρκυραν . . . ἐποιήσατο. An inscription (CIA. ii. 49) records the incorporation of the Corcyraeans, Acarnanians, and Cephallenians into the Athenian Confederacy in the archonship of Hippodamos 375-374 : cp. CIA. ii. 17, 1678 ; Corn. Nep. Timoth. 2 Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit sociosque idem adiunxit Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas omnesque eas gentes, quae mare illud adiacent ; and Diod. xv. 36 πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν τὰς τ' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις προσηγάγετο καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν ὁμοίως ἔπεισεν ἀποκλίνειν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκέταν δὲ τὸν Μολοττῶν βασιλέα φίλον κατασκευάσας καὶ καθόλου τὰς πλείστας τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους πύλεων ἐξιδιοποιησάμενος, ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίᾳ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Λευκάδα.

οὐδὲ ἄνδρας . . . μετέστησεν : cp. Isocrates' panegyric on his actions xv. 115-127 esp. ὥσπερ οἰκουμένας αὐτὰς (τὰς πόλεις) εἰσιὼν κατέλαβεν, οὕτως ἐξιὼν κατέλειπεν . . . ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατηγίας οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτ' ἀναστάσεις εὖροι γεγενημένας οὔτε πολιτειῶν μεταβολὰς οὔτε σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀνηκέστων.

§ 65. Νικόλοχον : formerly secretary of the admiral Antalcidas : cp. v. i. 6.

ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ : in Acarnania, opposite the island of Leucas. Polyæn. (iii. 10. 4) dates the battle on the feast of Scira (June?) : cp. *Intro.* p. lxiv.

§ 66. ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας. According to Isocr. xv. 109 the Corcyraeans then possessed 80 triremes.

ὑπερεῖχε : cp. Isocr. xv. 110 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον μῆδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μαλέας περιπλέον, κ.τ.λ.

πολλῶν . . . ἐδεῖτο : cp. § 63 note and Isocr. xv. 120 συνίσασιν (οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι) γὰρ αὐτῶ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς τῶν πολέμων διὰ τὸ μὴδὲν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐνδείας καθιστάμενον : cp. Arist. *Oecon.* ii. 24. 2.

BOOK VI

CHAPTER I

§ 1. *Cleombrotus was despatched to the aid of the Phocians, who were now being attacked by the Thebans.* §§ 2-16. *Polydamas, the Pharsalian, arrived in Sparta and in a lengthy speech asked for help against the ever-increasing power of Jason of Pherae.* §§ 17-19. *After three days' deliberation the Lacedaemonians were obliged to confess that they were unable to help him. Pharsalus at once submitted and Jason was acknowledged Tagus of all Thessaly.*

P 374-373 B.C.

§ 1. *κατεστρέψαντο*, i. e. they compelled *τὰς περιουκίδας πόλεις* once more to enter the Boeotian League, but no longer on terms of equality. Henceforward they bore the same relation to Thebes as the demes of Attica to Athens or the Laconian and Messenian towns to Sparta: cp. Isocr. xiv. 8 *τὰς μὲν ἰδίας ἡμῶν* (the Boeotians in general) *ἐκάστων πόλεις ἀφανίζουσι, τῆς δὲ σφετέρας αὐτῶν πολιτείας οὐδὲν δεομένους κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι*. Some states, however, like Plataea and Orchomenus (Diod. xv. 46, 57; cp. vi. 4. 10) still maintained their independence.

εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα: for the long standing hostility between Thebes and Phocis cp. iii. 5. 4.

οἱ Φωκεῖς: the Phocians had fought on the Spartan side at Coronea in 394: cp. Diod. xv. 31.

μὴ πείθεσθαι: *μὴ οὐ* is more usual; cp. Critical Note: for the two negatives each having its force cp. v. 2. 1; Cyrop. iii. 3. 24 *ὦρα . . . μῆτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις φοβουμένοις μὴ ἀντιπροσιέναι*.

τέτταρας μόρας: there were six *morae* in all: cp. vi. 4. 17.

τὸ μέρος, i. e. proportionate contingents from the Spartan allies, as in iv. 6. 3.

§ 2. *τὸ κοινόν*: probably the Spartan assembly, exclusive of the allies: cp. vi. 3. 3.

τῇ πόλει : Pharsalus.

στασιάσαντες. Before the Corinthian War Pharsalus had been occupied by a Lacedaemonian garrison (Diod. xiv. 82) which was expelled by Medius, tyrant of Larisa, when he captured the town. In 394 the Pharsalians did their best to hinder Agesilaus' march through Thessaly, cp. iv. 3. 3, 8. Now the philo-Laconian party seem once more to have been in the ascendant, and applied for help to their old allies. In Aristotle's time the Pharsalian constitution was a harmonious oligarchy : Pol. v. 6. 10 *ἐκείνοι γὰρ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν κύριοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς*.

ὅσα . . . νόμοις : the relative sentence constitutes the object of ἀναλίσκειν.

§ 3. τὴν ἄκραν, i. e. τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

ἐνδείσειε, impersonal, 'whenever there was a deficit.'

τῆς προσόδου : a kind of partitive genitive : cp. ii. 3. 14 ; Cobet adds τι : cp. Critical Note.

Θετταλικὸν τρόπον : cp. Athen. xiv. 662 *ὁμολογοῦνται δὲ οἱ Θετταλοὶ πολυτελέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενῆσθαι περὶ τε τὰς ἐσθήτας καὶ τὴν δίαίταν* ; and xii. 527 *Φαρσάλιοι δὲ πάντων . . . ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀργότατοι καὶ πολυτελέστατοι*.

§ 4. *εὐεργέτης* : cp. i. 1. 26 ; Vectigal. 3. 10 ; Dem. xx. 60 : this, like *πρόξενος*, was a title of honour given by states to aliens, who had done them good service.

ἐκ . . . προγόνων : ἐκ is temporal, 'since,' 'from' : the phrase may be paraphrased—'titles borne by all our ancestors within our memory.' For the omission of the article cp. Cyrop. i. 3. 7 *πάντα ἃ ἔλαβε κρέα*.

εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι : parenthetical, as in § 10.

Ἰάσονος. Jason was following in the footsteps of his predecessor Lycophron who in 404 aspired *ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας* (ii. 3. 4). Ten years afterwards we read in Diod. xiv. 82 of Lycophron's being at war with Medius, tyrant of Larisa. The earliest known exploit of Jason himself is the assistance that he gave to Neogenes, when the latter made himself tyrant of Oreus in Euboea shortly before 378 B. C. (cp. Diod. xv. 30 and v. 4. 56). Meantime he had seized advantage of the troubles in Greece to increase his own dominions.

σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, 'having made a truce' : cp. § 5 *ὑμῶν . . . στρατενομένων*.

§ 5. Ὅτι μὲν has no corresponding δέ: the thought is resumed in § 7 κρείττον μοι δοκεῖ.

τὰ ἐναντία, adverbial: cp. iii. 5. 11.

ξένους . . . μισθοφόρους, i. e. aliens, not drawn from Thessaly: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

τὰ . . . στρατεύματα, i. e. citizen troops, often called τὰ πολιτικά: cp. iv. 4. 19; v. 3. 25.

σωμασκοῦσί γε . . . μάλα ὀλίγοι: cp. § 3 note.

§ 6. αὐτός, i. e. Jason.

σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, i. e. fully equipped with heavy armour.

διμοιρίαίς, i. e. with double pay.

νόσων γε θεραπείαις: this is the first recorded instance of measures taken to care for sick soldiers.

§ 7. εἰδότε, 'though I was well aware of it already.'

Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες: the Maraci are probably the same as the Maraces, whom Pliny (iv. 3) mentions together with the Dolopians as a people of Aetolia.

Ἀλκέτας: king of the Molossians, who had been induced by Timotheus in 375 to join the Athenian Confederacy: Diod. xv. 36; CIA. ii. 49: vi. 2. 10.

ἂν . . . ἂν: ἂν is repeated to emphasize the conditional nature of the whole sentence, including the participle: 'what should I fear so as to think that I could not,' &c.

§ 8. τὰ δεύτερα, 'the second place.'

πόλεων, sc. προσγενομένων.

ταγὸς Θετταλῶν ἀπάντων. The office of ταγός, called by Pollux (i. 128) ἴδιον Θετταλῶν, seems to have represented the power of the older kings, of whom we hear down to the middle of the fifth century (Thuc. i. 111), in their military capacity. The Tagus was elected by a majority of the Thessalian states and commanded the whole of their military forces (§ 9). He also assessed the contributions to be levied from the different states for military purposes: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 755.

ὥς γε μήν: apparently correlative to τοῦτο μὲν: cp. iii. 1. 7; iv. 2. 17; Appendix, p. 360.

οἱ ἱππεύοντες: for the fame of the Thessalian cavalry cp. v. 3. 9.

μὲν: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 9. οἱ ταύτη, i. e. πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη.

§ 10. ὅσοι . . . πολεμοῦντες: without εἰσι, as in De re eq. 11. 12 πάντες ὅσοι συμπαραεπόμενοι ἀξιοθέατοι ἂν φαίνονται, and vi. 2. 27, 30.

ὑπάρχουσι . . . σύμμαχοι. Nothing is known of any previous relations between Jason and the Thebans, except the obviously mythical story in Plutarch, Daem. Socr. p. 583.

εἰ οἶδ' ὅτι: parenthetical, as in § 4.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν. However, in the following year he was already an ally of Athens, Dem. xlix. 10.

§ 11. εἰ δὲ . . . λογίζομαι, 'as to whether my calculations are reasonable,' &c.: for the construction cp. ii. 3. 27.

τὰ ξύλα: cp. v. 2. 16 note.

πενέστας: cp. ii. 3. 36 note.

ἂν μὴ πρίωνται: cp. i. 1. 35; v. 4. 61.

§ 12. νησύδρια: diminutive to show contempt for the islands contrasted with ἡπειρωτικά ἔθνη.

ὑπήκοον ποιήσασθαι. Isocrates (v. 119) attributes similar designs to Jason: ἐκείνος γὰρ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ (Philip of Macedon) κατεργασάμενος μεγίστης δόξης ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἔφησεν· ἐποιεῖτο γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ὥς εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον (Asia) διαβησόμενος καὶ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσων.

δουλείαν: in relation to the king of Persia all his subjects were regarded as slaves: cp. iii. 1. 26; iv. 1. 36.

τῆς μετὰ Κύρου: cp. iii. 1. 1 and Anab. i. 7. 10.

τῆς μετ' Ἀγησιλάου: cp. iii. 4. 2-4, 11.

εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο: cp. v. 4. 29 note.

§ 13. ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας: though the meaning is plain, the grammatical construction is involved: ἐπεὶ δέ introduces the protasis, to which ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας κ.τ.λ. forms the logical apodosis; the irregularity is due to the interpolated τοῦτ' ἔφην, which causes ἄπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι to be treated as an independent principal sentence in Direct Narration, instead of dependent (as it should be grammatically) on ἀπεκρινάμην.

ἐκτέον μου εἴη, 'he must cling to me all the more, because,' &c.

διδῶσιν, sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 'allow you to persuade them': for σοι Cobet proposes θεοί, Dobrée σοι θεοί, Voigtlander οἱ θεοί; but though these proposals yield a much better sense, it is awkward grammatically to change the subject again at δοκῶσιν: cp. Critical Note.

συμμαχίαν: abstract for concrete, as in iv. 8. 24.

ὥς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν: ὥς with the infinitive to express purpose, as in v. 2. 38.

τούτῳ . . . πολέμου, 'we must put up with any result that war may bring.'

βοηθεῖν: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα: 'if you too should do the best for your country;' or reading οὐ πράττεῖς, 'where you fare so well,' Dakyns: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 14. ὥς εἰ . . . †δοκεῖν: the sentence, as it stands, is untranslatable. Stephanus' remedy reading δοκοῦσαν for δοκεῖν seems the simplest: cp. Critical Note.

νεοδαμώδεις . . . ἰδιώτην: a tacit reference apparently to the procedure of the Spartans in the case of Olynthus: cp. v. 2. 24.

§ 15. φρόνιμος μὲν: the μὲν is correlative to καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατος § 16. ὥς for ὥστε.

λανθάνειν . . . βιάζεσθαι: for a similar collocation cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 19 ἀ δὲ ᾧ ἦθη χρῆναι λαθεῖν ἢ φθάσαι ἢ ἀποβιάσασθαι, οὐδὲν τοῦτων ἱκανὸς γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι.

νυκτὶ ὅσαπερ ἡμέρα: cp. Cyrop. i. 5. 12 νυκτὶ . . . ὅσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα δύναισθ' ἂν χρῆσθαι and Ages. 6. 6 νυκτὶ μὲν ὅσαπερ ἡμέρα ἐχρήτο, ἡμέρα δὲ ὅσαπερ νυκτὶ.

ἐκπλῆσαι τὰς γνώμας, 'to satisfy their wishes': Anab. i. 7. 8 ὁ δὲ ἐμπιπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε.

§ 16. τὸ μὴ [εἰς τὸ] πράττειν: dependent upon ἀσχολίαν, as containing a negative conception. Dindorf deletes εἰς τὸ as unintelligible.

τὸ δεόμενον, sc. πράττεσθαι: cp. Cyrop. ii. 3. 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων.

§ 17. τὰς ἑξω μόρας: cp. § 1; four μόραι had been sent into Phocis under Cleombrotus.

τὰς περὶ . . . τριήρεις, i.e. the μόραι employed in defending the Laconian coast against the 60 Athenian triremes under Timotheus; cp. v. 4. 63: ἑξω must be a dittograph from the line above: cp. Critical Note.

πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον: an exaggerated statement, as the Lacedaemonians had as yet no war nearer than Thebes and Athens.

§ 18. τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασφῆ, 'preserve it for those who had entrusted it to his keeping': cp. § 2.

§ 19. ἐτάγευσε: cp. ii. 2. 24 ἐτυράννησε.

ἔργον . . . ἀριθμῆσαι: cp. Cyrop. i. 1. 5 τοσαῦτα φῦλα, ὅσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἔργον ἐστίν.

ἐπὶ Σκόπα: prince of Cranon and king of Thessaly at the time of the Persian Wars, and friend of the lyric poet Simonides: Cic. de Orat. ii. 86. 352; Quintil. xi. 2. 15.

ὄθεν . . . ἐξέβην: cp. § 1.

τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις: for the genitive with περὶ cp. i. 6. 38 ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-7. *The Athenians, alarmed at the growth of Thebes, made peace with the Lacedaemonians, and accordingly recalled Timotheus from Corcyra. On his way home he replaced some Zacynthian exiles. The Lacedaemonians, thinking this a breach of the peace, despatched 60 ships under the admiral Mnasippus to Corcyra. He ravaged the country and blockaded the city.* §§ 8-14. *The Corcyreans sought help from the Athenians, who first sent 600 peltasts under Ctesicles across the continent to the island, and voted to equip a fleet and chose Timotheus to command it. Being unable to equip the ships properly, he lingered round the islands. Angry at the delay, the Athenians replaced him by Iphicrates, who took strong measures to make the ships ready.* §§ 15-26. *The Corcyreans were so hard pressed by famine, that Mnasippus relaxed his watchfulness and neglected to pay his mercenaries. His troops were defeated and he himself slain. Soon afterwards his secretary sailed to Leucas with the remnant of his forces.* §§ 27-31. *Iphicrates on his voyage to Corcyra showed great ingenuity in training his crews. At the time of Mnasippus' death he was at Sphagiae, but he first got certain news of it in Cephallenia.* § 32. *Xenophon's comment.* §§ 33-38. *After subjugating Cephallenia Iphicrates arrived in Corcyra; there he captured 10 triremes, which in ignorance of his death were sailing in from Dionysius to the aid of Mnasippus. Iphicrates maintained his armament, partly by allowing his sailors to cultivate the fields for the Corcyreans, partly by hiring out his troops to friendly cities on the mainland. Then he exacted money from the Cephallenians and prepared to renew the war with the Lacedaemonians.* § 39. *Xenophon's comment on Iphicrates' choice of Callistratus and Chabrias for his colleagues.*

§ 1. συνελέγοντο. Four *morae* and contingents from the allies under Cleombrotus had been conveyed across the Corinthian Gulf into Phocis, vi. 1. 1.

αὐξανομένους . . . διὰ σφᾶς : cp. v. 4. 62 ff.

χρήματα . . . εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν. In Aristoteles' decree of the year 377 (cp. v. 4. 60 note) there is no provision for any money contributions on the part of the allies; and in line 23 there is the express statement *μήτε φόρον φέροντι*, so that the *συντάξεις* proposed by Callistratus (cp. Harpocrat. s. v.) instead of the *φόρος* must have been of later institution, and very probably, as in the earlier empire, were only paid by some of the allied states in commutation of their contingents of ships or troops : cp. Isocr. vii. 2 *τῆς πόλεως* (i. e. Athens) *ἔτι συμμάχους ἐχούσης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐτοίμως ἡμῖν, ἣν τι δέη, βοηθήσοντας, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας*. Xenophon in this passage must therefore mean that though the Thebans were bound as members of the Confederacy to render assistance against Sparta, as a matter of fact they did so neither by sending men or ships, nor by contributing money : hence the Athenian discontent. Cp. Gilbert, Gk. Antiq. p. 443.

εἰσφοραῖς : taxes on income, only levied in times of war by special vote of the Assembly. The method of assessment had been altered in the archonship of Nausinicus, when the system of *συμμορίαί* was first introduced : cp. Gilbert, Gk. Antiq. p. 364 ff.

ληστεῖαις ἐξ Αἰγίνης. Sufferings from this same cause had in 387 inclined the Athenians towards peace : cp. v. 1. 29.

πρέσβεις : Callias was among their number : cp. vi. 3. 4.

εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο. What the actual conditions of this Peace may have been, cannot in the conflict of evidence be determined ; its duration was so exceedingly short, that it was of little practical importance. Isocrates (xv. 109), writing more than twenty years later, speaks of it in exaggerated terms—*τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣ τοσάντην μεταβολὴν ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐποίησεν, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν αὐτῇ καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης οὕτω τῇ πόλει συνενεγκούσης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μαλέας περιπλέον μήτε πεζὸν στρατόπεδον δι' Ἰσθμοῦ πορευόμενον*. Similarly Demosthenes (xxii. 15) says—*εἰρήνης ἐτύχεθ' ὅποίας τινὸς ἠβούλεσθε*. The Peace must therefore have contained some provision recognizing the powerful position of Athens at sea : cp. Cor. Nep. Timoth. 2 Lacedaemonii . . . sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum con-

cesserunt, pacemque iis legibus constituerunt ut Athenienses mari duces essent. quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint factae eique deae pulvinar sit institutum. This view is confirmed by the silence of Xenophon, who habitually neglects all operations by sea and has given no account of the growth of the Second Athenian Empire; and by a statement of Diodorus (xv. 38)—which occurs outside the limits of the passage, which has excited such controversy and of which more hereafter—*Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ παντὸς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμούμενοι, παρεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν τῆς κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι κρινόμενοι.* Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Nepos all agree in describing Athens and Sparta as the only parties to the Peace.

Diodorus in the passage above referred to (xv. 38) ascribes the Peace, which he puts a year too soon, to the intervention of the Persian king, Artaxerxes, who hoped to hire large numbers of Greek mercenaries for the war against his rebellious subjects in Egypt. The Greeks, weary of the long wars, gladly accepted his intervention, and all agreed, with one exception, *ὥστε πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους εἶναι.* The Thebans alone refused the terms, wishing to sign the conditions in the name of all the Boeotians, and thus they became *ἔκσπονδοι*. This seems to be an obvious duplicate of the history of the Peace of Callias in 371, and to be inconsistent with the context in Diodorus himself and with the other authorities. For (1) Isocrates in his Plataean oration (373 B.C.) § 41 says that for a long time the Persian king had taken no part in Greek affairs; (2) if all Greek states were to be *αὐτόνομοι* and *ἀφρούρητοι*, the Peace could hardly at the same time have recognized the *ἡγεμονία* of Athens by sea and of Sparta by land; (3) the Thebans so far from being *ἔκσπονδοι* in the years 374-371 remained members of the new Athenian Confederacy, supplied their contingents of ships and claimed pay from the Confederate Chest for the same (Dem. xlix. 10, 11, 21, 49). For a full discussion of this curious duplicate cp. Stern, pp. 93-99.

§ 2. τῷ Τιμοθέῳ: somewhere on the Acarnanian coast: v. 4. 66.

τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας: evidently democratical exiles: Diod. xv. 45 mistakenly calls them aristocrats.

εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν: cp. CIA. ii. 17, where they appear among

the Athenian confederates as *Ζακυνθίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλῳ*; and Diod. xv. 43 *διαβιβασθέντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατελάβοντο χωρίον ὀχυρὸν παρὰ θάλατταν ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἀρκαδίαν*. Bursian (Geogr. Gr. ii. 379) thinks that Arcadia was the name of the fort, Nellus of the hill on which it stood.

§ 3. *οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*: cp. iii. 1. 22.

εὐθὺς . . . κατεσκευάζον: Diod. xv. 45 adds that the Lacedaemonians first sent ambassadors to Athens to complain: then seeing that the Athenians sided with the exiles, sent a fleet of 25 triremes under Aristocrates to help the Zacynthians. At the same time in response to the appeal of the Corcyraean oligarchs, they despatched 22 triremes under Alcidas to that island—on the ostensible pretext of sending them to Sicily. Diodorus never relates what were the fortunes of these two squadrons; but in ch. 47 tells how the Lacedaemonians appointed Mnasippus general and despatched him to Corcyra with 65 triremes and 1,500 soldiers. As it is not to be supposed that the Lacedaemonians had at this time 112 triremes at sea, we must presume that Mnasippus incorporated the two previous squadrons with his own fleet. Diodorus puts Mnasippus' departure after that the Athenians had despatched Ctesicles.

συνετάττοντο: cp. v. 2. 20 note.

§ 4. *πρὸς Διονύσιον*: cp. v. 1. 28; 3. 27 notes. This application to Dionysius probably explains Diodorus' story of the despatch of Alcidas to Corcyra on the pretence of going to Sicily; cp. § 3 note.

χρήσιμον εἶη: cp. § 9.

§ 5. *καὶ μισθοφόρους . . . πεντακοσίων*: Diod. (l. c.) sets the total number at 1,500.

§ 6. *ἀπέβη*. Diodorus relates that he sailed into the harbour, seized four Corcyraean triremes, while the Corcyraeans themselves were forced to burn three more, and defeated the enemy also by land.

ἔφασαν: cp. iii. 5. 21.

οὐκ ἐθέλειν. οὐ, not μή, because the infinitive is only due to the oblique narration. Cp. Goodwin, M. T. 594.

ἀνθοσμίας, sc. ὁ οἶνος.

§ 7. *εἰς τὰπὶ θάτερα*, 'on the other side': cp. vii. 4. 30.

ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι: probably the outer harbour on the NE. side of the town, mostly used by merchantmen. The inner harbour on

the SW. side seems to have been reserved for vessels of war ; and, if Diodorus' account be correct (cp. § 6 note), must have been in the hands of the Peloponnesians.

§ 9. *πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*. Diod. (xv. 46) puts the application before the arrival of Mnasippus.

ἐδίδασκον . . . παράπλου : cp. the parallel passage in Thucydides (i. 32-36), where the Corcyraean envoys speak in similar terms. Thus (α) *ὥς μέγα . . . προσβάλοιεν* recalls in ch. 36 *τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων, τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο εἰς ταῦτὸν ἔλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήφονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε· δεξιόμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναῦσι ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι* : (β) *ἐξ οὐδεμίας . . . γενέσθαι* recalls in ch. 33 *ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλείστον* : and (γ) *ἔτι δὲ κείσθαι . . . παράπλου* recalls in ch. 36 *τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κείται*.

ἐν καλῷ . . . κόλπον, 'in a good place as regards the Corinthian Gulf.' For the genitive cp. iv. 5. 15 *ὥς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχεν* and Thuc. iii. 92 *τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἢ πόλις καθίστασθαι*.

§ 10. *πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα*. Xenophon evidently means that Ctesicles marched by land through Thessaly and Epirus. Diodorus makes him proceed to Corcyra by sea, and gives a double and confused version of his appointment : in xv. 46 he says that the Athenians on receiving the application of the Corcyraeans immediately despatched Ctesicles (Stesicles) to Zacynthus before the appointment of Mnasippus by the Spartans : and again in xv. 47 he represents them after the appointment of Mnasippus and the return of Timotheus from Thrace as choosing Ctesicles as general *κατὰ τὸ παρόν* and hurriedly sending him with 500 soldiers to Corcyra. Xenophon's account is evidently to be preferred : cp. Grote, ix. 364, 371, who conjectures with great ingenuity and some small probability that Timotheus conveyed Ctesicles and his troops northwards to Thessaly, made an alliance with Jason of Pherae, and thus procured the safe conduct of Ctesicles' troops through Thessaly. This conjecture is, however, scarcely consistent either with Xenophon or Diodorus.

Ἀλκέτου : cp. vi. 1. 7 note, where Jason calls him his *ἐπὶ ἡκοός*.

It is noticeable that at that time (374) Jason was not yet an ally of Athens: he certainly was so in Nov. 373 (cp. ps.-Dem. xlix. 10): hence Grote (l.c.) conjectures that it was at this time that the alliance was effected (cp. § 12 note); basing his conjecture on the strong personal interest that Jason manifested in the fate of Timotheus at his trial in November, and on Diodorus' statement that Timotheus sailed ἐπὶ Θράκης.

§ 11. διακομισθέντες που: που, not ποι, because διακομισθέντες implies the landing of the troops as well as their conveyance across the strait.

ἐξήκοντα. So Diod. xv. 47; Dem. xlix. 11: this included contingents from the Boeotians and other allies: cp. Dem. l. c. § 14.

Τιμόθεον: he had therefore returned to Athens from Zacynthus: cp. § 2.

373-372 B.C.

§ 12. αὐτόθεν, i.e. from Athens.

ἐπὶ νήσων, i.e. the islands of the Aegean, as in iv. 8. 7: he sailed in the month of Munychion (April) 373 (ps.-Dem. xlix. 6). Diodorus (xv. 47) states that Timotheus sailed ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν προκαλεσάμενος προσέθηκε τριάκοντα τριήρεις: cp. § 10 note.

οὐ φαῦλον . . . περιπλεῦσαι, 'considering it to be no small matter casually to sail round Peloponnesus to attack (ἐπὶ) a well disciplined fleet.' For συγκεκριμένης ναῦς cp. Thuc. viii. 95 ἀξυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασι χρήσασθαι: the ships are of course those of Mnasippus at Corcyra.

§ 13. ἀναλῶν: older form of ἀναλίσκειν: so Hiero ii. 1; Thuc. iii. 81.

τὸν τῆς ὥρας . . . χρόνον. Apollodorus (cp. ps.-Dem. xlix. 9 ff.) describes the disorganization, due to want of money and supplies, of the allied contingents assembled at Calauria off Troezen, which Timotheus had appointed as the place of rendezvous.

παύσαντες . . . στρατηγίας. According to ps.-Dem. (l. c.) he was recalled from Calauria, being denounced for his delay by Iphicrates and Callistratus. This probably took place about June: but he was not actually tried until November, when he was acquitted, chiefly—according to the same authority—owing to the appearance

of his powerful friends Jason and Alcetas as witnesses in his behalf. Diodorus' account is inconsistent both with Xenophon and Demosthenes: he states (xv. 47) that Timotheus was first deprived of his command, but when he appeared at Athens bringing with him many ambassadors with offers of alliance, 30 additional triremes and abundant supplies, he was reappointed, and shortly before the defeat and death of Mnasippus set sail for Corcyra with Iphicrates as his colleague. For criticisms of Diodorus cp. Grote, ix. 371 and Stern, 110-113.

Ἰφικράτην: last mentioned in v. 1. 25 as blockading Nicolochus in Abydos in 387 B.C. In the interval he had about 377 been sent by the Athenians at the invitation of Pharnabazus to assist that satrap in his campaign against Acoris the rebel king of Egypt; he had however quarrelled with Pharnabazus, and consequently returned to Athens in the year 374: cp. Diod. xv. 29, 43.

§ 14. ἡνάγκαζε, i. e. compelled the trierarchs to do their duty, for which cp. Dict. Antiq. ii. 890.

Πάραλον . . . Σαλαμινίαν: cp. ii. 1. 28 and note.

§ 15. ἐν . . . χρόνῳ: about September 373: cp. Introd. p. lxxi.

πεπρᾶσθαι: the perfect tense denotes the permanent state resulting from the act of being sold: cp. Dem. lix. 17 [ὁ νόμος] πεπρᾶσθαι κελεύει: cp. Critical Note:

τελευτῶν: equivalent to an adverb: cp. v. 3. 15.

οἱ . . . ἔνδοθεν: cp. iii. 1. 18 note.

§ 16. ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη: cp. v. 2. 13, and § 24.

ἐκαιούργει: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

τοὺς μὲν τινὰς . . . ἀπομίσθους, 'some he had discharged from his service.' To make a real opposition with τοῖς δὲ μένουσι, ἀπομίσθους must be understood in the sense of 'paid off,' 'discharged,' as in Dem. xxiii. 154 ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπόμισθος γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, and not in that of 'unpaid,' as in Dem. iv. 46 ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων.

ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν: for these money contributions cp. v. 2. 21; 4. 37 and notes.

§ 17. ἐσπαρμένους. So iii. 4. 22.

§ 18. ἅπασιν, 'with all the hoplites he had.'

§ 19. τὰπιτήδεια, i. e. the pay with which the soldiers supplied themselves with provisions.

τῷ στύρακι : the spike at the butt-end of the spear : cp. Anab. ii. 3. 11 [ὁ Κλέαρχος] ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν κ.τ.λ.

§ 20. κατὰ τὰς πύλας, 'opposite the gates.'

ἀνεστρέφοντο, 'faced about' : i. e. the Corcyraean fugitives : cp. Critical Note.

μνημάτων. It was the Greek custom to bury the dead outside the city in tombs along the road side.

τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, i. e. the Peloponnesian troops at the end of the wing, whether left or right is uncertain.

§ 21. ἐπ' ὀκτώ : the ordinary depth of the phalanx : cp. iii. 2. 16.

τὸ ἄκρον : the ἔσχατοι of the previous section.

ἀναστρέφειν. Xenophon seems to mean that some of the ranks in the centre of the phalanx faced about in order to march to the relief of the distressed wing, thus weakening the centre ; and that then, when the Corcyraeans charged the weakened place in the phalanx, though the ranks thus detached stopped their projected manœuvre (οὐκέτι ἐπ' ἀνέστρεψαν), the whole line was unable to resist the charge. Cp. Cyrop. vii. 5. 2, where Cyrus employed the opposite manœuvre, strengthening his centre by forming the wings behind it.

§ 22. αἰεί : to be taken with ἐλάττωσι.

§ 23. τὸν ἀγοραῖον . . . ὄχλον : cp. i. 6. 37 ; vi. 4. 9. Greek armies had no organized commissariat : they purchased their provisions from tradespeople, who followed them about under the superintendence of ἀγορανόμοι. Cp. Anab. v. 7. 2, 23, 29.

ὄφελός τι, i. e. 'thinking that there was some profit to be got out of them' : cp. v. 3. 6.

§ 24. ἐν πάσῃ δῆ : δῆ emphasizes πάσῃ.

ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη : cp. § 16.

καὶ . . . ἐπλήρουν is added as an anacoluthon, not being dependent on ἐλέγετο.

§ 25. ἐπιστολιαφόρος : ἄπαξ λεγόμενον : elsewhere called ἐπιστολεύς : cp. i. 1. 23.

χαράκωμα : cp. § 7 and § 23.

§ 27. ἥρξατο : cp. § 14.

ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν, sc. ἐστί : repeated § 30 : cp. vi. 1. 10.

μεγάλα ἰστία : cp. i. 1. 13 note.

αὐτοῦ, i. e. at Athens.

τοῖς ἀκατίοις: the sails on the ἱστὸς ἀκατεῖος or smaller of the two masts usual in a trireme.

ὀλίγα: adverbial like ὅσαπερ in vi. i. 15.

τῇ κώπῃ, collective: cp. Resp. Ath. i. 19 μανθάνοντες ἐλαύνειν τῇ κώπῃ.

ἄμεινον . . . ἔχειν = ἀμείνους εἶναι, τὰ σώματα being the accusative of respect: cp. v. 3. 17.

§ 28. ἐπανήγαγεν ἄν: for the aorist with ἄν to denote repeated action cp. Anab. i. 9. 19; ii. 3. 11; iii. 4. 22, &c.; Goodwin, M. T. 162. The meaning is that Iphicrates put his vessels out to sea (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς) in column (τὸ κέρας=ἐπὶ κέρως) opposite the place (κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία) where he meant to land; and that then he wheeled his vessels into line (ἀντιπρόρους) parallel with the shore before he gave the signal for the race shorewards.

ἐπιστρέψας ἄν: cp. Critical Note.

ὔδωρ λαβεῖν κ.τ.λ., 'to get water (i.e. on shore) or whatever else they needed.'

τούτοις: neuter, referring to ὔδωρ, &c.

ἅμα, i. e. at the same time as the first comers.

σημήνεια, sc. ὁ σαλπικτής: cp. § 34; Anab. i. 2. 17; iii. 4. 4.

§ 29. αἰρόμενος . . . ἱστούς, i. e. he raised the masts, which were lowered whilst the triremes were being rowed, in order to set a lookout at the masthead (καρχήσιον).

πολύ: to be taken with πλέον.

ὅπου . . . προσιών: cp. Anab. vii. 2. 18 [ὁ Ξενοφῶν] κατέμαθεν, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἶη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες μήτε ὅποσοι μήτε ὅπου εἶεν οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν: so Cyrop. iii. 3. 25.

θέοντες, 'sailing,' as opposed to ἐλαύνοντες, 'rowing': cp. Aristoph. Eccl. 109 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὔτε θέομεν οὔτ' ἐλαύνομεν.

§ 30. ἐπὶ κέρως . . . ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, 'in column' . . . 'in line.'

ὅσα . . . ναυμαχίαν: cp. § 27.

τὰ . . . πολλά: adverbial, 'mostly.'

τὰς βοηθείας . . . ἀναγόμενος, i. e. he put out to sea before the enemy's forces could reach him.

ἐπέραινε, sc. τὴν ὁδόν: so καθανύσειν, v. 4. 20.

§ 31. τὰς Σφαγίας: three islands, including Sphacteria, off the promontory of Pylos in Messenia.

τὸν Ἰχθύν: a promontory of Elis some eight miles west of the mouth of the Alpheus.

τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου: cp. i. 6. 38.

§ 32. ὅπως . . . ἀφικέσθαι: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361. The infinitive, which seems really due to a mixture of two constructions, finds a parallel in Oecon. 7. 29 προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειρᾶσθαι, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστα τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν διαπράττεσθαι. Cp. infin. with ὅτι ii. 2, 2, and with ὡς vi. 5. 42; vii. 4. 39.

§ 33. πρῶτον μὲν corresponds to ἐπεὶ δέ § 34.

παρὰ Διονυσίου: cp. § 4.

τῆς χώρας: partitive genitive dependent on ὅθεν.

εἰς τὴν πόλιν: placed between σημαίνοντας and καταφανείς, because the guards on the watch to give the signal to the city must necessarily be visible from it: εἶναι depends on δυνατόν ἦν.

§ 34. προσπλεόντων . . . ὁρμούντων, sc. τῶν πολεμίων: for the omission of the subject with the genitive absolute cp. i. 1. 26, 29.

κηρύξειεν, sc. ὁ κῆρυξ: cp. § 28.

προεῖπε . . . δίκην, 'forewarned him not to find fault with the penalty': for the phrase cp. Her. viii. 106 ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέ σοι ἐσομένην δίκην, and Plat. Leg. 716 b ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτήν.

οὐδείς . . . ὅστις οὐ: cp. v. 1. 3.

εἰς τὰς ναῦς, i. e. their ships were drawn up on the beach of the look-out post.

§ 35. ἔνθα ἦσαν: according to Polyæn. iii. 9. 55, Iphicrates surprised the Syracusans at anchor off a desert island, and captured ten (Diodorus xv. 47 says nine), while one escaped. Diodorus (xvi. 57) inserts a story—*à propos* of the Phocians seizing the Delphic treasure in 353 B. C.—how Iphicrates, whilst stationed at Corcyra captured some vessels of Dionysius laden with treasures for Delphi and Olympia. If the story be true, obviously it cannot refer to the incident here related by Xenophon and by Diodorus himself in xv. 47.

§ 36. ἀκρωτηριασάμενος, 'having cut the beaks off the prows,' Dakyns. Cp. ii. 3. 8 and Her. iii. 59 τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῶρας ἡκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης.

συνέβη, 'he agreed.'

ὥς . . . ὥς. The particle ὥς is also repeated, but not in quite parallel constructions in iii. 5. 5; v. 2. 2, 8.

ἀφῆκε. Diodorus (xv. 47) says that Iphicrates sold his prisoners and raised thereby more than sixty talents, with which he paid his soldiers and sailors.

372-371 B.C.

§ 37. γεωργοῦντας: cp. the similar device of Eteonicus, ii. 1. 1.

φιλίαις πόλεσιν: cp. v. 4. 64 note: the cities in these regions had been received by Timotheus into the New Athenian Confederacy in 375.

Θυριεῦσι: the inhabitants of Thyreum, a town in the north of Acarnania near the Ambracian Gulf.

μάλα: emphasizes both ἀλκίμοις and καρτερόν.

§ 38. ἐνενήκοντα: for the number cp. v. 4. 66.

τῶν ἄλλων: the story told by Polyaen. (iii. 9. 39, 48) of Iphicrates' attack upon Epidaurus may perhaps be referred to this time.

κατ' ἐκεῖνα: cp. iii. 5. 17.

τοῖς . . . πειθομένοις: a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν.

§ 39. Καλλίστρατον: cp. v. 4. 34, 60; vi. 2. 1 notes. Callistratus had been the colleague of Chabrias in 378 and had taken an active part in the formation of the New Athenian Confederacy, for the συντάξεις of which he was responsible. He had been foremost in procuring the deposition of Timotheus in the previous June, and now reached Athens in time for that general's trial in November (§ 13 note). Timotheus was indeed acquitted, but Callistratus procured the condemnation to death of his paymaster Antimachus. For the part that Callistratus played in the negotiations with Sparta in 371 cp. vi. 3. 1-17.

οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα, 'not a very suitable colleague': this probably has a political reference, Iphicrates being in favour of pressing on the war against Sparta, whereas Callistratus advocated the policy of recognizing Sparta's hegemony by land side by side with Athens' hegemony by sea. It is however possible to interpret the phrase of Callistratus' inferior military qualifications: cp. Grote, ix. 368.

Χαβρίαν: cp. v. 4. 61.

μάλα στρατηγόν : for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 4. 2 ; v. 4. 14.

σῶφρον, is harsh without τι : but cp. Mem. ii. 7. 13 θαυμαστόν.

οὕτω θρασέως : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361 : the text seems to be corrupt, though the meaning is tolerably plain. Xenophon wishes apparently to remark that if Iphicrates regarded his colleagues as rivals, he was so sure of his own skill and competence as a general as to feel confident that they would be unable to use their position as a handle against him. Of the proposed emendations Jacob's οὕτως ἐθάρσει (rather ἐθάρρει) μήτε . . . φανείσθαι seems therefore to be the best, though the same meaning can perhaps be extracted out of the MSS. reading by supplying ἐβούλετο with φαίνεσθαι. Hertlein's ἔδρασεν ὥς or Keller's ἔπραττεν ὥς can hardly stand, as the reference must evidently be to Iphicrates' motive in making the appointments, not to his *action* after the appointment was made.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-3. *The Athenians, displeased at the conduct of the Thebans, more especially towards Plataea and Thespieae, invited them to send envoys to Sparta to negotiate a general peace.*

§§ 4-9. *Callias first addressed the Spartans and their allies, advocating peace: then Autocles, complaining that Sparta had violated the terms of the King's Peace.*

§§ 10-17. *Finally Callistratus made a conciliatory speech.* §§ 18-20. *The Lacedaemonians accepted the conditions proposed, agreeing that should these terms be violated, any state might aid the injured party, but there should be no compulsion so to do. The Spartans swore to the Peace both for themselves and for their allies, the Athenians and their allies swore severally. The Thebans, having first signed their own name, claimed next day to swear for all the Boeotians. Agesilaus disallowed the claim, and the Theban envoys retired disheartened.*

371-370 B.C.

§ 1. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὁρῶντες : cp. vi. 2. 1 for the similar state of things in 374.

ἐκπεπτωκότας . . . Πλαταιᾶς : cp. v. 4. 10, 14. The reason for their expulsion is given by Diod. xv. 46. They had doubtless, along with the other Boeotian states, been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes in 376, 375 (cp. vi. 1. 1 ; Isocr. xiv. 9) ;

and now they were detected in an intrigue with Athens, meaning to hand over their city to their old supporter. The Boeotarchs however anticipated the attempt, and seized the city, whilst the men were away working in the fields; they then razed the city to the ground, allowing the inhabitants to retire in safety to Athens, where they were once more welcomed and admitted to *ισοπολιτεία*. This event happened in 372, cp. Paus. ix. 1. 3.

Θεσπιᾶς . . . ἀπόλιδας. Thespieae shared the same fate just afterwards (Diod. xv. 86) except that its inhabitants were not so fortunate as to find a refuge at Athens. They continued to live in Boeotia—probably *κατὰ κόμας*: for they were present in the Theban army at Leuctra, being however allowed to withdraw just before the battle: cp. vi. 4. 9 and note; Paus. ix. 14. 2. After the battle they seem to have retired, in fear of Theban vengeance, to an ancient stronghold of theirs, called Ceressus, from which they were then expelled by Epaminondas: cp. Paus. ix. 14. 4.

στρατεύοντας: cp. vi. 1. 1.

φίλους ἀρχαίους. For some considerable time the Phocians had rather favoured the Spartan side: cp. iii. 5. 3; iv. 3. 15; vi. 1. 1; but in 456 the Athenians had made themselves masters of Phocis, and in 448 had entrusted the Delphic shrine to their keeping (Thuc. i. 108, 112). Again in 426 they are described as ready *προθύμως . . . κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύειν ἢ κὰν βία προσαχθῆναι* (Thuc. iii. 95); and in 404 they had resisted the Theban and Corinthian proposal to wipe Athens out of the map of Greece: cp. ii. 2. 19; Dem. xix. 65; Plut. Lys. 15.

πόλεις πιστάς. The Plataeans alone had fought with the Athenians at Marathon (Her. vi. 108), and the Thespians alone had remained to the last with the Spartans at Thermopylae (Her. vii. 222, 226), when the Thebans had medized eagerly.

§ 2. *ψηφισάμενος . . . ποιείσθαι*. The motives, which induced the Athenians to take the initiative in negotiations for peace, are so clearly stated by Xenophon that it seems impossible to accept Diodorus' version (xv. 50) of the affair—which (as has already been pointed out, cp. vi. 2. 1 note) is a curious duplicate of his account of the Peace of 374—that the impulse came on this occasion also from the King of Persia. Diodorus does indeed receive some confirmation from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lys. 12)—*μετὰ γὰρ*

Ἀλκισθένην ἄρχοντα ἐφ' οὗ (i.e. 371) τὴν εἰρήνην Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὥμοσαν—whose authority on such a matter is very slender: but the reasons for such a misconception are apparent; viz. that the Peace of Antalcidas was taken as the basis for the new arrangement, as is manifest not only from Callistratus' allusion to Antalcidas in § 12, but from the conditions of the Peace itself in § 18: cp. Grote, ix. 374 and Stern, p. 120 for the opposite view.

παρακαλοῦντας. Thebes was still a member of the Athenian Confederacy, cp. § 19 and vi. 2. 1, 11 notes.

Καλλίας: cp. iv. 5. 13; v. 4. 22.

Κηφισόδοτος: cp. vii. 1. 12 ff.: he was one of the σύνδικοι, who defended Leptines; Dem. xx. 146, 150 οὗτός ἐστιν οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν λεγόντων δεινὸς εἰπεῖν.

§ 3. Καλλίστρατος: cp. vi. 2. 39.

εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, i.e. to Athens, cp. vi. 2. 39 note.

χρήματα πέμψειν: for the pecuniary embarrassments of Iphicrates cp. vi. 2. 38.

τοὺς ἐκκλήτους: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

ὁ δαδοῦχος. One of the four officials, who conducted the Eleusinian mysteries: the office was hereditary in the family of the Ceryces: cp. ii. 4. 20. Xenophon seems to have inserted the epithet to explain the pompous style of Callias' speech.

§ 4. τὴν . . . προξενίαν: cp. v. 4. 22.

στρατηγὸς ἡμᾶς. Xenophon speaks of only one command held by Callias himself, iv. 5. 13.

εἰρηνοποιοὺς . . . πρόσθεν δῖς: cp. vi. 2. 1: the other occasion cannot be determined.

§ 5. τῇ . . . ἀναιρέσει: cp. § 1.

εἴη . . . ἀναιρεῖσθαι: for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

τῶν θαυμαστῶν: partitive genitive, used predicatively: 'would it not be very extraordinary': cp. Mem. iv. 6. 10 ἀνδρίαν . . . ἄρα τῶν καλῶν νομίζεις εἶναι;

§ 6. λέγεται μέν: the correlative clause is rhetorically suppressed.

Τριπόλεμος . . . Δήμητρος . . . Κόρης: the three deities most prominent in the Eleusinian mysteries: cp. § 3.

Ἡρακλεῖ: the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings: cp. Her. vi. 52; ix. 26.

Διοσκούρουν . . . πολίταιν: sons of Tyndareus, king of Sparta: Hom. Od. xi. 300.

τοῦ Δήμητρος . . . δωρήσασθαι. Isocrates (iv. 28-31) after narrating the story at length tells us that it was customary for the various Greek states to send firstfruits of their harvest to Athens and that the Pythoness often reproved such states as omitted to do so.

ἡμᾶς τε. τε after ἡ, though found perhaps in Aesch. Eum. 523 and elsewhere, seems to occur nowhere else in Xenophon. The nearest parallel is the converse—ἡ after τε—in Mem. i. 7. 3; Oecon. 20. 12.

μὴ οὐχί: the double negative because πῶς δίκαιον=οὐ δίκαιον.

ἐκ θεῶν: for ἐκ instead of ὑπό to express the source of the action, cp. iii. 1. 6.

καταλύεσθαι, sc. τὸν πόλεμον: for καταλύεσθαι in the middle instead of the more usual καταλύειν in this sense, cp. Andoc. iii. 17 ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς μέγιστας τίνι τρόπῳ τὸν πόλεμον καταλύονται.

§ 7. οὔτινες . . . διαμένειν, διδακτέον, sc. τοῖσι.

αὐτονόμους: in v. 1. 36 Xenophon called the Lacedaemonians προστάται τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης.

συντίθεσθε . . . ἀκολουθεῖν . . . ἡγήσθε: instances are Athens in 403 (ii. 2. 20) and Olynthus in 379 (v. 3. 26).

§ 8. οὐκ ἀνακοινοῦμενοι. Xenophon records several such instances—Mantineia, v. 2. 1; Thebes, v. 2. 35; Phlius, v. 3. 13; Athens, v. 4. 20. For the word cp. i. 1. 30.

δεκαρχίας: cp. iii. 5. 13 note.

τριάκονταρχίας: as the Thirty in Athens.

εἰοίκατε . . . ἡδόμενοι: if the reading be correct, a parallel for the nominative participle may be found in Mem. iv. 3. 8 ταῦτα παντάπασιν εἰοικεν ἀνθρώπων ἔνεκα γιγνόμενα: cp. Critical Note.

πολιτείας, i. e. any form of free constitution.

§ 9. προσέταττεν: cp. v. 1. 31 and Isocrates' (iv. 176) reproach against the Peace of Antalcidas as προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας.

ἐάσειεν: for the fact cp. v. 1. 32.

τὴν Καδμείαν: cp. v. 2. 25 ff.

ὅπως . . . πλείστα: ὅπως used with the superlative and δύνασθαι, like ὥς.

§ 10. ἀφ' ἡμῶν: cp. v. 4. 60 note.

εὐπορώτεροι, 'more tractable.' Büchschütz, however, interprets 'cleverer,' comparing Oecon. 9. 5 οἱ πονηροὶ (οἰκέται) συζυγέστες εὐπορώτεροι πρὸς τὸ κακουργεῖν γίγνονται. Hartman proposes to read ἐμπειρότεροι.

ἡμεῖς, 'we Athenians.'

§ 11. †ὥς . . . τὰς πόλεις . . . γεγένηται. The text is evidently corrupt: cp. Critical Note and Append. p. 361. The meaning is evident: 'The very cities, which you were so anxious to be free, have all again, since your unjust treatment of the Thebans, fallen under their power.'

ἡμᾶς, i. e. Spartans and Athenians.

§ 12. ἃ δὲ . . . διαβάλλουσιν, ὥς, 'but as for some people slanderously asserting that,' &c.: for ἃ δέ cp. ii. 3. 45.

Ἀνταλκίδας. It seems more consistent with the context to interpret this as a mere reference to the circumstances preceding the Peace of 387-386 than to suppose, with Grote and others, that Antalcidas had now a second time been sent as envoy on a similar mission. Even if the passage be so interpreted, it implies that Antalcidas had not yet returned, so that the conditions of the proposed Peace would have to be discussed in ignorance of Persian wishes. The fact that the Peace of 387-386 was taken as the basis of the Peace of 371 is in itself sufficient to account for Diodorus (xv. 50) speaking of Persian intervention on this occasion. Cp. v. 1. 29. Plutarch's story (Artaxer. 22) of a second visit of Antalcidas to the Persian court to get money after the battle of Leuctra might of course be taken as a confirmation of Grote's views, though unfortunately the biographer unites it with an obviously wrong statement that Agesilaus was at the same time despatched by the Spartans to Egypt for the same purpose.

ἔγραψε: cp. v. 1. 30 and vi. 3. 9.

§ 13. οὐκ ἀποροῦντες, sc. ἤκομεν.

†τί μὲν ἐστὶν . . . ἐπιδειξαι. The text seems to be altogether corrupt, and as there is no direct reference to it in the context, satisfactory emendation seems to be impossible. Xenophon after τί μὲν ἐστὶν, must have given what Callistratus represented as the real reason of the Athenians appearing in Sparta—apparently the behaviour of certain of the allies, meaning the Thebans, with

which they were displeased (*οὐκ ἄρεστὰ . . . ἡμῖν*). Callistratus seems to say that obviously such behaviour must be equally displeasing to the Spartans. I would propose then as a desperate remedy to read *οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἄρεστὰ πράττουσιν*. Cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361.

ἃ ὁρθῶς ἔγνωμεν seems inexplicable. Hartman proposes *ὡς ὁρθῶς ἔγνωτε* with the meaning, 'that you were right in your reasons which led you to save us,' i.e. after the surrender of Athens in 404: cp. ii. 3. 25, 41 and vi. 5. 35.

§ 14. *αἱ μὲν . . . φρονοῦσαι*: cp. Isocr. iv. 16 *τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν* *αἱ γὰρ πολιτεῖαι, δι' ὧν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις, οὕτω τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν διεκλήφασιν*.

ἡμεῖς, i.e. Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

§ 15. *ὅτι μὲν*: without a corresponding *ὅτι δέ*, as in v. 2. 12.

ἢ οὐχ: in negative sentences *μᾶλλον* can be followed either by *ἢ* or *ἢ οὐ*, so that there is no need to alter the reading here, because the interrogative has a negative force: cp. Thuc. ii. 62 *εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλιγορῆσαι*, and iii. 36 *πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους*.

§ 16. *τὴν ἄσκησιν* continues the metaphor from athletics, begun with *ἀγωνισταί*: 'until through defeat they have lost their skill in war.' For the meaning of *ἄσκησις* cp. Mem. iii. 14. 3 *ἐάν τις ἀνευ τοῦ σίτου τὸ ὄψον αὐτὸ ἐσθίῃ, μὴ ἀσκήσεως, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα, πότερον ὀψοφάγος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢ οὐ*;

§ 18. *εἰ δέ τις . . . ποιοίῃ*. Herein lies the great difference between this Peace of 371 and the Peace of Antalcidas of 387-386 (cp. v. 1. 31, 36), the provisions of which Sparta had enforced in her own interests. Under the new treaty such enforcement was made anybody's business, in other words, nobody's business. Any state might encroach upon its neighbours without much fear of interference. Probably too Athens foresaw further troubles between Sparta and Thebes, from which she herself was anxious to be free; nor would Sparta be averse to such neutrality on the part of Athens, which would leave her freer to deal with Thebes (cp. Stern, p. 122), however much she might dislike the proclamation of autonomy applied to her own Peloponnesian Confederacy as well as to the Boeotian Confederacy of Thebes.

§ 19. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἕκαστοι*. Sparta always professed to

acknowledge the autonomy of the allies in her confederacy, so that her action was not, as Grote seems to suppose (ix. 384), inconsistent with the terms of the Peace *τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι* (cp. v. 1. 31 note). She was the head of an old established confederacy, and her relations to its several members were traditional and well known. Athens on the other hand had only just succeeded in forming a new maritime confederacy (cp. v. 4. 60 note), and could not pretend in any way to guarantee the acquiescence of its members in her wishes, so that they gave in their adhesion separately.

οἱ Θεβαῖοι. Stern (p. 130) supposes that on the first day the Thebans swore as a separate member of the Athenian Confederacy, which they had joined simply as Thebans before they had reasserted their supremacy over the other Boeotian states (cp. CIA. ii. 17 and v. 4. 60 note); and that then, having reflected that the Peace was practically but a reassertion of the Peace of Antalcidas, under which they had been forced to recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian states (cp. v. 1. 33), on the next day they came forward with their new proposal, which amounted to a recognition of the whole of Boeotia as a single state, like Athens with her demes, or Sparta with her Laconian and Messenian towns.

οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν: for a similar duplication of the subject cp. iv. 4. 1; v. 4. 40. According to Plutarch (Ages. 27, 28) and Pausanias (ix. 13. 2), who wrongly refers his story to the time of the Peace of Antalcidas, Epaminondas was among their number and made a bitter speech against the Spartans. Grote and other modern historians have preferred Plutarch's version to Xenophon's; but Stern (p. 126 ff.) shows almost conclusively that his story will not bear serious criticism, and that Xenophon's account has at least the merit of being logical and self-consistent.

ἀντὶ Θεβαίων Βοιωτῶν. Cp. their similar behaviour in 387-386 (v. 1. 32 note) *οἱ δὲ Θεβαῖοι ἡξίουν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι*. Then Agesilaus refused to accept their oath, unless at the same time they swore *αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν*, and after some show of opposition they were obliged to submit—*αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις*. Now that they had made themselves masters of all or nearly all the other Boeotian towns (vi. 1. 1) this request amounted to a demand for the legal recognition of their actual supremacy in Boeotia.

Ἀγησίλαος. Xenophon has made no mention of him since his illness in 376 from which moreover he had not yet recovered (v. 4. 58 ; vi. 4. 18).

§ 20. τὸ λεγόμενον : for the same absolute construction cp. vi. 5. 35.

δεκατευθῆναι, i.e. that their property should be spoiled and a tithe of it dedicated to the gods : cp. the oath of the patriotic Greeks before the invasion of Xerxes (Her. vii. 132) that ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες εἶοντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες . . . τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. For the general dislike of the Thebans cp. Diod. xv. 51 οἱ δ' ἄλλοτρίως ἔχοντες [τῶν Ἑλλήνων] περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξανδραποδισθησομένων.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-3. *The Athenians scrupulously carried out the conditions of the peace : the Lacedaemonians withdrew their harmosts and garrisons, but notwithstanding the remonstrances of Prothous, ordered Cleombrotus, then in Phocis, to march against the Thebans. The king eluded the Theban army by marching through Thisbe to Creusis, where he captured 12 triremes.* §§ 4-8. *Then he encamped at Leuctra. The Thebans encamped on the opposite hill. Cleombrotus, urged by friends and foes alike, was eager to fight. The Theban generals had many reasons for wishing for a battle. Omens and fortune favoured the Thebans.* §§ 9-12. *Battle of Leuctra.—First the Lacedaemonian auxiliaries drove a train of stragglers back to the Boeotian camp. The cavalry on both sides were posted in front, the Theban being much superior. The Lacedaemonians were drawn up 12 deep, the Thebans on the left wing 50 deep.* §§ 13-16. *Then the cavalry engaged, and the Lacedaemonians, easily worsted, fell back in disorder upon their own infantry. On the right wing Cleombrotus fell, and the troops around him were pressed back by the heavy Theban phalanx. Then the left wing gave way. The Lacedaemonians retreated no further than their original camp. The polemarchs refused to renew the combat, and sent a herald to recover the corpses. The Spartans at home received the news in true Spartan fashion.* §§ 17, 18. *The Lacedaemonians sent out reinforcements under Archidamus, many of their allies showing great zeal.* §§ 19-26. *The Theban herald of the victory met with a bad reception at Athens ; but Jason of Pherae on hearing the news marched hastily into Boeotia. Arrived at Leuctra he dissuaded the Thebans from attacking the Spartan camp, and advised the Lacedaemonians to come to terms. A truce was made ; the Lacedaemonian*

army retired by night and fell in with Archidamus in the Megarid. §§ 27-32. Jason returned to Thessaly at the summit of his glory and power. He was engaged in making magnificent preparations to attend the Pythian games, when he was assassinated by seven youths. Such of his assassins as escaped were held in high honour among the Greeks as tyrannicides. §§ 33-37. His brothers Polydorus and Polyphron were appointed Tagi in his place: Polydorus died suddenly, murdered, it was thought by his brother. Polyphron reigned tyrannically for a year, when he was murdered by Alexander, who ruled with equal ferocity. He too was murdered by his wife's brothers at the instigation of their sister. Tisiphonus, the elder of them, succeeded him.

§ 1. ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, e. g. the subjugated cities of Cephallenia and the neighbourhood: vi. 2. 33, 37, 38.

ἱφικράτην: cp. vi. 2. 38.

ἡνάγκασαν, i. e. to prevent a repetition of such events as led to the immediate renewal of hostilities in 374: cp. vi. 2. 3.

§ 2. τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα. It appears from vi. 3. 1 that the Thebans were once more threatening the Phocians, and it follows from this passage that this year also, as in 374, Cleombrotus had been despatched with an army to their assistance. The article with στράτευμα may be due either to an oversight of Xenophon, who has not mentioned it before, or may simply imply that this was the famous army which fought at Leuctra. Beloch, however (Gr. Gesch. ii. 244 note), supposes that Xenophon has erroneously in vi. 1. 1 antedated the expedition of Cleombrotus.

τὰ οἴκοι τέλη, the Ephors: cp. iii. 2. 6.

Κλεόμβροτον . . . λέξαντος, an anacoluthon: the sentence is interrupted by the speech of Prothous, and resumed with a different construction in § 3 ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ.

συμβαλέσθαι. Prothous' proposal that voluntary contributions, to be deposited at Delphi, should be made by such states as were willing to enforce the conditions of universal autonomy against any encroachment, recalls the συντάξεις paid at Callistratus' proposal by the members of the New Athenian Confederacy: cp. vi. 2. 1 note.

§ 3. τὸ δαιμόνιον: for the comment cp. v. 4. 1.

ἦσθετο: according to Diod. xv. 51, before he entered their territory, Cleombrotus sent envoys to the Thebans to ascertain whether they would recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian states

and restore Plataea and Thespieae; and these envoys were answered with a blunt refusal. Xenophon's narrative too implies some such sort of ultimatum.

οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ: cp. ii. 4. 14.

ἢ . . . ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων: cp. Grundy, 'Battle of Plataea,' p. 74, 'an army invading [Boeotia] from the north is obliged, by the nature of the country on the east side of Copais, to pass along the west shore of that lake, along i.e. that narrow strip of land between the foot of Helicon and the lake.'

ἐπὶ στενῇ τινι: cp. Diod. xv. 52 τὰ περὶ Κορώνειαν στενά and Paus. ix. 13. 3.

διὰ Θισβῶν: cp. Diod. l. c. διεξελθὼν τὴν παραθαλαττίαν ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν οὔσαν; and Paus. l. c. ἐπὶ Ἀμβρώσου τρέπεται τῆς Φωκέων ἀποκτείνας δὲ Χαιρέαν, ὃς φυλάσσειν διετέτακτο τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Θηβαίους, ὑπερέβη, καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἀφικνεῖται τὰ Βοιωτία. This road over Helicon was almost impassable for an army and at places easily defensible by a mere handful of men.

ἐπὶ Κρεῦσιν: the possession of Creusis secured his communications with the Peloponnesus.

§ 4. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ: cp. Grundy, l. c. 'The position was one of considerable strength, but not comparable in this respect with that of the Spartans and their allies on the opposite side of the valley. The hills whereon the Spartans stood are higher than those which face them, and their slope towards the plain is much more steep.'

οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες: less than $\frac{3}{4}$ mile.

ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιωτούς. Diod. xv. 52 puts the Theban numbers at 6,000 all told; and Plutarch (Pel. 20) estimates the Spartan at 10,000 hoplites and 1,000 cavalry: but no trust can be put in these figures.

§ 5. ὅτε: for ὅτε so used after a verb of remembering cp. vi. 5. 46 and Cyrop. i. 6. 12 οὐ γὰρ μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀργύριον.

οὐδὲν . . . ἐδήσας: cp. v. 4. 15, 16.

ὅτε ὕστερον: cp. v. 4. 59.

τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, i. e. do not wish to be exiled.

κῆδεταί τῶν Θηβαίων. For Cleombrotus' policy cp. v. 4. 16 note.

§ 6. *ταῦτα ἀκούων . . . συνάπτειν*: cp. Cic. de Offic. i. 24. 84 cum Cleombrotus invidiam timens temere cum Epaminonda confluxisset, Lacedaemoniorum opes corruerunt. Diodorus (xv. 50-54) gives an account of the circumstances leading to the battle different in all respects. According to him a whole winter intervened between the negotiations for the Peace and Cleombrotus' campaign. In the following year after collecting large forces the Lacedaemonians sent ambassadors to Thebes with an ultimatum, which was rejected. Thereupon Cleombrotus advanced as far as Coronea, where he formed a camp and waited for belated contingents from the allies. Meantime Epaminondas with 6,000 Thebans and Boeotians advanced from Thebes and occupied *τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενά*. Finding his communications thus cut off Cleombrotus marched round through Phocis and entered Boeotia once more by the sea coast route, taking up his position at Leuctra, where the Thebans advanced to meet him. The six Boeotarchs in command were equally divided on the question of battle or retreat, until Epaminondas, one of the number, persuaded the seventh Boeotarch on his arrival in the camp to vote for battle. At this juncture, however, Jason arrived with 1,000 Thessalian foot and 500 cavalry and persuaded his allies, the Thebans, to make a truce with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly Cleombrotus left Boeotia, and shortly fell in with large reinforcements under Archidamus, son of Agesilaus. Confident in their numbers the Lacedaemonians now returned to Leuctra in defiance of the truce. Then followed the famous battle.

This account conflicts not only with Xenophon, but with Isocrates, who puts words into the mouth of Archidamus (vi. 9, 10, 111) which are absurd, if he himself were present in the battle. It does not satisfactorily explain Cleombrotus' circuitous march through Coronea, Phocis, and Creusis to Leuctra. It accuses the Spartans of one of the most flagrant violations of good faith possible, and yet this violation is not even alluded to by any other ancient authority. It represents the Spartans as making the most elaborate preparations for the campaign during a whole winter, and as collecting contingents from their allies in a manner forbidden by the newly-signed peace of 371. In fact Diodorus' version is so utterly improbable that it has been generally abandoned:

cp. Grote, ix. 409; Stern, 142-148, the latter of whom would trace it to a Boeotian source.

οἱ προεστώτες : the seven Boeotarchs, among whom was Epaminondas : Pelopidas was commander of the *ἱερὸς λόχος*.

ἐλογίζοντο : the fullest account of their deliberations is given by Diod. xv. 53 and Paus. ix. 13. 6, 7 : cp. Plut. Pel. 20.

μαχοῖντο : Goodwin (M. T. 689. 3. 2) adheres to the MSS. μάχονται, explaining it *ἐὰν μὴ μαχώμεθα, ἀποστήσονται*.

πολιορκήσονται : used passively, as in vii. 5. 18.

πεφευγότες πρόσθεν : cp. v. 4. 2.

§ 7. ὁ χρησμός. According to Diodorus and Plutarch (ll. c.) the oracle was made known to the Thebans by Leandrias (? Cleandridas), a Spartan exile.

τῶν παρθένων. Diodorus calls them the daughters of Leuctrus and Scedasus : this story is told at length with some variations by Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias (ll. c.) : so too the other prodigies mentioned.

ἐκόσμησαν . . . μνήμα : cp. Paus. ix. 13. 6 τότε δὲ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας Σκεδάσῳ καὶ ταῖς παισὶν ἐνήγιζέ τε καὶ εὔχετο, ὥς οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θηβαίων ἢ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκείνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσόμενον ; Plut. Pel. 21.

τεχνάσματα. Diodorus (l. c.) attributes them to Epaminondas : cp. Polyæn. ii. 3. 8.

§ 8. ἐναντία : adverbial with ἐγίγνετο.

ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ : cp. v. 4. 40.

ὑποπινόντων : genitive absolute without the subject : cp. ii. 4. 1.

§ 9. τῶν . . . παρεσκευακότων : cp. vi. 2. 23.

τῶν οὐ βουλομένων : cp. Polyæn. ii. 3. 3 ὅπως μὴ ταραττοῖτο ἡ τάξις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης, [Ἐπαμεινώνδας] ἐκήρυξε Βοιωτῶν ἀπιέναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξέστω, Θεσπιεῖς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπηλλάσσονται : Paus. ix. 13. 8.

τοῦ Ἰέρωνος : perhaps the same as the Spartan mentioned by Plut. Pyth. Orac. 397 b.

πολὺν μὲν, repeats the μὲν of πρώτον μὲν.

ἀθροώτερον. It seems strange to reckon this deepening of the Theban line with unwilling allies as one of the disadvantages of the Spartans.

§ 10. πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους : not otherwise mentioned by Xenophon, but described by Diodorus (xv. 37) and Plutarch (Pel. 16).

πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς : cp. vi. 3. 1 and Diod. l. c.

πονηρότατον : cp. Paus. iv. 8. 12 οὐ γάρ τι ἀγαθοὶ τότε ἱππεύειν ἦσαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. Xen. Hipparch. 9. 4 οἶδα δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἱππικὸν ἀρξάμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἐπεὶ ξένους ἱππέας προσέλαβον.

§ 11. ὁ συντεταγμένος, i. e. the trooper, appointed to serve and to whom a particular horse was assigned.

§ 12. ἔφασαν : for the imperfect cp. iii. 5. 21.

εἰς τρεῖς, i. e. three files abreast : cp. iii. 1. 22.

τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν : cp. Rep. Lac. 11. 4 ; 13. 4 : there were about twenty-four men in each enomoty.

ἀσπίδων : cp. ii. 4. 11.

συνεστραμμένοι : expresses the denseness and compactness of the array : cp. Diod. xv. 55 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν διὰ τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς τάξεως πλεονεκτούντων. Only the Theban left was drawn up in this dense array : cp. Plut. Pel. 23 ; Diod. l. c.

τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, i. e. Cleombrotus' right wing.

§ 13. ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν. A clearer idea of the general course of the battle can be gained from a comparison of Plutarch and Diodorus (ll. c.). The Lacedaemonian cavalry, it would appear, were driven back upon their own centre, so that the infantry were compelled to advance in *μηνοειδὲς σχῆμα*. Then Cleombrotus, seeing the depth of the Theban left, attempted to outflank it by deploying a portion of his own right wing : before, however, this manœuvre was completed Pelopidas with his *ἱερὸς λόχος* was upon them, and threw them into some disorder. He was closely followed by Epaminondas with the main body. Cleombrotus was wounded, and the Spartans fought so desperately round their wounded king that *ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη*, until at last the weight of the Theban phalanx began to tell. The Lacedaemonians, so long as their king was living, gave ground but slowly, but after his death *ἐγένετο παντελὴς τροπὴ τοῦ στρατοπέδου*, and the Spartans fled back to their camp on the slope of the southern hills. The whole struggle was fought out on the Spartan right, and the troops in the rest of the line do not seem to have been seriously engaged. In fact Epaminondas had given orders to his right wing *φυγομαχεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγου ὑποχωρεῖν*.

αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι : cp. Paus. ix. 13. 10 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις

αἰσχιστον ἐδέδοκτο εἶναι βασιλέως νεκρὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι πολεμίῳ γενόμενον περιφθῆναι; and Diod. xv. 55 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο; cp. Plut. Agis, 21 πολλῶν γεγυότων Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγώνων πρὸς Ἑλλήνας εἰς μόνος [βασιλεὺς] ἀνῆρέθη πρὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δόρατι πλῆγεις περὶ Λεῦκτρα Κλεόμβροτος.

οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι: cp. Appendix, pp. 337, 348.

§ 14. Δείνων . . . Σφοδρίας . . . Κλεώνυμος: cp. v. 4. 33.

ὁ πολέμαρχος . . . τῶν περὶ δημοσίαν: cp. iv. 5. 8 note.

† μὲν ἵπποι . . . συμφορεῖς: Schenkl supposes that the MSS. μὲν ἵπποι conceals some Dorian technical term. Madvig conjectures μένιπποι: cp. Critical Note.

τοῦ εὐωνύμου: cp. § 13 note.

ὅμως δέ: cp. v. 1. 3.

ἔτυχεν οὖσα, i.e. it was a natural trench, not one sunk for purposes of defence.

πάνυ qualifies ἐπιπέδω.

πρὸς ὀρθίω: cp. Grundy, 'Battle of Plataea,' p. 76: 'The Spartan camp stood probably on the north face of the Grey Slope Hill, and any one who has seen the ground will have little difficulty in understanding the unwillingness of the Theban commanders to attempt its assault.'

§ 15. χιλίους: so Plut. Ages. 28; according to Paus. ix. 13. 12 more than 1,000 Lacedaemonians, and only 47 Thebans: Diod. xv. 56, 4,000 Lacedaemonians and 300 Thebans. It is noticeable that Xenophon and Pausanias speak only of the Lacedaemonians themselves; indeed the latter states that of the allies not a single man fell.

οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 9 ὥς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἅτε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενοι, τὸ ἔχθος μάλιστα ἐπέδεικνυντο, οὔτε κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐθέλοντες, ἐνδιδόντες δὲ ὅπῃ σφίσιν οἱ πολέμοι προσφέροιντο.

τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους: cp. iii. 3. 11.

§ 16. γυμνοπαιδιῶν, celebrated about July: cp. Dict. Antiq. i. p. 931 a.

ἔνδον: cp. Plut. Ages. 29 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ.

μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν. Contrast the reception of the tidings of Aegospotami at Athens, ii. 2. 3.

ὧν μὲν . . . προσήκοντες : cp. iv. 5. 10. Plutarch (Ages. 29) enlarges on Xenophon's description.

ζῶντες. According to Plutarch (Ages. 30) the law condemning the survivors of a defeat to ἀτιμία was on the proposal of Agesilaus suspended on this occasion—doubtless owing to the increasing ὀλιγανθρωπία : cp. Arist. Pol. ii. 6. 12.

§ 17. ταῖν . . . μόραιν. As there were six *morae* in all, Cleombrotus must have taken four with him into Phocis, as in 374 B.C. : cp. vi. I. I.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξω μορῶν, i.e. the four on foreign service were reinforced by the despatch of the more elderly men attached to them, who had previously remained at home : οἱ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἧβης were the oldest liable for military service.

ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς, i.e. to fill the public offices.

§ 18. ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας : cp. v. 4. 58 and vi. 3. 19.

Ἀρχίδαμον : Diodorus (xv. 54) says that he commanded the right wing at Leuctra—an obvious mistake, for which cp. § 6 note.

οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον : for their fate cp. vi. 5. 6-10.

ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν . . . ἀριστοκρατούμενοι : cp. v. 2. 7.

διαβιβάζειν, i.e. across the Corinthian Gulf.

§ 19. ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει, i.e. for crossing the Spartan frontier : the more usual phrase is τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι : cp. iii. 4. 3.

τιμωρήσασθαι : constructed with accusative of person and genitive of thing, as in Anab. vii. 1. 25 ; 4. 23.

§ 20. ἐπὶ ξένη : cp. Aristid. Leuctr. i. 88 ὥστε μήτε εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλέσαι μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν φιλάνθρωπον ἐνδείξασθαι ; and Pollux, ix. 40 πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως, παρ' ἧ ἐσιτοῦντο οἱ κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἦκοντες.

σύμμαχον ὄντα : cp. vi. I. 10.

§ 21. ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ, i.e. a war in which all negotiations are broken off ; cp. Anab. iii. 3. 5.

διεπορεύθη, i.e. through Phocis.

§ 22. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, i.e. in their camp at Leuctra.

ἀνωθεν, i.e. from the top of the hill on the slope of which the Lacedaemonian camp was pitched : cp. § 14 note.

ἀπέτρεπεν : for Diodorus' version of the part played by Jason cp. § 6 note.

§ 23. †ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν: if the MSS. reading be retained, it can only be translated with ἀναγκάζονται—‘if they should be compelled to depart from this life.’ It is better with Madvig and Keller to omit ἐκγενέσθαι as a dittograph of ἐγένεσθε just above, and to construe τοῦ ζῆν with ἀπονηθέντας=‘despairing of life.’ Dindorf (2nd edition) brackets ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν: cp. Critical Note.

§ 24. ἐπιλαθέσθαι: if the reading be right, it can only mean ‘if you wish to forget the past defeat’ in the sense of redeeming it in such a way that forgetfulness might be possible. Keller accepts Madvig’s conjecture ἐξιάσασθαι: Dindorf (2nd edition) conjectures ἀναμάχεσθαι, Liebholt ἐπανάγεσθαι, and Tucker ἐπαναθέσθαι: cp. Critical Note.

εἰς μάχην ἵναι=μάχεσθαι and therefore with the dative, like εἰς χεῖρας ἵναι in Cyrop. viii. 8. 6.

τοῦ πατρός: Jason’s father is unknown: many have assumed without sufficient reason that it was Lycophron, the tyrant of Pherae mentioned in ii. 3. 4; neither is it known how Jason obtained the Spartan προξενία; indeed in vi. 1. 10 he is represented rather as hostile than as friendly to the Lacedaemonians.

§ 25. καὶ οὗτοι: there seems nothing in the context to explain the addition of καί: cp. Critical Note.

αἱ σπονδαί: for Diodorus’ account of Jason’s negotiations for a truce, which, however, he puts before, not, as Xenophon, after the battle of Leuctra, cp. supr. § 6 note.

συνεσκευάσθαι, ‘that all should be ready’: for the perfect passive cp. vi. 2. 15 ἐκήρυξεν πεπρᾶσθαι.

πρὶν καθεύδειν . . . τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος. Xenophon seems to mean that the polemarchs, suspicious of the Thebans, issued orders for a midnight march along the road through Plataea to Mount Cithaeron, and then instead of this hurried their men at nightfall without any sleep along a different road—that through Creusis and along the sea coast to Aegosthena—a road which Cleombrotus had taken in 378: cp. v. 4. 16.

§ 26. οἷα δῆ: used like ἄτε, as in v. 4. 39: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 862.

χαλεπὴν ὁδόν: in 378 the wind had blown much of Cleombrotus’ baggage and many of his beasts of burden into the sea.

§ 27. Ὑαμπολιτῶν: in NE. Phocis.

τὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν τεῖχος: cp. Diod. xv. 57 τὴν μὲν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν

ἐν Τραχινίᾳ διὰ προδοσίας ἐλὼν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὴν χώραν Οἰταίοις καὶ Μηλιδέσιν ἐδωρήσατο. The Heracleots had fought on the Spartan side at Leuctra; cp. § 9. The town, some two or three miles from the shore of the Maliac Gulf, commanded the only available road from Thessaly into Greece.

μὴ . . . πορεύσονται : for the future opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 131.

δύναμιν : cp. Appendix, p. 361.

εἴ ποί . . . πορεύεσθαι : cp. vi. 1. 10 for Jason's ambitious projects.

§ 28. μέγας . . . μείζων . . . μέγιστος : cp. vi. 5. 47.

τῷ νόμῳ . . . ταγός : cp. vi. 1. 18 ὁμολογουμένως ταγός.

μισθοφόρους πολλούς : cp. vi. 1. 5.

ὥς ἂν . . . εἶεν : for this peculiar use of ὥς ἂν with opt. instead of ὅπως cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, 'of the men of his time.'

§§ 28-37 are a digression on Thessalian affairs between 371 and 358 B.C., which shows that it did not fall within Xenophon's purpose to tell of the Theban invasions of Thessaly, once (vii. 1. 28) casually alluded to as a well known fact.

370-369 B.C.

§ 29. Πυθίων : celebrated about August every third Olympic year, this year being 370.

ὥς εἰς : cp. iii. 4. 11.

ἔφασαν : for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

ἐπαγγελλομένῳ, sc. τῷ Ἰάσονι : but see Critical Note ; with Schneider's ἐπαγγελλομένων βοῶν must be supplied.

βοῶν ἡγεμόνα : to head the procession : cp. a Delphic inscription (CIG. i. 1688) τοῦ βοῶς τιμὰ τοῦ ἡρώος ἑκατὸν στατήρες Αἰγινᾶιοι.

§ 30. παρήγγειλε δὲ . . . παρασκευάζεσθαι. Construe παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ Θετταλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον ὥς στρατευομένοις. As the next sentence shows, it was doubtful, whether Jason made this military display merely, as was said, to enhance his own magnificence at the Pythian games, or whether he really had some warlike intentions : cp. vi. 1. 10, and Diod. xv. 60 ἔπεισε τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἀντιποιέσθαι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας.

αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. Jason would naturally be the representative of the Thessalians, one of the twelve Amphictyonic tribes, even if he did not arrogate to himself all their functions.

τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων : the treasure in Delphi.

αὐτῷ μέλησει : for a similar answer cp. Her. viii. 36.

§ 31. ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἐπτά. So too Diodorus (xv. 60) on the authority of Ephorus, giving as their motive δόξης ἕνεκα, though he mentions a different story that Jason's own brother and successor, Polydorus, was the murderer. Valerius Maximus (ix. 10. 2) relates that the motive was revenge for a punishment imposed on the youths by Jason for beating their gymnasium master.

§ 32. ὅποι . . . τῶν . . . πόλεων : the genitive is dependent on ὅποι = εἰς ἄστυνας πόλεις.

ἐτιμῶντο, i. e. as tyrannicides : this shows the extent of the fears which the Greeks felt for Jason's ambitious schemes.

§ 33. Πολύφρων : Diodorus (xv. 61) knows nothing of Polyphron, but says that Polydorus was murdered by his brother Alexander. Plutarch (Pel. 29) agrees with Xenophon.

§ 34. ἐνιαυτόν : apparently 369.

τὸν Πολυδάμαντα : cp. vi. 1. 2, 8, 18.

§ 35. Ἀλεξάνδρου. It appears from Plutarch (l. c.) that Alexander was the son of Polydorus and nephew of Polyphron.

Θεσσαλοῖς : Plutarch (Pel. 26) gives some details.

Θηβαίοις : for the history of Thessaly from the first interference of the Thebans in Thessalian affairs in support of Larisa (c. 369) till the Peace of 364 B.C. cp. Diod. xv. 67, 80 ; Plut. Pel. 26, 35 ; vii. 1. 28 note.

Ἀθηναίοις : after the peace of 364 (cp. Diod. xv. 95 ; Polyæn. vi. 2. 2), when he became the ally of Thebes.

ληστής : cp. Diod. l. c. ; Dem. xxiii. 120 ; li. 8.

358 B.C.

ἀποθνήσκει : Diodorus (xvi. 14) puts his death in the year 357 : but according to xv. 61 Alexander reigned eleven years, and it appears from Xenophon that he came to the throne in 369, so that his death would fall in the year 358. This is the last event alluded to by Xenophon : cp. Introd. p. xiv.

τῆς γυναικός. Thebe by name, a daughter of Jason : Plut. Pel. 28 ; Diod. xvi. 14.

§ 36. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς : Plutarch (Pel. 35) gives the same story with some variation of detail.

ὁ μὲν λύχνος ἐκάετο: parenthetical, instead of a subordinate sentence ἐν ᾧ ὁ λύχνος κ.τ.λ.

εἵχετο τοῦ ῥόπτρου: to prevent any one coming in to his assistance.

ἡ ἔχθρα λέγεται . . . ὑπὸ . . . τινων ὡς . . . ἀπέσφαξεν: rather a loose construction.

§ 37. τὰ ἐαυτοῦ παιδικά: said by Plutarch (Pel. 28) to have been the youngest brother of Thebe.

οἱ δέ τινες, sc. λέγουσι.

ὅτι repeats ὡς: so vi. 5. 13.

ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός: joined with the verbal substantive ἐπιβουλῆς, as if with a passive verb.

ἄχρι οὗ: cp. § 35 note and Introd. p. xiv; Goodwin, M. T. 619.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1-3. *After Archidamus had disbanded his forces, the Athenians held a congress at which all the states present, with the exception of Elis, swore anew to the King's Peace.*

§§ 4, 5. *The Mantineans seized the opportunity to rebuild their city, much to the chagrin of the Spartans.*

§§ 6-9. *At Tegea the party of Callibius and Proxenus were in favour of a Pan-Arcadian league, the party of Stasippus against it. In the first encounter Stasippus slew Proxenus and a few others. Then, the Mantineans coming to the support of Callibius, Stasippus and his party took refuge in the temple of Artemis, whence they were driven out and put to death.*

§§ 10-14. *800 survivors fled to Sparta. The Lacedaemonians sent out Agesilaus against the Mantineans, who waited in Eutaea for Polytropus' mercenaries, whilst the other Arcadians, except the Orchomenians, were collecting against him at Asea. The Mantineans were repulsed in an attack upon Orchomenus, but in their retreat slew Polytropus.*

§§ 15-22. *Thereupon Agesilaus marched into the territory of Mantinea: he was unable to prevent the junction of the other Arcadians with the Mantineans, but was himself reinforced by some Orchomenian peltasts and Phliasian horse. For several days Agesilaus offered battle, but the Mantineans refused to engage, in obedience to the advice of the Eleans to wait the arrival of the Thebans. Agesilaus marched hastily homewards. The Arcadians then ravaged the territory of the Heraeans.*

§§ 23-25. *When the Thebans arrived at Mantinea, they found no enemy to meet them, and prepared to return. They were however overpersuaded to attempt an invasion of Laconia, especially on hearing, that the perioeci were*

likely to revolt. §§ 26-29. Accordingly the Thebans entered Laconia through Caryae, the Arcadians through Oeum, the latter overpowering the garrison at Oeum. After sacking Sellasia the two united armies encamped in the precinct of Apollo, but did not dare to cross the bridge into Sparta. In alarm the Spartans enrolled 6,000 helots on promise of liberty: reinforcements too arrived from various allies. §§ 30-32. The invaders crossed the Eurotas at Amyclae, whence for three or four days they threatened the city. Finally, however, they marched southwards, burning the unwalled cities, and for three days they assaulted Gythium, aided by some of the perioeci. §§ 33-36. The Athenian Assembly now met to consider what should be their attitude towards Sparta. Certain Lacedaemonians reminded the people of past occasions, when Athens and Sparta had helped each other. §§ 37-48. The assembly being divided, Cliteles of Corinth called upon the Athenians to help punish the aggressions of the Thebans upon Corinthian territory. Finally Procles of Phlius entreated the Athenians to prevent a Theban domination and to come to the rescue of Sparta, who had deserved so well of Greece. §§ 49, 50. The Athenians voted to aid Sparta, and appointed Iphicrates general, who led his forces as far as Corinth. Meanwhile the Arcadians and other allies in the invading army were melting away and provisions had become scarce, so that the Thebans were anxious to retire. §§ 51, 52. Xenophon here severely censures Iphicrates' generalship, because, when he might have embarrassed their passage across the isthmus, he let the Thebans pass as they pleased.

371-370 B.C.

§ 1. ἐπάνειμι, i. e. to vi. 4. 26.

ἐνθυμηθέντες . . . διέθεσαν, i. e. the Peloponnesians, in the opinion of the Athenians, by sending contingents to Archidamus' army, had shown that they still considered themselves bound to obey the summons of Sparta as Hegemon, notwithstanding the provisions of the Peace of 371, which guaranteed complete autonomy to each single state: cp. vi. 3. 18; 4. 10. Διέθεσαν probably also refers to the fact that while Athens and her allies had sworn to the peace separately, Sparta had sworn as the representative of the whole Peloponnesian Confederacy, vi. 3. 19.

μεταπέμπονται, i. e. invited deputies to a congress at Athens.

τῆς εἰρήνης: the Peace of Antalcidas, 387-386; which had practically been renewed by the Peace of 371: cp. v. 1. 30; vi. 3. 18.

§ 2. Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. Büchschütz thinks that by τῶν συμμάχων only the allies of Athens are meant, but it seems more in harmony with the context to interpret it (with Breitenbach)

to include all who agreed to take the oath, which made them *ἰπσο facto* σύμμαχοι. The ψηφίσματα referred to are unknown.

ἐὰν δέ τις . . . σθένει: this was a most important addition to the oath of 371; but, as a matter of fact, it was never put into practice.

οἱ . . . ἄλλοι πάντες cannot include the Thebans, who were excluded from the former Peace, nor yet, it would seem, the Spartans; for it is difficult to suppose that they would have consented to an arrangement so obviously meant to work against them: moreover the two passages in this chapter §§ 10, 36, which some commentators have thought to imply their adhesion, may better be interpreted of the Peace of 371.

Ἡλεῖοι: they had in 397 been obliged by Sparta to recognize the independence of these towns, and must now, since Leuctra, have seized the opportunity of regaining their supremacy over them: cp. iii. 2. 30.

§ 3. οἱ Μαντινεῖς. The defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra seems to have been the signal in the Peloponnesus for a general rising of the democrats against the oligarchs, who had previously been supported by the Lacedaemonians. Such risings took place, besides in Mantinea and Tegea—the only two mentioned by Xenophon—in Argos, Phigalia, Corinth, Megara, and Phlius: cp. Diod. xv. 40, 58; Stern, p. 155, note 2; Introd. p. xxxii.

συνῆλθον . . . πάντες, i.e. not only the inhabitants of the five villages into which Sparta had in 385 divided the city of Mantinea, but the democratic exiles as well: cp. v. 2. 6, 7.

§ 4. πατρικὸς φίλος: cp. v. 2. 3 and note.

ἔσονται: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

370-369 B.C.

§ 6. τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν. Xenophon perhaps relates the disturbances in Tegea in detail, because it led to the appearance of the first Theban army in Peloponnesus.

οἱ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον. Callibius is not mentioned by any other authority: Proxenus appears in Pausanias as one of the Tegeate founders of Megalopolis.

ἐνῆγον, sc. τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. Xenophon omits altogether to state that this effort towards union resulted in the foundation of Megalo-

polis by the concentration in one city of some forty Arcadian villages. The new city, 50 stadia in circumference, was built in the SW. of Arcadia to serve as a fortress against Sparta: the date of the building is variously given between 371 and 368 B.C., though probably 371-370 is the right date. Within its walls were to assemble the Ten Thousand (*πᾶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, τὸ κοινόν*)—including apparently all Arcadian citizens who chose to attend the meetings: and a kind of standing army of 5,000 was collected, known as *ἐπάριτοι* cp. vii. 4. 22, 34: but the *Μεγαλοπολίται*, mentioned in vii. 5. 5, are evidently the ordinary inhabitants of the new city: cp. Diod. xv. 59 *Λυκομήδης ὁ Τεγεάτης* [a mistake for *ὁ Μαρτινεὺς*] *ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν ταχθῆναι καὶ κοινὴν ἔχειν σύνοδον συνεστῶσαν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων, καὶ τούτους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευέσθαι*: also cp. 72; Paus. viii. 27. 1-8; Plut. Pel. 24; Arist. frag. 91.

νικῶν, 'was carried': so vii. 1. 28.

κύριον εἶναι: the infinitive is dependent on the notion of 'proposing,' implied in *ἐνῆγον ἐπὶ τό*.

οἱ . . . περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον: cp. vi. 4. 18.

ἐὰν . . . κατὰ χώραν: hence it appears that Callibius, Proxenus, and their democrats proposed that the Tegeates too should migrate to Megalopolis.

§ 7. *θεωροῖς*. Doric form of *θεωροίς*: 'in the meeting of the Theori': magistrates with this title appear also in Mantinea (Thuc. v. 47) and among the Locrians (CIG. 1756); their functions are unknown.

ἐκφέρονται: cp. iii. 2. 28.

§ 8. *καὶ τὰς πύλας*, i.e. the gates in the northern wall, looking towards Mantinea.

§ 9. *τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον κ.τ.λ.* Pallantium was a town to the west of Tegea: cp. Paus. viii. 43. 1.

τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν, i.e. the wagon brought for that purpose (cp. iii. 3. 9): this would imply that the number of refugees was small. Diodorus (xv. 59) speaks of 1,400 fleeing, some to Sparta, others to Pallantium, and of the latter being delivered up to their pursuers and massacred.

§ 10. *κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους . . . παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους*, i.e. the oath to the Peace of 371: cp. vi. 3. 18.

ὥς . . . ἐλληλυθύτων αὐτῶν: genitive absolute with ὥς, instead of accusative in agreement with Μαντινέας: cp. iii. 5. 8.

Ἀγησίλαον . . . ἡγείσθαι: cp. § 4.

§ 11. Ἀσέαν: a village in the south of Arcadia: cp. Strabo, viii. p. 343.

Ὀρχομενίων: cp. Diod. xv. 62 Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν . . . τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οἰκείως διακειμένην πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. The town was formerly (394 B. C.) garrisoned by a Spartan *mora*: iv. 3. 15; 5. 18.

Ξενικὸν . . . Πολύτροπος. Diodorus (xv. 62) is obviously mistaken in representing him as the commander of 1,000 Lacedaemonian hoplites. At such a crisis Sparta could not have spared so many of her citizen troops.

τούτων, i. e. the Orchomenians and their mercenaries.

Ἡραεῖς: cp. iii. 2. 30.

Λεπρεᾶται: cp. iii. 2. 25.

§ 12. τὰ διαβατήρια: cp. iii. 4. 3.

Εὔταιαν: one of the Maenalian towns, which had joined the new Arcadian league: Paus. viii. 27. 3.

εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, i. e. to Asea.

ἐλάμβανον, i. e. Agesilaus and his army.

§ 13. οἱ Μαντινεῖς. According to Diod. xv. 62 the Arcadian general, Lycomedes of Mantinea, marched against Orchomenus with 5,000 men and slew Polytropus and 200 of his Lacedaemonians (cp. § 11 note): notwithstanding this success the Arcadians did not venture on war with Sparta, but looked about for allies: cp. § 19 note.

Ἑλνμῖα: evidently between Mantinea and Orchomenus, but never mentioned elsewhere.

ὥς . . . ὅτι: for the same pleonasm cp. vi. 4. 37.

§ 14. τῶν Μαντινέων: genitive dependent on εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν: cp. Cyp. vii. 1. 36 εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν περιελάσειεν αὐτῶν.

§ 15. οὕτω: cp. iii. 2. 9.

τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρεσι, known as the Maenalian mountains: cp. vii. 5. 21.

§ 16. τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ: the third day.

ἐχόμενοι τῶν . . . ὄρων, 'skirting the mountains,' i. e. on the east, so as to keep their right flank covered from attack.

καὶ γάρ: gives the reason why the Arcadians were so anxious to increase their numbers by a junction with the Mantineans; and why too Agesilaus was advised to attack them before such a junction.

κατὰ κέρας: in the flank.

§ 17. οἱ δ' . . . πελτασταί: these must be the remnants of Polytropus' mercenaries, § 14.

πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα, i. e. to the camp: cp. ii. 4. 6.

σύνεγγυς, to be taken with ὄρη ἔχοντα: lit. 'having mountains very close and all round'; for σύνεγγυς, a word only used by Xenophon in this passage, cp. Thuc. iv. 24.

§ 18. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ: the fourth day.

ἐαυτῶν, i. e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 8. 24.

εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο. Xenophon seems to mean that Agesilaus found his army formed in column cooped up in a narrow valley, running north and south, at the entrance of which he stood himself, while his rear was at the end of it. Then he observed the enemy passing him on the east slope of the valley and collecting in order to attack his rear. Accordingly he turned the front or southern half of his army from column into line (τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων) so as to face the enemy passing him on the east, while at the same time he ordered his rear to turn to the right ἀναστρέψαντας . . . εἰς δόρυ, march a few paces to the west, then turn into column again to the left, and march on towards the entrance of the valley ὅπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος, on the right of which he himself was standing. Thus, if the rear, as soon as it marched up in column level with Agesilaus himself on the right (ἡγείσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν), turned into line again to the left, ἐδεδίπλωτο ἡ φάλαγξ. Then he ordered his double phalanx once more to turn into column and οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ advanced into the plain, where he once more turned his column into line of the usual depth (ἐπ' ἐννέα ἢ δέκα): cp. Anab. iv. 3. 29.

§ 19. ἐπ' ἐννέα . . . ἀσπίδων, 'nine or ten men deep': cp. ii. 4. 11; vi. 4. 12.

οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

οἱ Ἠλείοι . . . οἱ Θηβαῖοι. According to Diod. xv. 62 (cp. § 13 note) the Arcadians first sent ambassadors to Athens to ask for assistance against the aggressions of Sparta, who, meeting with

a refusal, at once went on to Thebes, and persuaded the Thebans *συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*. Diodorus' version agrees with the facts presented by Xenophon, except in the time of the embassy: if this be put a few weeks earlier, a consistent story can then be made out. The Arcadians, fearing attacks from Sparta, we must suppose, looked around for allies. Naturally they appealed first to their nearest neighbours known to be hostile to Sparta, Elis and Argos, and then to Athens, who had just taken upon herself the championship of the King's Peace against all aggressors (cp. Dem. xvi. 12). Athens refusing all assistance, Thebes was next appealed to. The Thebans, having overcome the last vestiges of resistance to their supremacy in Boeotia by expelling the Thespians from Ceressus (vi. 3. 1; 4. 9, 10 note; Paus. ix. 14. 4), and by admitting the Orchomenians as allies (Diod. xv. 57), and being freed by the death of Jason from all fear of a Thessalian invasion, readily listened to the Arcadian appeal, and despatched an army under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, supported by Phocian and Locrian contingents, into Peloponnesus: cp. Xen. Ages. 2. 23 *ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις συμφορᾶς γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκῶν ἤδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων, στρατεύει* (i. e. Agesilaus) κ.τ.λ.

§ 21. τὰ πυρὰ . . . *ιδεῖν*: the subject to *ιδεῖν* must be Agesilaus and his army; it appears that the Arcadians and their allies must have followed the Lacedaemonians southwards.

ἀνειληφέναι: cp. Plut. Ages. 30 *ἐλὼν δὲ πολίχνην τινὰ* (i. e. Eutaea) *τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμὼν ἐλαφροτέραν ἐποίησε ταῖς ἐλλίσι καὶ ἡδίω τὴν πόλιν ὥς οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνωσμένην*.

ἀπέλυσεν: the mercenaries from Orchomenus however remained in Sparta, cp. § 29.

§ 22. *Ἡραιῶς . . . Λακεδαιμονίων*: cp. § 11.

§ 23. *ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο*. Plutarch (Ages. 31) estimates the Theban army at 40,000 hoplites, and Diodorus (xv. 62) puts the combined forces at more than 70,000 men.

ἐγυμνάζοντο: cp. Diod. xv. 50 *ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς γυμνασίοις συνεχῶς διατρίβοντες εὖρωστοι τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπῆρχον καὶ φύσει φιλοπόλεμοι καθεστῶτες, οὐδενὸς ἔθνους Ἑλληνικοῦ ταῖς ἀνδρείαις ἐλείποντο*.

Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι: cp. Diod. xv. 57 *Φωκεῖς καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Λοκροὺς*

φίλους ποιησόμενοι. Later in 362 the Phocians refused to follow the Thebans into Peloponnesus on the ground that their alliance was only defensive : cp. vii. 5. 4.

Εὐβοεῖς : their names appear among the members of the New Athenian Confederacy in 377, CIA. ii. 17 : they must have become allies of the Thebans after Leuctra.

Ἀκαρνᾶνες . . . Ἡρακλεῶται . . . Μηλιεῖς. The Heracleots fought on the side of Sparta at Leuctra vi. 4. 9. Nothing is known of the manner in which these peoples were induced to join the Theban alliance : cp. Hicks, Inscr. 83 ; CIA. ii. 49.

συνιδόμενοι, cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361 : the subject is οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

τὴν . . . ἐρημίαν : cp. Diod. xv. 63 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν νέων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λεῦκτρα συμφορᾷ, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἤνταις ἀπολωλεκότες, καὶ τὸ σύνολον εἰς ὀλίγους πολιτικούς στρατιώτας ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης συγκεκλεισμένοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν συμμάχων τῶν μὲν ἀφεστηκότων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ὁμοίας αἰτίας ὀλιγανδρούντων, εἰς πολλὴν ἀμχανίαν ἐπιπτον.

πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν : for the infin. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 629.

§ 24. Θηβαῖοι. Xenophon's view that the Thebans entered the Peloponnesus without any previous intention of invading Sparta is confirmed by Plutarch's story (Pel. 24) that they anticipated being in the country so short a time that they had made no provision for prolonging the tenure of the Boeotarchs' command, which terminated about the time of the winter solstice. Epaminondas and Pelopidas, however, Plutarch goes on to say, persuaded their colleagues (or colleague : Corn. Nep. Ep. 2) to disregard this law, the penalty for which was death, and accordingly on their return to Thebes four months after the appointed time they were both accused by their political enemies on the capital charge and were only acquitted with some difficulty.

δυσεμβολωτάτη : cp. Diod. xv. 63 ὀρώντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν δυσείσβολον οὔσαν ; Eurip. ap. Strab. viii. 366 κοίλη γὰρ ὄρεσι περὶδρομος τραχεῖά τε δυσείσβολός τε πολέμοις.

Σκιρίτιδος : cp. v. 2. 24 : the village of Oeum has not been identified.

νεοδαμώδεις : cp. iii. I. 4.

Λεύκτρῳ, on the frontier near Megalopolis : Plut. Pel. 20 ;

Paus. iii. 26. 4 ; 21. 7. Μαλεάτις must be the district of Μαλαία in S. Arcadia mentioned by Paus. viii. 27. 4.

ὥς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν . . . μάχεσθαι ἂν : the participial construction after ἐλογίζοντο is in the second clause changed for the accusative and infinitive : τοῦτο introduces the object which is explained in these two clauses : cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 39 οὐ τοῦτο αἰτιώμενοι αὐτοὺς κατακτείνουσιν, ὥς ἀφρονεστέρας ποιοῦντας τὰς γυναῖκας.

§ 25. ἦκον . . . λέγοντες : without τινές, as iii. 1. 19.

Καρνῶν : apparently east of the Sciritis on the road between Sparta and Thyrea : cp. Thuc. v. 55 ; Paus. iii. 10. 7.

τῶν περιόικων : for the disaffection of the Perioeci and Helots cp. § 32 and vii. 2. 2 ; 4. 21.

καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι, i.e. summoned to resist the threatened invasion.

αὐτοὶ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες. Diodorus (xv. 64) makes the allies enter Laconia in four divisions, the Boeotians by the straight road to Sellasia ; the Argives along the mountains of Tegea (i.e. more to the east), where they fell in with a Spartan post under Alexander, whom they defeated and slew ; the Arcadians across the Sciritis, where they fell in with Ischolaus ; and the Eleans by other more open roads : all four divisions united at Sellasia. Xenophon in this passage speaks of the march of the Thebans and Arcadians only, but later on (§§ 30, 50) he speaks of Eleans and Argives in Laconia, so that there is no real inconsistency between him and Diodorus.

§ 26. τὰ δύσβατα : to the north of Oeum.

ἀποθνήσκει. Diodorus (xv. 64) compares Ischolaus' defence to Leonidas' defence of Thermopylae, and has accordingly dressed up his narrative with rhetorical details : for Ischolaus cp. Polyæn. ii. 22.

§ 27. Σελλασίαν : cp. ii. 2. 13.

ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ : on the left bank of the Eurotas, opposite Sparta : this temple of Apollo is mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 14. 6).

τῆς γεφύρας : over the Eurotas.

τῆς Ἀλέας : a title of Athena : on the road from Sparta to Therapne ; cp. Paus. iii. 19. 7.

§ 28. οὐδὲ τὸν καπνόν. Agesilaus was wont to say (Plut. Ages. 31) ὅτι γυνὴ Λάκαινα καπνὸν οὐχ ἑώρακε πολέμιον : cp. Theopomp. fr. 292.

διαταχθείς: for the singular cp. Anab. vii. 3. 47 οἱ ἱππεῖς οἷχονται μοι ἄλλος ἄλλη διώκων.

ἐφύλαττον. According to Plutarch (Ages. 32) the defence of Sparta was organized by Agesilaus. He not only defended the city against the enemy, but found means to check the disaffection that threatened to spread among the Spartiates themselves, nipping two dangerous conspiracies in the bud: cp. esp. ch. 33 τοῦ δὲ σωθῆναι τὴν Σπάρτην τότε πάντες αἴτιον ὁμολογοῦσι γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὅτι τῶν ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ παθῶν, φιλονεικίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀποστὰς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῶς: cp. § 23 note, and the conspiracy of Cinadon iii. 3. 5 ff.; Corn. Nep. Ages. 6. 2, 3; Polyæn. ii. 1. 4; Valer. Max. vii. 2.

ὥς . . . ἐσομένους: accusative absolute: cp. ii. 3. 19 ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντα τινὰ ἀνάγκην: this extreme measure was necessitated by the defection of the Perioeci: cp. § 25 note, and Plut. Ages. 32 πολλοὶ τῶν τεταγμένων εἰς τὰ ὄπλα περιόικων καὶ εἰλώτων ἀπεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίους.

§ 29. *ἑξακισχιλίου*s. Diodorus (xv. 65) must be mistaken in putting the number at 1,000 only and in making their enrolment take place after Epaminondas' retirement from Laconia into Arcadia. In any case it is impossible to reconcile this enrolment of Helots with Xenophon's general statement in vii. 2. 2 ἀποστάντων πάντων τῶν εἰλώτων, when he is commenting on the desperate position of Sparta after Leuctra.

οἱ . . . μισθοφόροι: cp. § 21 note.

ἄλλαι . . . πόλεων: enumerated vii. 2. 2.

§ 30. *Ἀμύκλας*: some three miles south of Sparta.

ταῖτῃ διέβαινον: cp. Plut. Ages. 32 ἐρρῆ δὲ πλείστος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέγιστος τότε ὁ Εὐρώτας, χιόνων γενομένων, καὶ τὸ ρεῖμα μᾶλλον ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος ἢ τραχύτητος ἐγένετο σκληρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν τοῖς Θηβαίοις. Diodorus (xv. 65) represents Epaminondas as descending the slopes of Mount Taygetus (!) to the Eurotas and there suffering a severe reverse from Agesilaus. It is, however, difficult to believe that the philo-Laconian Xenophon would have passed over a Spartan victory in silence.

τούτων τε . . . καταλείποντες δέ: for *τε . . . δέ* cp. i. 1. 34; iv. 5. 15.

Γαιαόχου: this temple of Poseidon, mentioned by Pausanias

(iii. 20. 2) was between Therapne and Amyclae. Pausanias (iii. 14. 6) also mentions a hippodrome in this neighbourhood.

§ 31. *φαινόμενοι* : opposed to *ἐνέδραν ποιήσαντες*.

ἐνέδραν : ascribed to Agesilaus and described at length by Polyæn. ii. 1. 27.

ποιήσαντες : the subject must be *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* in general, who are then divided into parts *οὔτοι μὲν . . . οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς* : cp. iv. 4. 1.

ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, sc. *οἰκίᾳ* : in Amyclae ; cp. Paus. iii. 16. 2.

§ 32. *τὸ μὲν μὴ . . . θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι*, lit. 'that the Thebans would no more advance against the city now seemed to be a matter for greater confidence' : i.e. the Lacedaemonians now saw less reason to fear any further attempt upon their city.

Ἔλος καὶ Γίθειον : the former at the mouth of the Eurotas, the latter on the west side of the bay.

προσέβαλλον : the tense seems to imply that the attempt was unsuccessful.

περιοίκων : cp. §§ 25, 28 notes.

§ 33. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* : cp. §§ 2, 19 and notes. The Athenians now found themselves obliged to give up their policy of peace at any price : it was obviously not their interest to see the Spartans humbled too far and to allow the Thebans to assume in their place the headship of a larger and stronger Land Confederacy than the Spartan Confederacy had ever been.

πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων. Xenophon, perhaps out of partiality for the Spartans, represents the initiative as coming from the Athenians : but it is hard to see, what could have been the mission of these Lacedaemonian envoys, except a request for assistance : cp. Callisth. fr. ap. Eustrat. p. 54 b.

ὑπολοίπων . . . αὐτοῖς : for a list of the allies remaining faithful to Sparta cp. § 29 and vii. 2. 2. For the order of the words cp. iii. 5. 3.

ὅθεν δῆ, i.e. in consequence of the perplexity of the Athenians.

Ἀρακος : if this conjecture be right, perhaps the same as the admiral mentioned ii. 1. 7, iii. 2. 6 : cp. Critical Note.

ᾠκυλλος : mentioned together with Etymocles iii. 2. 12.

Φάραξ : perhaps the same as the admiral mentioned v. 4. 22.

ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς : cp. Arist. Nic. Eth. iv. 3. 25 οὐδ' οἱ Λάκωνες [τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἔλεγον] πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἂ πεπόνθεσαν εἶ.

τοὺς τυράννους. King Cleomenes expelled the Pisistratidae in 511 : Her. v. 64.

ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων. The Spartans were hard pressed by a Helot revolt, c. 464-462 : cp. Thuc. i. 102 ; Plut. Cim. 16.

§ 34. τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, i.e. the φόρος assessed in 478 B.C. by Aristides for the Delian Confederates : cp. Thuc. i. 96 ; Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 23. 5.

τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων . . . συμβουλομένων : cp. Thuc. i. 95 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους. The author of the Ἀθ. πολ. 23. 2, and Isocrates (xii. 52) give the opposite version—ἀκόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

§ 35. δεκατευθῆναι : cp. the same expression vi. 3. 20.

ἐπεκείντο : similarly used v. 2. 1.

ἡμῖν : a sudden transition from indirect to direct narration.

αὐτοὺς, i.e. the Athenians.

ἀναστάτους : for the facts cp. ii. 2. 19 ; vi. 3. 13.

†σφίσιν : cp. Critical Note : σφίσιν for αὐτοῖς may perhaps be paralleled in i. 7. 5, though there the usage is not quite so harsh.

§ 36. πλείστος . . . λόγος, i.e. the Lacedaemonians urged most especially.

κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους . . . παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους must be referred, not to the renewal of the King's Peace, made at Athens (§ 2), but to the Peace of 371 (vi. 3. 18) : cp. § 10 note.

σφῶν, i.e. the Lacedaemonians.

ἐπιστραπεύειν : this use of the optative in oblique narration may be paralleled by iii. 2. 23 ἐπιληίδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις : Goodwin, M. T. 675. For the facts alluded to cp. § 10 ff.

τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις : instead of σφίσιν for the sake of clearness.

τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον : cp. § 6 ff.

§ 37. διοριζομένων : apparently means 'while these distinctions as to the justice or injustice of the Mantineans' action were being drawn by the assembly.'

παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους : as appears indeed from the context, the Corinthian speaker is thinking of the Athenian renewal of the King's Peace, cp. § 2.

ταῦτα . . . ὅρκων : the construction is harsh, 'and that too against those very oaths which you yourselves, &c.'

ὥς . . . εἰρηκότος : for the participial construction with ὥς cp. ii. 4. 1.

ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια: for a similar combination of adverb and adjective, cp. ii. 3. 17; vii. 1. 9.

§ 38. Προκλῆς: he was the great friend of King Agesilaus (v. 3. 13), and a few months later advocated in a speech, which Xenophon reports at length (vii. 1. 2-11), this same policy, maintaining that the only security for Greece was for Sparta to hold the Hegemony by land and Athens by sea.

ἄρξαι . . . Ἑλλήνων: cp. Pelopidas' answer to Artaxerxes at Susa two years later, vii. 1. 36.

§ 39. ὁπότε . . . ἔχετε: the comparison would have been more exactly expressed, had Xenophon written ἢ τὸ πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους (i.e. the Lacedaemonians) ἔχειν.

§ 40. εἰ δὲ . . . φοβοῦνται: an answer to § 35 ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν.

τῶν προπεπονημένων: a kind of genitive of content: 'in order that they may have a succour in what their past labours have obtained for them.'

§ 42. ὥς . . . γενήσεσθαι: for ὥς with infinitive instead of ὅτι with a finite verb cp. iii. 4. 27. But see Critical Note.

§ 43. ὑπὸ βαρβάρων: for ὑπό cp. Dem. xlix. 50 οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν.

ἐν Θερμοπύλαις: cp. Her. vii. 223.

ἐπεισφρέσθαι: cp. Critical Note. A word used elsewhere in this sense of 'introducing' only by Euripides and by him only in the active voice.

πῶς οὖν οὐ . . . παρέχεσθαι: construe: πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον (ἐστὶ) καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτούς, ὧν τε ἔνεκα (i.e. τούτων τε ἔνεκα ὅτι) ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ὧν (sc. ἔνεκα) ἐλπίς (ἐστὶ) καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι (αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς);

§ 44. παρόντων . . . αὐτοῖς: the dative is dependent on παρόντων: for the order of the words cp. § 33.

§ 45. ἀκούων . . . ὅτι . . . ἤκουον. The dependent clause repeats the participle, which is placed first to emphasize the contrast with παρὼν ὁρῶ.

ἐπικουρίας: for the sentiment cp. Isocrates, iv. 52 [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν παρέχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀδικομένοις αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαμύνουσιν.

§ 46. Θεβαίους: for the Theban party at Athens, on whom these envoys must have placed their hopes, cp. v. 4. 34.

τότε: cp. ii. 2. 19 for the fact.

καλὸν λέγεται, 'of your ancestors a noble deed is told': ὅτε . . . γενέσθαι is the subject to λέγεται; for ὅτε cp. vi. 4. 5.

ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ. The story, also told by Isocrates (iv. 55), was that after the defeat of the Seven against Thebes, the Thebans refused to allow Adrastus the Argive king to bury his dead: thereon he applied to Athens for help, and the Athenians sent an army which compelled the Thebans to permit the burial.

§ 47. σχόντες, 'checking.'

διεσώσατε. The Heraclidae, according to the legend, driven from the Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, sought refuge at Athens. The Athenians assisted them, defeated Eurystheus, and restored them to the Peloponnesus: cp. Her. ix. 27; Diod. iv. 57. It is a curious coincidence, almost too remarkable to be merely accidental, that Isocrates (iv. 54-60) in supporting the same thesis tells these two same legendary stories to the credit of the Athenians. Isocrates wrote this Oration about 380, so that it may very well have been known to Xenophon.

τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας: cp. vi. 3. 6 and note.

ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ: in 404 the Spartans were strong enough to have nothing to fear from any opposition on the part of their allies.

§ 48. ὁπότε . . . ἀγαλλόμεθα: Hertlein strikes out οἱ before συναγορεύοντες: then the meaning will be 'seeing that we too pride ourselves on advocating aid, &c.' ὁπότε is causal: cp. Cyr. viii. 3. 7; Critical Note.

§ 49. τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων: cp. ps.-Dem. lix. 27 ὅτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑμεῖς ἐσώζετε πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, τότε ἀντειπὼν [ὁ Ξενοκλείδης] ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῇ βοηθείᾳ, ἐωνημένος τὴν πεντηκοστὴν τοῦ σίτου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ δέον αὐτὸν καταβάλλειν τὰς καταβολὰς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατὰ πρυτανείαν, καὶ οὔσης αὐτῷ ἀτελείας ἐκ τῶν νόμων, οὐκ ἐξελθὼν ἐκείνῃ τὴν στρατείαν, γραφεὶς ὑπὸ Στεφάνου τούτου ἀστρατείας καὶ διαβληθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἦλω καὶ ἡτιμώθη: for Callistratus cp. vi. 2. 39; 3. 1-17.

ἐψηφίσαντο: cp. Diod. xv. 63 ὁ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, μεγάλῳ ψυχρῷ ὦν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τὴν μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἰσχὺν οὐ κατεπλάγησαν, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ. Dem. xvi. 12 οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἔπεισαν ὑμᾶς, πάντων Πελοποννησίων ἐλθόντων (for the embassy cp. § 20 note) ὥς

ὑμᾶς καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀξιούντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἵεναι, τούτους μὲν (the Peloponnesians) μὴ προσδέξασθαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἦλθον), ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων σωτηρίας καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι κινδυνεύειν.

Ἰφικράτην: last mentioned, vi. 4. 1.

ἐγένετο: cp. iii. 1. 17.

ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ: cp. ii. 2. 8.

ἔφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

προθύμως: cp. Diod. xv. 63 Ἰφικράτης μὲν οὖν, προθύμους ἔχων τοὺς στρατιώτας, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ σπινθήν.

§ 50. ἀπεληλύθεσαν: cp. § 30.

ἄγοντες . . . φέροντες: the former of living animals, the latter of goods and chattels: the usual combination is φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν: cp. iii. 2. 2, 8, 11, 14, 30.

χειμών: cp. Introd. p. lxvii: the length of the Theban invasion is variously stated: according to Diod. xv. 67 it lasted 85 days, but according to Plutarch (Ages. 32) three months or (Pel. 25) four months.

§ 51. ἀπεχώρουν: Plutarch (Ages. 32) mentions a story of the scandal-monger Theopompus, that after the Boeotarchs had already determined to retire, Phrixus came from Agesilaus with 10 talents as a bribe to hasten their departure.

ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας, i. e. from Messenia: Xenophon (cp. Introd. p. xxxii, and vii. 1. 27, 28) here omits altogether the most important result of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus, which was the revival of the Messenian state and the building of a new city, called Messene, under Mount Ithome, of which Epaminondas was the founder. The Messenian exiles gathered from Italy, Sicily, Libya and elsewhere, where they had found refuge, to take part in the new foundation: cp. Diod. xv. 66; Paus. iv. 26, 27; Plut. Pel. 24, Ages. 34.

ἄλλοι: cp. iv. 5. 13.

οὐ ψέγω. Grote (ix. 457) with justice sees in this passage evidence of Xenophon's philo-Laconism, pointing out that the main object of the Athenian expedition, the retirement of the Thebans, was effected, and that the despatch by Iphicrates of all his cavalry must have been meant, not merely for reconnoitring purposes, but to harass the Thebans' march: cp. Stern, p. 180.

τὰ μὲν μάτην: cp. Diod. xv. 65 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, ὑστερηκότες τῶν καιρῶν, ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐδὲν πράξαντες μνήμης ἄξιον.

ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀνείῳ: this mountain, 1600 ft. high, stands about three miles SW. of Corinth.

Κεγχρεῖας. The sea-port of Corinth on the east side of the isthmus.

§ 52. ἰδεῖν . . . ἱκανοί. Xenophon enlarges on this notion in the Hipparchus 7. 6; 8. 12.

δέοι . . . ἀποχωρῆσαι: for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

ἀπώλοντο. Plutarch (Pel. 24) seems to exaggerate this reverse: ἀπιόντες δ' ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Κεγχρεῶν Ἀθηναίους ἐνίκων ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀψιμαχεῖν περὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ κωλύειν τὴν πορείαν. For the still more exaggerated story in Paus. ix. 14. 3, cp. the criticisms of Grote (ix. 457) and Stern (p. 180).

BOOK VII

CHAPTER I.

§§ 1-14. *Ambassadors from Sparta and her allies came to Athens to arrange the terms of the new alliance. After many speeches, Procles of Phlius supported the proposal of the Council, that the Athenians should hold the command by sea and Sparta by land. The Assembly preferred Cephisodotus' proposal, that the two powers should exercise the supreme command by turns of five days each.*

§§ 15-17. *The allied forces guarded the Isthmus at Oneum. The Thebans, however, surprised the Lacedaemonian and Pellenian detachments, whereon the Spartan commandant foolishly made a truce, allowing them free passage.*

§§ 18-22. *The Thebans with their Peloponnesian allies attacked Sicyon and Pellene and ravaged the Epidaurian territory: then they fought several skirmishes before Corinth, wherein some reinforcements sent by Dionysius did prodigies of valour against them. The Thebans soon turned homewards. Dionysius' troops after an attack on Sicyon returned to Syracuse.*

§§ 23-26. *So far the Thebans and the revolted allies of Sparta had worked heartily together. Now Lycomedes of Mantinea pointed out to the Arcadians that they were likely to become the tools of the Thebans just as formerly they had been of the Lacedaemonians, whereas the supremacy over the Peloponnesus rightly belonged to them. Just then certain successes won against Chabrias and the Lacedaemonians increased the pride of the Arcadians. Thus distrust arose between them and the Thebans and Eleans.*

§ 27. *Ariobarzanes' envoy, Philiscus, summoned the Greeks to Delphi to make a general peace. The attempt failed because the Thebans refused to recognize the dependence of Messene upon Sparta.*

§§ 28-32. *With the help of the second reinforcements from Dionysius, which the Athenians wished to use against the Thebans in Thessaly, Archidamus took Caryae, and ravaged Parrhasia. The Arcadians and Argives attempted to cut off the Sicilian troops on their return to Sparta: but Archidamus coming to their aid, gained a complete victory without the loss of a man. The Thebans were not displeased at the tidings.*

§§ 33-38. *Following the lead of Thebes, who wished thereby to gain the supremacy in Greece, many states sent envoys to the Persian Court. Pelopidas was held in highest honour, and at his proposal the king dictated as terms of peace, that Messene should be independent and that Athens should haul up her ships. On their return the Athenians put Timagoras, one of their envoys, to death: the Elean*

envoy approved of the terms, but the Arcadian spoke contemptuously of the king's wealth and power. §§ 39, 40. The Thebans summoned deputies to hear the king's terms: the deputies, however, refused to swear to them. The Arcadians were the first to leave, the rest followed. Then the Thebans sent round messengers to the separate states to induce them to swear. The Corinthians refused, and all the rest copied their example. §§ 41-43.

Epaminondas invaded Achaea, and without introducing any political changes persuaded the Achaeans to join the Theban Confederacy. His policy was, however, soon reversed. The Thebans sent out harmosts, who expelled the aristocrats and set up democracies in the Achaean states. The aristocrats quickly effected their return, and zealously supported Sparta. §§ 44-46.

At Sicyon Euphron with the help of the Argives and Arcadians effected a democratical revolution. At first he himself and four others were elected generals: then he got rid of his colleagues, and by the help of mercenaries made himself tyrant.

§ 369-368 B.C.

§ 1. πρέσβεις . . . αὐτοκράτορες: cp. Diod. xv. 67 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ παρὰδόξως ἀποτετριμμένοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποιήσαντο κοινὰς τὰς ἡγεμονίας.

ἡ συμμαχία: cp. vi. 5. 49, when the vote of the Athenians to aid the Lacedaemonians πανδημεῖ amounted practically to an alliance; now the exact terms on a more permanent footing had to be settled.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις: for the formula cp. §§ 13, 45 and Thuc. v. 79.

Προκλής: cp. vi. 5. 38.

§ 2. τῇ . . . βουλῇ: the Athenian Council of Five Hundred: cp. i. 7. 7.

τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν . . . τὴν κατὰ γῆν: for the doctrine cp. Introd. p. xxviii; vi. 5. 38.

§ 3. πρῶτον μὲν . . . τοῦτο: the maritime advantages of Athens are similarly stated in ps.-Xen. Rep. Athen. 2.

οἰκοῦσι: intrans. of states, as in iv. 8. 26; vii. 5. 5, in the sense of 'to be situate.'

ὧν ἄνευ: for the position of the prep. cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 14 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὧν ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.

§ 4. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε: elliptical, sc. e.g. ἐνθυμήθητε.

πρὸς γὰρ . . . συλλέγονται, 'all men most gladly gather round the power which has first become strong.'

§ 5. αὕτη ἡ ἐπιμέλεια, i.e. this care for the sea.

§ 6. ἐπολέμουν, i.e. in the Peloponnesian War 431-404.

κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας: by five invasions in the first seven years of the war, and in the last ten years by the occupation of Decelea.

κατὰ θάλατταν: at Aegospotami, ii. 1. 28.

§ 7. οὕτως . . . πεφυκότων: for the absence of the subject cp. i. 1. 26; ii. 2. 16; 4. 29.

§ 8. τὸ πείθεσθαι: accusative of respect: for the sentiment cp. Mem. iv. 4. 15 [ὁ Λυκούργος] τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλιστα ἐνειργάσατο αὐτῇ [τῇ Σπάρτῃ]; and ibid. iii. 3. 15, where a contrast is drawn between Spartan discipline and Athenian laxity, except on the sea, § 18. οὐχ ὀράς, says Socrates, ὥς εὐτακτοὶ μὲν [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, εὐτάκτως δ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι πείθονται τοῖς ἐπιστάταις, οὐδένων δὲ καταδέεστερον ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι τοῖς διδασκάλοις;

§ 9. πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστα: cp. vi. 5. 37.

§ 10. ἄπαξ, i.e. at Leuctra.

§ 11. ἄλλοις μὲν . . . αὐτοὺς δέ: the two clauses are correlative rather in form than in thought.

§ 12. Κηφισόδοτος: cp. vi. 3. 2.

ἦδη: 'ipse facto,' i.e. according to the Council's προβούλευμα so generally approved.

ἐπιβάτας . . . ναῦται: cp. v. 1. 11.

§ 13. ὀπλίτας . . . ἱππέας, who would be taken from the muster roll of Athenian citizens.

ἐκείνων: genitive dependent on δούλων; cp. iv. 8. 33.

ποιούμενος: for the present, rather than the future, cp. vii. 4. 5 βοηθῶν παρείη.

Εἶπον ταῦτα: Timocrates' answer.

§ 14. Ἔστιν οὖν . . . ἱσαίτερον, 'is there then a fairer plan than that, &c.': for the neuter without τι cp. vi. 2. 39 σῶφρον.

τούτων: plural after εἴ τι ἀγαθόν: Oecom. 7. 37 ὃς ἂν κάμνη τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηται.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐψηφίσαντο: cp. de Vectigal. 5. 7 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ βιασθέντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀλλ' εὖ πάσχοντες ἐπέτρεψαν

Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας θέσθαι ὅπως βούλονται: cp. Diod. xv. 67 quoted § 1. No opposition seems to have been offered to Cephisodotus' foolish proposal, which rendered any consistent policy in a campaign impossible.

§ 15. στρατευομένων δ' . . . Ὀνειον. According to Diod. xv. 68 Chabrias advanced to Corinth, where he gathered round him an army of 10,000 men, made up of Athenians, Megarians, Pellenians, and Corinthians, and where he was joined by the Lacedaemonians and their allies to the number of 10,000 more. The allied armies then fortified the isthmus from Cenchreae to Lechaeum with palisades and trenches to check the passage of the Thebans under Epaminondas.

οἱ Θηβαῖοι: according to Diod. (l. c.) invited by the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, and numbering 7,000 foot and 600 horse.

Πελληνεῖς: for their bravery cp. iv. 2. 20.

ἡνίκ' . . . καθανύσαι: construe ἡνίκα with ᾤοντο, ἄν with καθανύσαι: for καθανύσαι cp. v. 4. 20.

ἄμα κνέφα, 'at dawn.' Diod. (l. c.) represents Epaminondas as first challenging the Lacedaemonians to open fight in the plain and then forcing their position by assault: cp. Polyæn. ii. 2. 9.

§ 16. ἀνίσταντο = 'had arisen and were going': the same phrase is used in ii. 4. 6.

§ 17. ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος: so iv. 4. 4.

τῷ . . . πολεμάρχῳ. It may be conjectured that neither Agesilaus nor his son Archidamus would care to submit to the commands of an Athenian general under the arrangement of § 14.

ἐκ τοῦ . . . βλέποντος, i. e. from the side of the hill facing Sicyon: cp. vii. 2. 6 τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὁρῶντος.

πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, i. e. northwards.

πρὸς Θηβαίων, 'in favour of the Thebans.'

ἐαυτῶν: for the plural cp. iv. 8. 24.

§ 18. εὐθὺς . . . πρὸς Σικυῶνα. According to Diod. xv. 69 Epaminondas first made unsuccessful attempts upon Troezen and Epidaurus before he marched upon Sicyon and forced it to join the Theban side. From a comparison with §§ 22, 44; vii. 2. 2; 3. 2 it appears that on this occasion the Sicyonian Assembly passed a formal resolution renouncing the Lacedaemonian alliance and joining the Thebans.

Πελλίην. Probably the attack was successful: for in vii. 2, 11 we find the Pellenians on the Theban side, which, however, they soon left again for the Lacedaemonian: cp. vii. 4. 17.

αὐτῶν, i. e. the Epidaurians.

ὑπεροπτικῶς: for the adverb with the objective genitive dependent on it cp. v. 4. 25 ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον: the construction, however, is harsh without ἔχοντες. Trans.: 'in a manner showing their utter contempt of all their enemies.' Cp. Appendix, p. 361.

τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι, 'the door you pass on your way to Phlius': cp. Thuc. i. 24 Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον.

§ 19. ψιλοί. According to Diod. xv. 69 the fighting was on a much larger scale: first the Boeotians drove the Corinthians, who had come out to meet them, back into the city, some of them even venturing in the heat of their pursuit within the walls. There they were met by Chabrias and his Athenians, who slew some of them and forced back the rest. The whole Boeotian force then came up to their support, but the Athenians ἐκ τόπων ὑπερδεξίῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι repulsed them with considerable loss. Plutarch (Mor. 193 f quoted below), however, confirms Xenophon's narrative as to the small scale of the operations.

τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις. The famous ἱερὸς λόχος of 300 ἐπίλεκτοι seems to have been first organized by Gorgithas after the freeing of Thebes in 379-378; it continued unconquered until its destruction by Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea 338.

τὰ μνήματα: cp. iii. 2. 14; vi. 2. 20.

τροπαῖον: cp. Plut. Mor. l. c. τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου περὶ Κόρινθον ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη φιλομαχοῦντας καταβαλόντος καὶ στήσαντος τροπαῖον, ὃ Ἐπαμεινώνδας καταγελῶν ἔφη, Ἐνταῦθα δεῖ οὐ τροπαῖον, ἀλλὰ Ἐκατήσιον εἶσθαι: τὴν γὰρ Ἐκάνην ἐπικικῶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἰδρύνοντο τριόδοις.

§ 20. ἡ . . . βοήθεια: for the relations between Sparta and the elder Dionysius cp. v. i. 28 note. The use here of the definite article is not very intelligible: it may simply refer to the succours as well known (cp. v. 4. 61), or it may be that Xenophon has forgotten to mention any definite application of the Spartans for aid.

Κελτοὺς . . . Ἰβήρας: cp. Diod. xv. 70 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σικελίας Κελτοὶ

καὶ Ἰβηρες δισχίλιοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχήσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες. Diodorus goes on to say that they much distinguished themselves and were highly honoured by the Lacedaemonians. It appears too from CIA. ii. 51 that at the same time the Athenians, anxious once more to renew their attempt (cp. § 28) to gain Dionysius' favour, voted him a golden crown.

τὸ πεδίον: between Corinth, Sicyon, and the sea.

§ 21. ὥρμων, sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

§ 22. οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . οἴκαδε. According to Diod. xv. 72 the Thebans were so dissatisfied with the small results of this campaign that on his return home they listened to the charges of treachery brought against Epaminondas by his enemies, and acted on them so far as to deprive him of his Boeotarchship.

εἰς Σικυῶνα, 'into the territory of Sicyon': cp. iv. 4. 15 εἰς Φλειοῦντα. This incursion proves that the Sicyonians had joined the Thebans: cp. § 18 note.

Δέρας: the site of this fort is unknown.

πρώτη: cp. § 28 δευτέρα βοήθεια; Xenophon must mean the first and second occasions of assistance given to the Lacedaemonians against the Thebans, as in v. 1. 28 and vi. 2. 33, 35. Dionysius had already in 387 and 373 sent similar succours to the Lacedaemonians.

ἀπέπλευσεν probably marks the end of the summer 369: cp. Diod. xv. 70 and Introd. p. lxxviii.

§ 23. Λυκομήδης: for the part played by Lycomedes as one of the founders of Megalopolis, and afterwards as a general of the new Arcadian League cp. vi. 5, 6, 13 notes and Diod. xv. 67.

ἐνδεής: for the positive, where the comparative as in iv. 1. 6 would be expected, cp. Thuc. i. 70 τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πράξαι.

αὐτόχθονες. So Herodotus (viii. 73) calls the Arcadians and Cynurians the only autochthonous peoples of the Peloponnesus living on their original territories: cp. Thuc. i. 2.

πλείστον . . . φύλων: so Polybius, ii. 38; iv. 32.

ἐπικούρων. Herodotus (viii. 26) speaks of certain Arcadians βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοί offering their services to Xerxes, when he was marching against Greece: they frequently appear as mercenaries in the Peloponnesian War; cp. Thuc. iii. 34; vii. 57.

εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας: cp. § 22 εἰς Σικυῶνα.

§ 24. σωφρονῆτε: transition to *oratio recta* without ἔφη, as in § 44.

κατὰ μέρος, 'by turns.'

§ 25. ἐμβαλόντων . . . Ἀργείων. Schneider supposed that this was an incident of the Theban attack upon Epidaurus narrated in § 18: but Grote (x. 19) is probably right in regarding it as a separate expedition. Indeed, according to Diod. xv. 67, the Arcadians immediately after the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus had in a similar manner under the leadership of Lycomedes stormed the Lacedaemonian town of Pellene some ten miles north of Sparta on the river Eurotas; and too § 26 compared with § 22 implies that it was a later expedition.

Χαβρίου: cp. § 15 note.

χρώμενοι, i. e. 'although not only the men they had to face, but the country they had to cross, was hostile to them.'

Ἀσίνη. Strabo (viii. 363) also speaks of an Asine in Laconia on the west coast of the Laconian Gulf between Gythium and (Ps)amathus: cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. It is however difficult to believe, notwithstanding Xenophon's encomium, that the Arcadians would have ventured at this time to penetrate far into the southernmost peninsula of Laconia. Grote accordingly supposes that the Messenian Asine is meant (cp. Smith's Dict. of Geography). If his hypothesis be right, it follows that Asine had not been incorporated in the new independent district of Messenia.

Λακαίνης, poetical form for Λακωνική, as in § 29: cp. Her. vii. 235; Eur. Andr. 151.

γεγεννημένον: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361.

§ 26. ἀπαιτοῦντες: cp. vi. 5. 2.

ἀς . . . ἀφηρέθησαν: in 397 B.C., cp. iii. 2. 30.

αὐτούς, i. e. τοὺς Ἀρκάδας.

Ἀρκάδες . . . εἶναι: cp. Polyb. iv. 77 ἡ (Τριφυλία) τῆς μὲν προσηγορίας τέτευχε ταύτης ἀπὸ Τριφύλου τοῦ τῶν Ἀρκάδος παίδων ἑνός.

δυσμενῶς εἶχον: actual hostilities did not break out till 365: cp. vii. 4. 12.

¶ 368-367 B.C.

§ 27. Φιλίσκος . . . παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους: cp. Diod. xv. 70 Φιλίσκος μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλὲς κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν

Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαλύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολέμους, εἰρήνην δὲ κοινὴν συνθέσθαι. It is difficult to suppose that the Persian, whether the king or the satrap, took the initiative: Grote accordingly (x. 20) conjectures that it was at the instance of the Athenians: Stern (p. 191) with more probability supposes that the Spartans, remembering the Peace of Antalcidas and its renewal in 371, now tried to effect once more by foreign aid what they could not gain by their own prowess. The latter hypothesis is to some extent confirmed (1) by the part which Dionysius of Syracuse, the warm ally of Sparta, seems to have played in the congress (cp. CIA. ii. 51 and Köhler's comments on it in Mitth. d. arch. Instit. i. 15); (2) by Philiscus' raising mercenaries apparently to aid the Lacedaemonians; and (3) by the Thebans sending ambassadors to Susa in the following year to counteract the influence of the Spartan envoy Euthycles at the Persian Court, § 33.

χρήματα . . . πολλά, i. e. to hire mercenaries: v. infr.

συνήγαγε. It is to be supposed, whether Philiscus' mission emanated from the king or from Ariobarzanes, that the meeting of deputies from the various Greek states, including the Lacedaemonians and their enemies the Thebans, could be convened under no less authority than that of the Great King himself: cp. v. 1. 30. The general change in the posture of affairs in Greece is marked by the congress meeting at Delphi instead of Sparta or Athens.

ὅπως ἂν . . . γένοιτο: for ὅπως ἄν with opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Μεσσήνην. It is in this casual manner that Xenophon first notices the foundation of Messene, which was the most important result of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: cp. vi. 5. 51 note. Also according to Isocr. vi. 11 the allies in their anxiety for peace were eager for the Spartans to abandon their claim to Messenia: but according to Diodorus (xv. 70) the negotiations failed, as in 371 B.C., because the Thebans once more refused to recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian cities.

ξενικὸν . . . Λακεδαιμονίων. Xenophon makes no further mention of these mercenaries. Diodorus (l. c.) states ἀπογνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης ὁ μὲν Φιλίσκος καταλιπὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δισχιλίους

ἐπιλέκτους μισθοφόρους ἔχοντας τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν; but he too says nothing more about the mercenaries. The motives therefore, whether of Ariobarzanes or Artaxerxes, remain quite in the dark: for it is difficult to suppose that Ariobarzanes was already meditating his revolt from Darius, which did not take place till 362 B. C. It must have been at the time of the Delphian Congress that the Athenians honoured Ariobarzanes and Philiscus with the citizenship: cp. Dem. xxiii. 141. It does, however, appear from the last words of the sentence that Persia still meant to support Sparta: cp. § 33.

§ 28. τούτων . . . πραττομένων: cp. Introd. p. lxviii.

Ἀθηναίων. According to Diodorus it was not till later in the summer that the Athenians became the allies of Alexander of Pherae, after that he had seized Pelopidas and Ismenias: but monumental evidence (CIA. ii. 52 and 52 b c) shows that in this year Athens formed an alliance with Dionysius of Syracuse, and tried to strengthen her power in Mytilene and Leucas, while later on Iphicrates was sent (Aeschin. ii. 29) with a squadron into Macedonian waters; so that we must suppose, that the successes of the Thebans in the North in 369 had already roused the Athenians to make every effort to counteract them.

ἰέναι . . . τάναντία: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

Θετταλίαν . . . Θηβαίοις. This is the only hint that Xenophon, whose narrative becomes more and more a Peloponnesian, not to say a Spartan, Chronicle, gives us of the Theban interference in Thessalian affairs, although in vi. 4 he went out of his way to insert a digression on Thessalian affairs, describing the death of Jason and the fortunes of his successors down to the reign of Tisiphonus in 358 B.C. It appears, however, from Diodorus (xv. 67, 71), Plutarch (Pel. 26-29), and Pausanias (ix. 15) that the first Theban expedition into Thessaly under Pelopidas was simultaneous with the second invasion of the Peloponnesus in 369, and was sent in response to an invitation of the Thessalians to liberate them from the tyranny of Alexander of Pherae, who had shortly before murdered his kinsman Polyphron, the Tagus of Thessaly, and attempted to succeed him in that office. Pelopidas seized Larisa and Crannon, limited the powers of Alexander to Pherae only, and reorganized the whole Thessalian constitution. He also interfered

in Macedonian affairs in favour of Alexander the son of Amyntas, who was a claimant for the throne. At the end of the season he returned to Boeotia.

Ἀρχίδαμος: cp. vi. 4. 18-26.

Καρύας: cp. vi. 5. 25; Polyæn. i. 41. 5.

Παρρασίους: in SW. Arcadia: cp. Paus. vi. 8. 2.

μετ' αὐτῶν, i.e. with Dionysius' contingent and τὰ πολιτικά.

Μηλέας: this is Müller's conjecture for *Μηδέας*: for the situation of Malea cp. vi. 5. 24.

ὁς εἰρημένος: personal construction instead of *ὃν εἴρητο παραμένειν*: cp. Cyrop. vi. 2. 38 τῶν μὲν προειρημένων ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν.

§ 29. *ὑπετέμνοντο . . . ἐπὶ στενόν*: pregnant construction, 'cut him off in a narrow defile into which they had forced him': see Critical Note.

οἱ Μεσσήνιοι: cp. § 27 note.

ἐγένοντο, i.e. the united forces of Archidamus and the Sicilian mercenaries: cp. § 31.

ἐν . . . ἐκτροπῇ, i.e. in the place where a cross-road turns off to the territory of the Eutresii. The Eutresian villages a few miles north of Megalopolis are enumerated by Pausanias (viii. 27. 3).

εἰς τὴν Λάκαιναν, the destination of their expedition: the battle was fought in Arcadia.

ἐκβάς, i.e. out of the narrow defile into the *χωρίον ἐπίπεδον*.

§ 30. *ἔφασαν*: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

ἀναβλέψωμεν: cp. Plut. Ages. 33 *πρότερόν γέ* (i.e. before this 'Tearless' Victory) *φασιν οὐδὲ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀντιβλέπειν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰσχυνομένους ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαισαν*.

§ 31. *αἰσίους*, i.e. on the right-hand side.

[*οὗ . . . λέγεται*]: struck out by Cobet, Breitenbach, &c. as the interpolation of some scholiast who wished to recall the Heraclid descent of the Spartan kings: cp. Critical Note.

δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυ: having waited for the enemy till they came within spear throw: iv. 3. 17 *εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι*.

Κελτῶν: cp. § 20.

§ 32. *οὐδὲ εἰς*: cp. Diod. xv. 72 *ἔπεσον γὰρ Ἀρκάδων μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, Λακεδαιμονίων δ' οὐδέεις. προείπον δ' αὐτοῖς αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἰέρειαι διότι ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄδακρυς ἔσται*: cp. Plut. Ages. 33.

ἔφασαν: cp. § 30.

ἀρξαμένους . . . ἐφόρων πάντας, i.e. 'from the least to the greatest.'

κλαίειν : this victory was known as ἡ ἄδακρυς μάχη : cp. Diod. l. c.
ἤχθοντο : for this feeling cp. §§ 22, 23.

367-366 B.C.

§ 33. ὅπως ἂν . . . λάβοιεν : for opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ἡγεμονίαν . . . Ἑλλάδος. This phrase exactly represents Xenophon's attitude towards the Thebans : in his view they simply wanted to supplant the Spartans, and take from them their rightful and hereditary Hegemony. If the Spartans with all their traditional claims could not effectively exercise this, no other state, he thought, possibly could fill their place.

ἐν ἐκείνῳ : Morus reads παρά, i.e. with the King of Persia : cp. § 34. The MSS. ἐν yields no satisfactory meaning : cp. Critical Note.

Εὐθυκλῆς . . . βασιλεί : cp. § 27 note and Plut. Pel. 30 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενοι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἀναβαίνοντας ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας ἔπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πελοπίδαν. No other authority throws any further light on these negotiations of the Spartans certainly and probably of the Athenians also, which we may naturally conjecture arose out of Philiscus' mission of the previous year.

Πελοπίδας. This is the first mention in Xenophon's narrative of the great Theban liberator : cp. § 28 note. In 368 the Thessalians had again complained at Thebes against Alexander of Pherae, when Pelopidas, relying on the reputation he had gained in Thessaly the previous year, ventured northwards without an army to act as mediator : after many adventures he was seized by Alexander and kept as a prisoner, and only rescued by Epaminondas at the head of a powerful Theban army shortly before this embassy to Persia : cp. Diod. xv. 71 ; Plut. Pel. 27-29.

Ἀντίοχος. Pausanias (vi. 3. 9) also speaks of an Antiochus, a παγκρατιαστής, whose statue he had seen at Olympia, but represents him as a native of Lepreum.

Ἀρχίδαμος : possibly the same as the Olympic victor mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 1. 3 ; 17. 5.

Ἀργεῖος : probably the same as the Elean democrat mentioned vii. 4. 15. Stern (p. 201), however, arguing that the other Theban allies, viz. the Argives and Messenians, must have sent envoys at the same time, conjectures that a line must have fallen out of the

text in which the names of the Argive and Messenian envoys were given: cp. Grote, x. 37.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: for the interests of Athens at stake cp. § 36 note.

§ 34. ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο. The presence of all these envoys from the various jealous and hostile Greek states is paralleled by the instance of 409: cp. i. 3. 13.

ἐπλεονέκτει. Plutarch (Pel. 30) tells the story with the most elaborate details.

μόνοι, sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι: cp. Her. ix. 31.

συνεμάχοντο . . . στρατεύσαιντο: the indicative expresses a definite fact, the optative the reflection of the speaker: cp. however Goodwin, M. T. 672.

οὐκ ἐβλήσαιεν: for the facts cp. iii. 4. 3 ff.: for the opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 693.

§ 35. συνεβάλλετο: cp. Plut. l. c. οὐ γὰρ ἡρέμα δούκτο τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἢ δόξα τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγώνων, ἀλλ', ὥς πρῶτος περὶ τῆς ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχης ἐξέδραμε λόγος, αἰεὶ τινος καινοῦ προστιθεμένου κατορθώματος αὐξανομένη καὶ ἀναβαίνουσα πορρωτάτω κατέσχευ.

ἡττημένοι: cp. § 30.

Τιμαγόρας. Demosthenes (xix. 137) says that the king gave him 40 talents: cp. Plut. l. c.

§ 36. γραφῆναι: so v. I. 30 τὰ γεγραμμένα and vi. 3. 12 βασιλεὺς . . . ἔγραψε of the Peace of Antalcidas.

Μεσσήνην . . . ἰέναι. Grote (x. 38) with great probability conjectures that these words are not the exact words of the treaty, but that there was also included a clause assigning Triphylia to Elis (cp. §§ 26, 38), and another recognizing the autonomy of Amphipolis (cp. Dem. xix. 137) at that time threatened (cp. following note) by the Athenians. But the whole point of the treaty was that it really made Thebes the προστάτης of the new Peace in the same way as the Spartans in 386 had been προστάται . . . τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλείῳ καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης (v. I. 36).

ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναῦς. The activity of the Athenians at sea at this time has to be gathered rather from monumental than literary sources: thus CIA. ii. 52 c is a decree of 368-367 praising the Mytilenaeans ὅτι καλῶς καὶ προθύμως συνεπολέμησαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν παρελθόντα (against the Lacedaemonians [?] 378-371); CIA. ii. 52 b is a decree of the same year recording negotiations between Athens

and Leucas; and CIA. ii. 52 is a decree of 368-367 recording an alliance of Athens with Dionysius I of Syracuse. Moreover, Diodorus (xv. 71) speaks of an Athenian expedition of 30 ships under Autocles as sent out in 368 to assist Alexander of Pherae against Pelopidas; and it appears from Aeschines (ii. 29 ff.) that about the same time the Athenians despatched Iphicrates to Amphipolis ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ μᾶλλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ πολιορκία τῆς πόλεως: cp. Corn. Nep. Iphic. 3. Altogether, therefore, the Thebans had good reason to fear the growing maritime activity of Athens: cp. §§ 27, 28 notes.

§ 37. ἀπήγγειλεν, i. e. interpreted.

ἐξήνεγκε: perhaps out of the cabinet, where the scribe wrote out the Terms of the Peace.

εἰ δέ τι . . . διδάσκειν: the content of the προσγεγραμμένα.

§ 38. Τιμαγόραν: cp. Dem. xix. 191 Λέων Τιμαγόρου κατηγορεῖ συμπεπρεσβευκῶς τέτταρ' ἔτη, and 137 [Βασιλεὺς] ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ Τιμαγόρου καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλανθ' ὥς λέγεται δεδωκῶς αὐτῷ . . . πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν πάλιν ὑμετέραν δούλην κατέπεμψεν, ἣν τότε σύμμαχον αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλην ἔγραψεν· εἴτ' οὐδενὶ πώποτ' ἔδωκε χρήματα τοῦ λοιποῦ. Plutarch (Artax. 22) says that the condemnation of Timagoras was due to his taking bribes, but in Pel. 30 adds that it was rather due to exasperation ὅτι Θηβαίοις ἐγεγόνει πάντα—a reason which agrees better with Xenophon's μετὰ Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο.

ἐθέλοι . . . βουλεύοιτο: pres. opt. representing imperf. indic. in *orat. recta*; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

προυτίμησε . . . ἡλαττοῦτο: cp. § 36 note.

τοὺς μυρίους: the Pan-Arcadian assembly at Megalopolis: cp. vi. 5. 6 note.

οἱ γε, emphatic: cp. Resp. Athen. ii. 17 ἀρέσκει οἱ γε [ἔμοιγε Kirchhoff] and Anab. i. 1. 8 δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις: otherwise rare in Attic Greek except as an enclitic.

πλάτανον: given to Darius Hystaspes by Pythius the Lydian: Her. vii. 27.

§ 39. συνεκάλεσαν, i. e. to Thebes, as appears from the context.

ὁ Πέρσης . . . σφραγίδα: cp. the similar conduct of Tiribazus in 387, v. 1. 30; cp. i. 4. 3.

ταῦτα, i. e. τὰ γεγραμμένα: a rather unusual construction.

Λυκομήδης: cp. § 23.

τὸ συμμαχικόν, i.e. the terms of the alliance between the Thebans, Arcadians, Eleans, &c.: cp. § 32.

§ 40. ὑπέστησαν, 'resisted': cp. Anab. iii. 2. 11.

περιβολή: cp. the Latin 'affectatio imperii'; and for the fact § 33.

§ 41. Ἐπαμεινώνδας. This is Xenophon's first mention of the great Theban general: cp. Introd. p. xxviii.

προσαγαγέσθαι: cp. Diod. xv. 75 Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος μετὰ δυνάμειος ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας πόλεις προσηγάγετο, Δύμην δὲ καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδῶνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν: cp. iv. 6. 14. Epaminondas thus secured the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf on both sides in the Theban interest, and thereby a safe approach by sea to the Peloponnese.

ὅπως . . . νοῦν: the object of this expedition evidently was to effect by force what the Thebans had just failed to effect by negotiations.

σφίσι, i.e. the Thebans.

τὸ Ὀνειον: cp. § 15.

§ 42. προσπεσόντων, 'having supplicated.'

φυγαδεῦσαι: the subject must be τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, the Achaean democrats.

§ 43. ἀντιστασιωτῶν. It is not quite clear, whether Xenophon means the Achaean democrats or the Theban opponents of Epaminondas: but the former is more probable, as ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις follows immediately.

κατεσκευακώς: for the meaning cp. ii. 2. 5.

ἄρροστας: cp. vii. 3. 4, 9 and iv. 8. 8: the Thebans imitate ever more closely the old imperious policy of Sparta.

οὐκέτι ἐμέσενον, 'no longer remained neutral' as before.

§ 44. ἀρχαίους νόμους, i.e. under an oligarchy: hence it appears that when two years earlier (§ 18) Epaminondas had forced Sicyon to join the Theban side, he had permitted the oligarchical constitution to stand unaltered.

ὁ Εὐφρων: cp. Diod. xv. 70 Εὐφρων ὁ Σικυνώνιος, διαφέρων θράσει καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ, συνεργοὺς λαβὼν Ἀργείους ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι. κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τετταράκοντα τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους τῶν Σικωνίων ἐφυγάδεν, δήμεύσας αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων κυριεύσας μισθοφόρους

ἤθροισε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐδυνάστευσεν. Diodorus antedates the affair some three years.

μέγιστος : cp. vii. 3. 8 φιλαίτατος ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοις.

τύχη, impersonal : 'when a chance offers.'

ἄσμενος . . . ἀποφυγών, i.e. ἄσμενος ἂν ἀπέφυγον [πάλαι] εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν.

§ 45. ἐπὶ τοῖς . . . ὁμοίοις : cp. § 1.

§ 46. πιστούς : to be construed with ἐποιήσατο.

χρημάτων : cp. vii. 3. 8.

ὅπως . . . διεπράττετο : διαπραττέσθαι is constructed with the infinitive, more usually without, but sometimes with ὥστε : cp. iv. 4. 7. ὅπως is here used, because the dependent clause also depends on συνηκολούθει.

τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, adverbial : 'partly . . . partly.' It appears from vii. 2. 11 that a Theban commandant and garrison must have been present in Sicyon during the whole course of Euphron's proceedings.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1-9. *Though hard pressed by the Argives and Sicyonians, the Phliasians persisted in their friendship with the Lacedaemonians. They had already proved their fidelity at the time of the Theban invasion of Laconia; and again, when the Thebans were once more about to enter Peloponnesus, they delivered their city from the Argives and their allies, even after a traitorous party had actually seized the acropolis.* §§ 10-16. *Next year the Phliasians again repelled an attack of the Argives and Arcadians. At another time the Theban governor of Sicyon together with Euphron and the Sicyonians and Pellenians entered the Phliasian territory on a marauding expedition, but was speedily driven out with considerable loss. Again the Phliasians released a Pellenian prisoner without a ransom.* §§ 17-23. *The Phliasians were hard pressed for provisions: some they got by forays, some by purchase from Corinth. Chares acted as escort of their convoys. On one occasion he was persuaded to join them in an attack upon the Sicyonians, who were fortifying the outpost of Thyamia. The enemy were taken by surprise, and the Phliasians made the outpost into a fort of their own.*

366-365 B.C.

§ 1. ἐπιτετειχικότων : cp. iii. 2. 1 note.

Τρικάρανον : cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρικάρανον, φρούριον τῆς Φλειασίας ; it is the hill with three low summits, which forms the NE. boundary of the Phliasian plain. The Heraeum is stated by Pausanias (ii. 13. 4) to be near the acropolis—on the slope of the hill : cp. §§ 6, 11.

Θυαμίαν : must have been on the north side of Tricaranum ; Xenophon in § 20 returns to the Sicyonians engaged in fortifying their outpost.

ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ : the fidelity of the Phliasians to the Lacedaemonian alliance is the theme of the whole chapter : cp. esp. § 17 and vii. 3. 1.

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ : cp. Introd. p. xxxi.

μικρὰ πόλις : Phlius, according to v. 3. 16, numbered πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες.

§ 2. φίλοι . . . ἐγένοντο. Xenophon seems to refer to the year 379, when after the surrender of the town by the democrats Agesilaus regulated the constitution in the oligarchical interest : cp. v. 3. 25. From this time onwards the Phliasians had remained faithful to Sparta.

περιοίκων . . . Εἰλώτων . . . συμμάχων : cp. vi. 5. 25, 28 note.

πιστοὶ διέμειναν : the Phliasian cavalry fought at Leuctra, vi. 4. 9. Again, the Phliasians enthusiastically joined Archidamus' army of rescue after the disaster (vi. 4. 18), supported Agesilaus in Arcadia in the following year (vi. 5. 14-17), and hurried to the Spartan assistance at the time of the first Theban invasion in 369 (vi. 5. 29 : cp. the speech of the Phliasian Procles, vii. 1. 1-11).

ἐβοήθησαν : cp. vi. 5. 29.

εἰς Πρασιάς : cp. Thuc. ii. 56 τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλιν εἰς Πρασιάς : Paus. iii. 24. 4. The town lay on the Cynurian coast.

Πελληγεῖς . . . τότε : cp. vii. 1. 18 note ; 4. 17.

§ 3. ἀλλ' οὐδ' : ἀλλά is used as if λαχόντες had been a finite verb owing to the long parenthesis ἦσαν δ' οὔτοι . . . ἀφέστασαν : cp. Appendix, p. 361.

ξεναγός : cp. iii. 5. 7.

ὄντων . . . Ἀμύκλας : cp. vi. 5. 30.

βοῦν ξένια : cp. Anab. iv. 8. 24 ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες.

§ 4. εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα : cp. vii. I. 23 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

οὐδὲν διαφέρων ᾗ : διαφέρων adverbial like διαφερόντως. For ἡ εἰ cp. iii. 4. 19.

§ 5. αὖθις . . . Ὀνειον : for the occasion cp. vii. I. 15 : the Argives also took part cp. § 8.

Ἡλείων : cp. Appendix, p. 361.

προσήμεγκαν . . . λόγον, 'made an offer,' i.e. to the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans.

οἱ σκοποί : the context shows that the Phliasian patriots are meant : the Tricaranum did not fall into the hands of the Argives till two years later ; cp. § 1.

ὥς . . . ἐπιόντων : cp. iii. 4. I note for the participial construction.

§ 6. τὰ ὄπλα, 'the outpost' : cp. ii. 4. 6 ; iv. 5. 6.

πεμπάδος. Xenophon means apparently that ten squads of five guarded the post by night, and that by day one member of each squad was left on duty.

Ἡραιον : cp. § 1 note.

ὀρώντος : cp. vii. I. 17.

§ 7. πολιορκούμενοι, 'hemmed in.'

τὸ . . . μέσον, i.e. the space inside the acropolis, which was, as appears from Paus. ii. 13. 3-5, of considerable extent.

§ 8. ἐχώρου, sc. οἱ πολῖται : 'the citizens came to close quarters with them with reckless desperation,' Dakyns.

ὑπ' αὐτῶν : i.e. by the citizens.

οἱ Ἀργεῖοι : omitted in § 5.

κατὰ κεφαλὴν. The acropolis evidently was on a hill above the city on the north side, so that the Arcadians and their allies coming from the south along the Nemean road would have to circle round the city walls (ἐκυκλοῦντο) before they reached the acropolis : κατὰ κεφαλὴν ought to mean 'down from above,' 'from a higher level' (cp. § 11), so that the acropolis itself must have been built on the slope of the hill, and the Argives must have got round to its upper side.

τῶν δ' ἔνδοθεν, i.e. the patriotic citizens : for the various readings cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361. The meaning evidently is, that the patriotic Phliasians who had rushed into the acropolis with the retreating conspirators had to fight simultaneously

against the enemy on the wall, against the Argives and their allies trying to scale the wall from outside, and against such of them (*αὐτῶν*) as had mounted on to the towers.

αὐτούς, i. e. the towers.

τεθερισμένα: according to Paus. ii. 13. 2 the acropolis contained a cypress grove and several temples.

οἱ . . . ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. iii. 1. 22.

§ 9. *ἐξήλαννον*, i. e. out of the city.

ἀπεχώρουν, i. e. to unite with the Thebans for their attack upon Sicyon: cp. § 5 with vii. 1. 18.

τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα: cp. iii. 2. 4 note for the article.

πιεῖν . . . φερούσας: infin. of purpose, cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

τῷ ὄντι: denotes a reference to a proverbial expression: cp. Hiero, 3. 5 *νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τάγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι*; Symp. 2. 24 *τῷ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς λύπας κοιμίζει*.

κλαυσίγελως: cp. vii. 1. 32; Cyrop. vii. 5. 32; and Hom. Il. vi. 484 *ἢ δ' ἄρα μιν κηῶδει δέξατο κόλπῳ δακρύνειν γέλασσα*.

§ 10. *τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει*: 368 B.C. This attack on Phlius may have taken place just after the Arcadians rescued the Argives at Epidaurus from Chabrias and the Athenians and Corinthians: cp. vii. 1. 25.

ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, lit. 'they held the Phliasians in between their own territories': i. e. Phlius lay between the Argolis and Arcadia.

τοῦ ποταμοῦ, i. e. the Asopus: cp. Paus. ii. 5. 2.

φυλαττομένους: ironical, 'holding aloof from the corn in the plain, lest they should trample it down, as if it belonged to their friends,' both *ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ* and *μὴ καταπατήσειαν* are dependent on *φυλαττομένους*.

§ 11. *αὖθις*: the date is fixed to 366 by the presence of Euphron (cp. Introd. p. lxix), so that Xenophon has now brought his Phliasian digression down almost to the same date as his general narrative: cp. vii. 1. 46; 2. 1, 20 about Thyamia.

ὁ . . . ἄρχων: cp. vii. 1. 43 and 46 note.

Πελληνέας: cp. vii. 1. 18; 2. 2.

Εὐφρων . . . μισθοφόρους: cp. vii. 1. 46.

τοῦ Τρικάρανου: cp. § 1.

κατὰ . . . πύλας: on the NE. side of the city.

κατὰ κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν, 'above them': cp. § 8.

§ 12. οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, 'did not allow them to enter the plain': cp. ii. 4. 11. To give any force to ἀνά, one must suppose that there was a dip in the ground between the Phliasians and the enemy.

§ 13. κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικάρανου, i. e. meaning to join the Pellenians, they fetched a compass up the slopes of Mount Tricaranum to avoid a ravine (φάραγξ) formed by a stream which flows from east to west just to the south of the city.

ὥστε . . . ἀφικέσθαι: the more usual construction is ὥστε μή: τὴν σύντομον, sc. ὁδόν.

μικρὸν . . . προπέμψαντες, having 'escorted their retreating foes a little way up the steep,' Dakyns.

τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος, sc. ὁδόν, i. e. along the east wall of the city.

§ 14. δεξαμένων: sc. τῶν Πελληνέων: gen. abs. cp. i. 1. 26.

§ 15. λαμπρόν: adverbial with παιανίζοντες.

ὥσπερ . . . περιδεδραμηκότες (better παραδεδραμηκότες: cp. Critical Note), 'like men who had raced to see a sight,' Dakyns.

§ 16. πρόξενον: Schneider writes it as a proper name.

πῶς οὐκ . . . φαίη: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

§ 17. ἔργοντο, i. e. by the ἐπιτείχισμα which the Argives had (§ 1) established upon Mount Tricaranum, apparently just after the incursion described above, §§ 11-15.

τιμὴν, i. e. the money to pay for the provisions.

τοὺς πορίζοντας διαπραττόμενοι. This seems very otiose: Madvig therefore proposes τοὺς κομίζοντας, sc. τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, 'getting men to procure the provisions.' Hartman conjectures διαπορεύοντες, but the word can hardly mean, as he would have it, 'to escort safely through the midst.' Dobree's conjecture τὴν παραπομπήν (the following τὴν παραπομπήν being rejected) yields the best sense: cp. Critical Note.

ἐγγυητάς, i. e. to go bail for the beasts of burden in case they fell into the hands of the enemy.

§ 18. Χάρητα: cp. § 10 and Diod. xv. 75 Φλειασίοις δὲ (367-366 B.C.) πολεμουμένοις ὑπ' Ἀργείων Χάρης, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πεμφθεὶς στρατηγός, μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐβοήθησε τοῖς Φλειασίοις πολιορκουμένοις· νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Ἀργείους δυσὶ μάχαις καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περιποιήσας τοῖς Φλειασίοις ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

ἐγένοντο: the subject is by no means obvious. Hartman's correction ἐγένετο (i. e. Chares) should be adopted: cp. Critical Note.

εἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. By this time the Pellenians must once

more have joined the Lacedaemonians (cp. vii. 4. 17) and so become friendly to the Phliasians, perhaps in consequence of the generous treatment of their countryman narrated in § 16.

ἀγοράσαντες: apparently in Pellene, notwithstanding τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ὠνούμενοι of the previous section.

§ 19. ἔργου . . . εἶχοντο, 'set to work': cp. v. 3. 2 and Cyrop. vii. 1. 27 ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντα τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτός.

μέχρι πόρρω: cp. Isocr. xv. 4 μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας.

§ 20. χωρίον, i. e. Thyamia: cp. § 1. A comparison of these two sections fixes the dates of these occurrences.

τροπήν: cp. Critical Note.

ἀνακοίναςαι, 'consult': cp. vi. 3. 8 and vii. 1. 27: in this sense the active is more common.

ἐπιτελειχικώς: used absolutely, 'you will have secured a stronghold (Thyamia) whence to harass the enemy.'

§ 21. ὅσα εἰς πεζόν, sc. ἐστί, 'made the preparations necessary for infantry': vi. 1. 10; 2. 27 πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο.

§ 22. αὐτοῦ: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

τῆς ὥρας: a kind of partitive genitive dependent on μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου.

§ 23. κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη: a strange expression, meaning apparently 'ordering out by the voice of the herald': in such cases it is usually constructed with an infinitive, as in Cyrop. iv. 2. 32: 5.

41. Hartman conjectures ζεύξαντες: cp. Critical Note.

ἔωσπερ . . . τείχος: the work was slow in completion: cp. vii. 4. 1.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-5. *Aeneas, general of the Arcadians, resolved to put an end to the tyranny of Sicyon. Euphron fled to the harbour, which he delivered over to the Lacedaemonians. With the help of some mercenaries he once more made himself master of the city, though the Theban harmost still retained the acropolis. Then he set out to Thebes to persuade the authorities to recognize his supremacy in Sicyon. His enemies followed him and murdered him there.* §§ 6-12. *The Theban magistrates brought the assassins before the Council. All denied the charge save one who defended the righteousness of the act. The Thebans acquitted the accused: but the Sicyonian democrats buried Euphron in their market-place and still worship him as their founder.*

§ 1. *περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον*, i. e. 366 : cp. *Introd.* p. lxix.

Αἰνέας : another Aeneas of Stymphalus is mentioned in *Anab.* iv. 7. 13. Casaubon conjectured that the Aeneas of the *Hellenics* was Aeneas Tacticus, the author of the *Treatise on Siege Operations*.

στρατηγός. Freeman, comparing *Diod.* xv. 62 (*Λυκομήδης ὁ Μαντινεύς, στρατηγὸς ὦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων*) conjectures that he was the single Federal General at the head of the whole League : cp. *Federal Government*, p. 159.

τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι : cp. vii. 1. 44.

εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. The citadel was at the time held by a Theban harmost, who must, therefore, have given his support to Aeneas : cp. § 4 ; vii. 2. 11.

ἄνευ δόγματος, i. e. not by decree of the people, but through the caprice of Euphron : cp. vii. 1. 46.

§ 2. *τὸν λιμένα* : some three or four miles distant from the city.

Πασίμηλον : probably the same Pasimelus as in iv. 4. 4, 7.

τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, i. e. he began once more to pose as an ally of Sparta. For his previous connexion with Sparta cp. vii. 1. 44.

ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο : cp. vii. 1. 18.

§ 3. *ἐαυτόν* : cp. *Appendix*, p. 362.

δῆμον καταστήσαι, 'had set up a democracy' : cp. vii. 1. 44.

ὑμᾶς, i. e. the Lacedaemonians.

§ 4. *ἀλλὰ γάρ* : the force of the particles seems to be : 'however (ἀλλά), what effect Euphron's speech had on the Lacedaemonians, I pass over for the present ; for (γάρ), since I have begun, I wish, &c.' : cp. vii. 2. 1.

Θηβαίου ἀρμοστοῦ : cp. vii. 2. 11.

§ 5. *τοῖς ἄρχουσι* : apparently the Boeotarchs.

ἀποσφάττουσιν : for the date cp. *Introd.* p. lxix.

§ 7. *ὡμολογῇκει* : cp. *Appendix*, p. 362.

ὑπερορᾶν . . . εἰδεῖν : for the moods cp. Goodwin, *M. T.* 555.

τῖνι μὲν, correlative to *ὑπερορᾶν μὲν*.

τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην : cp. v. 4. 2, 7.

οὐ ψῆφον . . . ἀλλά : this parenthetical remark separates the verb *ἐτιμωρήσασθε* from its object *τοὺς . . . Ὑπάτην*. Cp. *Appendix*, p. 362.

τῶν φανερώς προδοτῶν : for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 3. 38 ; 4. 2 ; v. 4. 14 ; vii. 3. 8.

§ 8. παραλαβὼν μὲν : the three counts in the accusation are distinguished by μὲν . . . γε μὴν . . . καὶ μήν.

φιλαίτατος : cp. vii. I. 44 : cp. Critical Note.

τὸν λιμένα : cp. § 2.

οἱ βέλτιστοι : the assassins of Euphron belonged to this party ; cp. § 5.

§ 10. ἐκὼν . . . ἀπεχόμενον. The meaning, though obscure, seems rightly to be explained by Breitenbach, “ ‘he came of his own free will,’ which he would not have done, had he been our enemy : rather would he as an enemy have kept at a distance from Thebes.’ This explains ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως.

ποῦ ἔχων. The participle refers to φησί τις ; construe ἔχων ἀποδείξαι, ‘where can he show a treaty subsisting between Greeks and either traitors or’ &c.—so that such a traitorous tyrant as Euphron could not justly be put to death. Cp. Appendix, p. 362.

§ 11. ἀγωγίμους . . . συμμαχίδων, ‘liable to arrest in any of the allied states’ : the speaker means that the Sicyonians as the allies of the Thebans had by treaty the right to demand of them the surrender of any fugitive like Euphron : cp. Plut. Lys. 27 Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀγωγίμους εἶναι πανταχόθεν, ἐκσπόνδους δὲ τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τοῖς ἄγουσι : cp. Critical Note.

τετιωρηκότας ἔσεσθαι : for the periphrasis cp. vii. 5. 18 and Anab. vii. 6. 36 κατακεκονότες ἔσεσθε.

πεποιηκέναι, sc. ἐμέ.

αὐτοὺς, i. e. you yourselves.

§ 12. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Plutarch (Arat. 53) records that the Sicyonians paid a similar honour to Aratus, notwithstanding an ἀρχαῖος νόμος μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχῶν ἐντός.

ὥς ἀρχηγέτην : so the Amphipolitans honoured Brasidas, Thuc. v. 11.

οἱ πλείστοι, ‘the masses.’

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. Oropus was seized by some exiles. The Athenians marched to recover the place, sending for Chares from Thyamia. The Sicyonians recaptured their harbour. Being unsupported by their allies, the Athenians retired, leaving Oropus in the hands of the Thebans to await arbitration. §§ 2, 3. Lycomedes persuaded the Arcadian Ten Thousand to allow him to

negotiate an alliance with Athens. He was successful in his mission, but perished on his return voyage.

§§ 4, 5. *The Athenians planning a surprise upon Corinth, the Corinthians dismissed their Athenian garrison and refused to admit Chares and his fleet.*

§§ 6-11. *The Corinthians, weary of war, asked the Thebans if they would consent to a peace with themselves and their allies. Receiving a favourable answer, they laid their proposals before the Spartans; and though the Spartans refused to end the war so long as Messene remained independent, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and others made their peace with the Thebans. The Argives, however, failed to comply with its conditions.*

§§ 12-14. *Some Sicilian troops sent by Dionysius the Younger helped the Lacedaemonians to recover Sellasia. The Eleans having seized Lasion, the Arcadians invaded their country, defeated them in battle, captured many of their cities, garrisoned the Cronion, and penetrated as far as the market-place of Elis.*

§§ 15, 16. *Previous to this the democrats in Elis had allied themselves with the Arcadians and seized the acropolis. Being expelled from thence and exiled, they had seized on Pylos.*

§§ 17, 18. *Afterwards the Arcadians made another attempt to capture Elis, but were prevented by the Achaeans: in revenge they seized Olurus, which, however, after a long siege was recovered by the Pellenian oligarchs.*

§§ 19-25. *Once more the Arcadians invaded Elis. To create a diversion Archidamus and the Lacedaemonians seized Cromnus. The Arcadians thereupon besieged the Spartan garrison in Cromnus, and foiled all Archidamus' efforts to relieve it, in one skirmish wounding Archidamus and slaying many of his followers.*

§§ 26, 27. *The Eleans captured Pylos, putting all the democratical exiles to death. The Lacedaemonians succeeded in rescuing most of their troops besieged at Cromnus. The remainder fell into the hands of the enemy.*

§§ 28-32. *The Arcadians strengthened their garrison at Olympia, meaning with the help of the Pisatans to celebrate the Olympic festival. When the day arrived, the Eleans attempted to dispossess them, and actually penetrated as far as the Great Altar, having performed prodigies of valour beyond belief.*

§§ 33-35. *The Mantineans having refused to handle the sacred treasures were condemned by the Ten Thousand of breaking up the Arcadian League. Their example spread, and the Ten Thousand voted to use no more of the treasures. This vote strengthened the oligarchs, so that their opponents in alarm invited Theban interference. Then the Arcadians made peace with the Eleans and restored to them the presidency over the temple of Zeus.*

§§ 36-40. *While the Arcadians were celebrating the peace at Tegea, the Theban commandant at the solicitation of certain Arcadians arrested all the oligarchs on whom he could lay hands. Next day the Mantineans demanded the release of their fellow citizens and offered to go bail for all the rest, until they should be duly tried. The Thebans released them all. An accusation was brought against the commandant at Thebes. Epaminondas threatened to march into Arcadia.*

§ 1. *ἔνθεν* . . . *ἐξέβην* : for the phrase cp. vi. 1. 19.

τειχιζόντων : cp. vii. 2. 23.

Ὀρωπὸς . . . *κατελήφθη*. Oropus, a sea-port on the Euripus, near the mouth of the Asopus, as commanding the frontier and the road across it as well as the passage of the Euripus, had always been a bone of contention between the Boeotians and Athenians. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War it had been held by the Athenians (Thuc. ii. 23); in 412 it was betrayed to the Boeotians (Thuc. viii. 60), but shortly afterwards must have become independent, for in 402 the Thebans in response to some Oropian fugitives, who as the result of internal dissensions had been exiled, made themselves masters of the city, rebuilt the town seven stadia away from the sea (Diod. xiv. 17), and after an interval incorporated it with Boeotia. Once more the Oropians seem to have recovered independence, perhaps in accordance with the Peace of Antalcidas; for Isocrates about 373 (xiv. 20) speaks of its restoration to Athens by the voluntary act of the Oropians themselves, probably as the result of some further internal troubles; and in the same speech (§ 37) speaks of constant intrigues on the part of the Thebans to recover the town. Diodorus (xv. 76) gives a different account of the Athenian loss of Oropus here recorded (which, however, is not irreconcilable with Xenophon's) — *Θεμισῶν Ἐρετρίας τύραννος Ὀρωπὸν κατελάβετο· ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων παραλόγως ἀπέβαλε. τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων στρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερεχόντων, οἱ Θηβαῖοι βοηθήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν*. Probably, therefore, οἱ *φεύγοντες* effected their return to Oropus by the aid of the tyrant Themison : cp. Dem. xviii. 99; Aeschin. iii. 85.

ἐπ' αὐτόν, i.e. against Oropus; Hartman, however, supposes that after *κατελήφθη* a whole sentence in which the name of Themison appeared, has fallen out, and accordingly refers the pronoun to him : cp. Critical Note.

ὁ λιμήν : cp. viii. 3. 2.

μέχρι δίκης : whether this arbitration ever took place, and what share the Athenian general Chabrias and the statesman Callistratus had in the affair, is a matter of hopeless uncertainty owing to the confusion of the authorities : cp. Grote, x. 47; Schaefer, Dem. 93 sqq. Oropus at any rate long remained in the hands of the Thebans.

§ 2. ὁ Λυκομήδης: cp. vii. 1. 23.

τοὺς μυρίους: cp. vi. 5. 6; vii. 1. 38.

πράττειν: for the attitude of the Arcadians towards the Thebans cp. vii. 1. 23-26.

ἀγαθόν: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

§ 3. δαιμονιώτατα: cp. vi. 4. 3 ἤδη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν.

οἱ φυγάδες: probably Arcadian oligarchs: cp. Paus. viii. 27. 3-5. Xenophon's brevity leaves the whole matter very obscure.

§ 4. εἰπόντος . . . ἔφη . . . ἀκούσαντες δέ: the same anacoluthon as in iv. 8. 9. Demotion is otherwise unknown.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν: cp. vii. 1. 19, 25, 41 notes.

τὰ δίκαια: of soldier's pay: cp. Anab. vii. 7. 14 τότε ἀπιέναι, ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται.

§ 6. ἠναγκάζοντο, i. e. the Athenians: cp. § 3.

κρατουμένους: for the fact cp. the speech of the Corinthian Cliteles, vi. 5. 37.

§ 7. ἐσομένης, sc. εἰρήνης.

§ 8. ἐν καιρῷ: so iii. 4. 9.

§ 9. ταύτης στερηθῆναι: cp. Isocr. vi. 11 προθύμως οἱ σύμμαχοι συμβεβουλεύκασιν ὑμῖν (τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις), ὡς χρὴ Μεσσήνην ἀφέντας ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. οἷς ὑμεῖς δικαίως ἂν ὀργίζοισθε πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποστᾶσιν ἡμῶν . . . τὴν γὰρ δόξαν, ἣν ἡμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον, ταύτην ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πείθουσιν ὑμᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν, ἧς οὐτ' ἀπρεπεστέραν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι συμφορὰν οὐτε δεινότεραν οὐδέ ποτ' ἂν εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν κ.τ.λ. Isocrates wrote this oration about 366 B.C.

§ 10. ἀγασθέντες . . . οἱ Θηβαῖοι: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐκάστους, i. e. on the basis of the Persian rescript, that each state should be autonomous and Messene independent (cp. vii. 1. 36; Isocr. vi. 1. c.). This probably accounts for Diodorus' (xv. 76) erroneous statement, that the peace was effected through the intervention of the Persian king, and was universally accepted by the Greek states, putting an end to ὁ τε Λακωνικὸς καὶ Βοιωτικὸς πόλεμος, which had lasted five years since the battle of Leuctra.

§ 11. ἐκ τῆς Θυμαίας: cp. § 1.

ὡς . . . ἔχοντας, i. e. as though they (the exiles) were occupying

it as a portion of their own (i. e. Argive) territory : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

παράλαβόντες, i. e. the Argives took the post on Tricaranum away from the exiles.

δίκας : cp. § 1 μέχρι δίκης.

§ 12. περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, 367 : Diod. xv. 73.

Σελλασίαν : cp. vi. 5. 27 and Diod. xv. 64 ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη μερὶς τῶν Βοιωτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησατο ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς τῇδε κατοικοῦντας ἀπέστησε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

365-364 B.C.

Λασιῶνα : cp. iii. 2. 30, and for the claims of the Eleans which had been confirmed by the Persian king cp. vi. 5. 2, 6 ; vii. i. 26, 38. For the seizure cp. Diod. xv. 77 οἱ γὰρ Ἀρκάδων φυγάδες ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἡλίδος κατελάβοντο τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τριφυλίας χωρίον ὄχυρόν δ' προσηγόρευται Λασιῶν. ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων περὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας ἡμφισβήτουν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἡλείοι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκατέρων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπεροχὰς ἐναλλάξ ἐκυρίευνον τῆς χώρας. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τῶν Ἀρκάδων κρατούντων τὴν Τριφυλίαν, προφάσει τῶν φυγάδων ἀφηροῦντο ταύτην τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ Ἡλείοι.

§ 13. παραγγείλαντες. According to Diodorus (l. c.) the Arcadians first sent envoys to demand the restoration of the place, and when this was refused, summoned troops from Athens, their new ally (§ 6), and with their help made the attack.

οἱ τριακόσιοι : probably picked foot soldiers, the four hundred being horsemen, as appears from §§ 16, 31 : cp. vii. 2. 10, and Critical Note.

ἐκ πολλοῦ, 'at a great distance,' opposed to ὁμόσε : cp. iii. 3. 9.

εἰς χεῖρας : cp. ii. 4. 34.

πολλούς : cp. Diod. l. c. πλείους τῶν διακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλον.

§ 14. τῶν Ἀκρωρείων : cp. iii. 2. 30 and Diod. xv. 77 εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες μετεωρισθέντες τῷ προτερήματι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ εἶλον πόλεις Μάργανα καὶ Κρόνιον, ἔτι δὲ Κυπαρισσίαν καὶ Κορυφάσιον.

Θραύστον : near the source of the Peneus : cp. Diod. xv. 17.

τὸ Κρόνιον : the hill which overhangs Olympia on the north side, called in the next sentence τὸ Ὀλυμπιακὸν ὄρος.

Μαργανέας : cp. iii. 2. 25.

ἐνδόντων=προδόντων : cp. Thuc. iv. 76.

προκεχωρηκότων : for the gen. abs. cp. ii. 4. 29.

τὴν πόλιν, i. e. Elis.

αὐτῶν, i. e. τῶν Ἡλείων.

§ 15. διαφορά : for the previous dissensions at Elis in 398 B.C. cp. iii. 2. 27.

Ἀργεῖον : cp. vii. 1. 33.

§ 16. Πύλον : on the Peneus seven or eight miles east of Elis on the road from Olympia to Elis ; Paus. vi. 22. 5.

§ 17. αὐτῶν Ὀλουρον : for the genitive cp. Dem. xxiii. 154 καταλαμβάνει Σκῆψιν καὶ Κεβρῆνα καὶ Ἴλιον αὐτῶν. Olurus was evidently in the district of Pellene ; Leake placed it at the entrance to the valley of the Sys.

πάλιν . . . εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν : cp. vii. 2. 18 note. It appears from the next section that the discontented democrats must in consequence have joined the Arcadians.

§ 19. Κυλλήνης : cp. iii. 2. 27.

ἵππαρχος : a similar official at Elis is mentioned by Plutarch (Philop. 7).

αἴτιος . . . συνάψαι : for the absence of the article cp. vii. 5. 17 αἴτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο σωθῆναι πάντα τὰ ἔξω.

σύμμαχοι. Little is heard of Elis after its reduction by King Agis in 397. In 374 the Eleans had furnished the Spartans with a contingent of ships against the Athenians in Corcyra (vi. 2. 3), but after Leuctra they had taken the Theban side. The immediate cause of their seeking the Spartan alliance again must have been their hostility against the Arcadians.

§ 20. ἀπολαβεῖν. This is Jacob's conjecture, in the sense of 'to cast off' : cp. i. 1. 16 ναῦς . . . ἀπειλημέναις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Xenophon, however, only thus uses the verb in the passive : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

Ἀρχίδαμος : Agesilaus' son : cp. vii. 1. 28.

μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν : cp. iv. 4. 19.

Κρῶνον : cp. Athenaeus (x. p. 452 a), who tells an anecdote of the siege, πολίχνοιον δ' ἐστὶν ἰδρυμένον πλησίον Μεγάλης Πόλεως.

τῶν δώδεκα λόχων : cp. Appendix, p. 347, and vii. 5. 10.

§ 21. τῆς Σκιρίτιδος : from this passage we may infer that the

inhabitants of this district as well as of Caryae and Sellasia (vi. 5. 27 ; vii. 4. 12) had revolted from Sparta at the time of Epaminondas' first invasion.

§ 22. δι' οὗ, 'across,' or 'over which.'

ὑπὸ τούτῳ, 'at the foot of this hill.'

τοὺς ἐπαρίτους : cp. § 33 and vi. 5. 6 note ; vii. 5. 3 ; Diod. xv. 62, 67 οἱ καλούμενοι ἐπίλεκτοι ὄντες πεντακισχίλιοι ; Hesych. ἐπαρόητοι : τάγμα Ἀρκαδικὸν μαχιμώτατον καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀρκάσι δημόσιοι φύλακες.

εἰς δύο, 'in double file' : so iii. 1. 22.

§ 23. κατὰ κέρας, 'in column' : cp. vi. 2. 30 ἐπὶ κέρως ; Hipparch.

4. 3 ἦν διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν ἐλαύνῃς . . . εἰς κέρας ἡγητέον.

§ 25. πλησίον ὄντων, sc. τῶν Ἀρκάδων.

ἀνελόμενοι : cp. Polyae. i. 41. 4 Ἀρχίδαμος κρατοῦντων Ἀρκάδων αὐτὸς ἤδη παρειμένος ὑπὸ τραύματος φθάσας ἐπεκηρυκέυσато περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως, ὅπως μὴ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλουντο.

§ 26. ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον : cp. § 16.

τοῖς Πυλίοις : mostly Elean democrats, § 16.

Θαλαμῶν, a strong fortress in Elis, the site of which is placed by Leake (Morea, ii. 204) on the Achaean frontier near the modern village of Santameri : cp. Polyb. iv. 75.

ἐγγὺς διακοσίων : for the genitive cp. Anab. v. 7. 9 ἐγγὺς μυρίων : contrast ii. 4. 32 ; iv. 2. 16.

Μαργανέας : cp. § 14.

§ 27. < τοῦ > κατὰ τοὺς Ἀργείους : cp. Critical Note ; 'the stockade opposite the Argives,' i.e. that part of it which the Argives had to defend. For the Argives cp. § 11.

ὠξυλάβησαν : ἄπαξ λεγόμενον : cp. Hescyh. ὀξυλαβῆσαι τὸ ὀξέως λαβέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος.

Θηβαῖοι, probably Thebans left as garrisons in some of the Arcadian towns by Epaminondas on his first invasion of the Peloponnese : cp. vii. 1. 42 ; 3. 4 ; and § 36.

§ 28. περὶ τοῖς Ἠλείοις εἶχον : for the phrase cp. v. 4. 57 περὶ τοῦτον ἦν.

τὴν . . . Ὀλυμπίαν : cp. § 14.

Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους, i.e. Olympiad 104, 364 B.C. : cp. Introd. p. lxxi.

πρώτοις : cp. iii. 2. 31 note.

ὁ . . . μὴν . . . αἱ ἡμέραι : according to Boeckh (comment on

Pindar, Ol. iii. 19) the festival was celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, which sometimes fell in the [Elean or Olympian] month of Apollonius, and sometimes in Parthenius, i. e. in the Attic month of Hecatombaeon (July). After all the contests had been introduced it lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth day of the month inclusive: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 270.

Ἀχαιοὺς: for the alliance cp. §§ 17, 18.

§ 29. τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου: the names and order of the contests seem to be preserved in a distich quoted by Eustathius, commenting on Hom. Il. xxiii. 621

ἄλμα ποδῶν δίσκου τε βολὴ καὶ ἄκοντος ἐρωή
καὶ δρόμος ἥδ' ἐπ' ἀλῆ, μία δ' ἔπλετο πᾶσι τελευτή.

οἱ . . . ἀφικόμενοι, i. e. the competitors left in for the wrestling, the last of the five events.

ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, i. e. the stadium, just outside the Altis or Sacred Enclosure on its eastern side.

τοῦ βωμοῦ: the great altar of Zeus, standing nearly in the centre of the Altis.

τὸ τέμενος. It appears from the context that the τέμενος must have included land outside the Altis, on the western bank of the Cladeus.

τὴν Ἄλτιν: cp. Paus. v. 10. 1 τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διός, παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα, Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱππεῖς: for the Athenian alliance cp. §§ 1-6, 13 note.

§ 30. τὰπὶ θάτερα: cp. vi. 2. 7 note.

καταφρονούμενοι . . . καταφρονούμενοι: for the anaphora cp. ii. 3. 55; v. 1. 35.

§ 31. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου: to the south of the Temple of Zeus.

τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ . . . θεάτρον: the sites of these two buildings have not been identified.

τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ: the temple of Zeus in the SE. portion of the Altis.

ἄλλοι τε . . . καὶ αὐτός: the subject of the finite verb forms only a part of the persons denoted by the participle: cp. iv. 4. 1.

τῶν τριακοσίων: cp. § 13.

Στρατόλας: cp. § 15.

§ 32. σκηνώματα: for the crowds assembled at Olympia cp. Justin. xiii 5 praesente universa Graecia in mercatu Olympiaco.

ἀποσταυροῦντες, used absolutely like ἀπετείχιζε in i. 3. 4.

θεὸς . . . ποιήσειαν: cp. Aristides, Eleus. Orat. p. 452 τὴν δ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ μάχην σιωπῶ· πλὴν ὅσα καὶ ταύτῃ σύμβολον οὐ φαῦλον ἐπέστη παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἢ τῶν ἀποστερουμένων τόλμα καὶ νίκη.

363-362 B.C.

§ 33. τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι: cp. Diodorus' account of the same event (xv. 82) Ἀρκάδες μετὰ Πισαίων κοινῇ τεθεικότες ὑπῆρχον τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, καὶ ἐκυρίευν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

τοὺς ἐπαρίτους: cp. § 22.

Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο: Diodorus (l. c.) states just the opposite: τῶν δὲ Μαντινέων ἀναλαβόντων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βίους οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἔσπευδον οἱ παρανομήσαντες διακατέχειν τὸν πρὸς Ἡλείους πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ δώσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ λόγον τῶν ἀναλωθέντων. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων βουλομένων συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, στάσιν ἐκίνησαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς. γενομένων οὖν δυοῖν ἐταιρειῶν συνέβαινε τῆς μὲν τοὺς Τεγεάτας, τῆς δὲ τοὺς Μαντινεῖς ἡγείσθαι. Xenophon's account, however, is evidently to be preferred, confirmed as it is by numerous and consistent details, and more especially by the peace with the Eleans (§ 35) brought about by the Mantineans and the rest of the Anti-Theban party.

τὸ γινόμενον μέρος, i. e. the Mantinean share towards the payment of the Epariti.

τοὺς μυρίους: cp. vi. 5. 6; vii. i. 38.

§ 34. καθίσταντο εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, i. e. began to enroll themselves among the Epariti.

ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, 'in the power of the opposite party,' i. e. the Anti-Mantinean party.

διακεχειρικότες: cp. Anab. i. 9. 17 πολλὰ δικάως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο.

λακωνίσαι: this illustrates the utter confusion of states and parties in the Peloponnesus: the democratic Mantineans, say their opponents, supported by the more oligarchically inclined of the rest of the Arcadians, are likely to seek aid from the Spartans, who in 385 had destroyed their city (v. 2. 7) and done their utmost to prevent its restoration after Leuctra (vi. 5. 4).

§ 35. οἱ μέν, i. e. the Thebans.

οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα . . . βουλευόμενοι : cp. vii. 5. ἡ Μαντινέϊς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, i. e. the oligarchical party : cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

πολέμου οὐδὲν δέονται : for the litotes cp. iv. 4. 6 πολιτείας . . . ἦς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο.

τοῦ . . . ἱεροῦ, 'the temple.'

ἀποδιδόντες, i. e. to the Eleans.

οἷσθαι, pleonastic : grammatically dependent on ἐνόμιζον.

§ 36. Τεγεατῶν : cp. *Diod.* xv. 82 ; and for the local feud between Tegea and Mantinea cp. vi. 5. 10 and *Thuc.* v. 65.

ἐν Τεγῇ . . . τῶν Βοιωτῶν : cp. the Theban harmosts in the Achaean towns (vii. 1. 43) and in Sicyon (vii. 2. 11).

τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι : cp. § 34 οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων διακεχειρόκότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα.

τοὺς σκηνοῦντας, 'those who were feasting' : cp. *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 11 ; διασκηνῶν iv. 8. 18 ; and συσκηνοῦσι v. 3. 20.

ἡ δημοσία οἰκία : its use is not further specified.

§ 37. πολλοὶ δέ : cp. *Appendix*, p. 362.

ἦσαν δ' οἱ . . . ἀφείντο, 'while not a few had been allowed to pass the gates.'

οὐδεὶς . . . ἀπολείσθαι : a parenthesis explanatory of οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφείντο : the only persons troubled with any apprehension were those who were afraid of giving account of τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα.

ἐγγύς : Mantinea was about twelve miles distant from Tegea.

§ 38. οὐδένα ἀξιοῦν ἔφασαν, 'they said that they claimed that no one' &c.

§ 39. ὅτι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι, cp. ii. 1. 2 : for the opt. mood cp. *Goodwin*, M. T. 677.

ὥς δεῖν : for ὥς with the infinitive instead of a finite verb cp. iii. 4. 27 ; vi. 5. 42.

§ 40. ἔφασαν : cp. iii. 5. 21.

τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν : for the transition to *orat. rect.* without ἔφη cp. i. 1. 27 note.

ἡμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς . . . καταστάντων, i. e. in 370 B. C., cp. vi. 5. 19 note : for the strained relations between the Thebans and Arcadians cp. vii. 1. 22, 23, 32, 39.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1-3. *Fearing that Thebes would enslave the Peloponnesus the Mantineans and their allies, who were oligarchically inclined, appealed for aid to Athens and Sparta. It was agreed that each state should hold supreme command in its own territory.*

§§ 4-7. *Meanwhile Epaminondas set out at the head of a large army from Thebes, and waited for a while at Nemea to intercept the Athenian contingent. Hearing that they would go by sea, he went on to Tegea.*

§ 8. *Xenophon's admiration for Epaminondas' generalship.*

§§ 9, 10. *The enemy were strongly posted at Mantinea, and Agesilaus was already on his way to join them, when Epaminondas resolved to march upon Sparta. A Cretan brought the news to Agesilaus, who had just time to turn back and guard the city.*

§§ 11-17. *Repulsed in his attack upon Sparta, Epaminondas returned to Tegea, where he rested his hoplites, sending his cavalry on to Mantinea. That morning the Athenian cavalry had arrived at Mantinea, and, weary as they were, succeeded in repelling the Thebans.*

§§ 18-22. *Thus Epaminondas felt himself forced to draw on a general engagement, for which his troops made zealous preparations. Marching out of Tegea, by a clever manœuvre he led the enemy to expect that he would not fight till the morrow. Much to their surprise he suddenly wheeled round and advanced upon them.*

§§ 23-25. *Epaminondas had strengthened one of his wings at the expense of the other. With the stronger he met the enemy, drove them back, and thus threw the whole army into flight. His death, however, utterly paralysed his troops, so that they could make no use of their victory.*

§§ 26, 27. *The battle was completely indecisive in its results, and afterwards the confusion and disorder in Greece were worse than before.*

362 B.C.

§ 1. οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου: the aristocrats, cp. vii. 4. 35.

Ἀχαιοί: the oligarchs had regained the upper hand in the Achaean towns: cp. vii. 1. 43.

καταδουλώσαιντο: cp. vii. 1. 33 βουλευόμενοι . . . ὅπως ἂν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λάβοιεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, and *Introd.* p. xxviii.

§ 2. τί γάρ: transition to *orat. rect.*, cp. vii. 4. 40: translate: 'why else do they wish us to fight except that we may harm &c.': for ἢ without ἄλλο cp. *Memor.* iv. 3. 9 τί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργον ἢ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύειν;

§ 3. Ἀθήναζε: for the alliance cp. vii. 4. 6, and *CIA.* ii. 57 b, esp. lines 14, 15 [τοὺς Ἀθηναίους] δέχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν καθὰ ἐπαγγέλλονται οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι. The Phliasians

are not mentioned by Xenophon, perhaps, as Köhler conjectures, because they were not present at the battle of Mantinea. The alliance was not merely defensive, but also guaranteed the permanence of the constitutions, whether oligarchical or democratical, of the contracting parties. For the date cp. *Introd.* p. lxxi.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, who were now composed chiefly of oligarchs: cp. vii. 4. 34. If we may believe Pausanias (viii. 8. 10), this was done by the Mantineans without the consent of the Arcadian κοινόν: περιληφθέντες δὲ ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινοῦ πράσσοντες, οὕτω διὰ τὸ δέος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν μετεβάλοντο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.

αὐτόθεν, 'at once,' without long negotiations, as vii. 1. 2-14.

ἡγήσονται: for the fut. opt. cp. Goodwin, *M. T.* 130.

§ 4. Ἐπαμεινώνδας . . . Εὐβοᾶς . . . Θετταλῶν πολλούς. Xenophon has passed over in silence the efforts of Epaminondas to realize the Theban ἡγεμονία τῆς Ἑλλάδος in the north of Greece and to enforce the Persian rescript of 367 (vii. 1. 36) Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλλκειν τὰς ναῦς. In the interval the Thebans had in 364 sent two expeditions into Thessaly against Alexander of Pherae, in the first of which Pelopidas had been slain in the moment of victory at Cynoscephalae, and in the second the Theban commanders Malcitas and Diogiton had defeated the tyrant in several battles, and had forced him to liberate all the towns, which he had subjugated, and to become the subject ally of Thebes. In 363 to strike a blow at the naval power of Athens Epaminondas had at the head of a Theban fleet, which he had created by his own efforts, penetrated as far as Byzantium: Byzantium left the Athenian Confederacy, and the important islands of Chios and Rhodes and the town of Ceos followed the example. During Epaminondas' absence the Thebans at home, as the excuse of an alleged conspiracy, wrecked their vengeance on Orchomenus, their only possible rival left in the Boeotian Confederacy, razing the town level with the ground, slaying some of the inhabitants and selling the rest into slavery, cp. *Diod.* xv. 78, 79; *Grote*, x. 63-73; *Stern*, 216-225; *Introd.* p. xxxiii. At this juncture the affairs in the Peloponnesus, just recorded by Xenophon, interrupted Epaminondas' schemes of Hegemony by sea, and demanded his instant attention in the south.

Εὐβοᾶς : cp. vi. 5. 23 note.

Ἀλεξάνδρου : cp. vi. 4. 34 ; vii. 1. 28 note ; and Plut. Pel. 35 (Θηβαῖοι) Ἀλέξανδρον ἠνάγκασαν . . . ὁμόσαι . . . ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται Θηβαῖοι καὶ κελεύσωσιν ἀκολουθήσειν.

τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ, i.e. the Thessalian states just liberated by the Thebans from the yoke of Alexander.

Φωκεῖς : cp. vi. 5. 23.

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

§ 5. Ἀργείους : cp. Arist. frag. 99 a.

Μεσσηνίους : cp. vi. 5. 33, 51 ; vii. 1. 27.

Μεγαλοπολίται. This is Xenophon's first mention of the Megalopolitans : cp. vi. 5. 6 note.

Ἀσεῖται : cp. vi. 5. 11.

Παλλαντιεῖς : cp. vi. 5. 9.

§ 6. Νεμέα : cp. iv. 2. 14.

ὡς . . . συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, 'to put it shortly.'

§ 7. τὸ . . . πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι : for the accusative cp. Diod. xv. 53 τὸ μὲν ταύτῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διέξοδον ἀπέγνω ; but the genitive in Anab. i. 7. 19 ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι.

§ 8. οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε κ.τ.λ. : cp. Introd. p. xxviii. Polybius (referring to Epaminondas) ix. 8 διόπερ εἰκότως οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἐπιμέμφονται τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔργοις, φάσκοντες τῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πεπρᾶχθαι πᾶν, ὅσον ἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπεναντίων κρείττω, τῆς δὲ τύχης ἥττω γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν.

ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι : cp. Ages. 8. 4 τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησιλάου : here the clause introduced by ὅτι forms the object to ἐπαινῶ.

πράττειτο : cp. Appendix, p. 362.

τῶν . . . ἐτέρων, 'the enemy' : cp. iv. 2. 15.

κρείττων. According to Diod. (xv. 84) Epaminondas had 30,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, the enemy only 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.

§ 9. Πελλήνη : a city of Laconia, about six miles north of Sparta, in the upper valley of the Eurotas, Paus. iii. 21. 2 ; Strabo, viii. 386. Polybius (ix. 8) incorrectly says that Agesilaus had already penetrated as far as Mantinea : cp. § 10 note.

δειπνοποιήσαμενος : cp. Polyb. ix. 8 [Ἐπαμεινώνδας] δειπνοποιήσασθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καθ' ὥραν παραγγείλας ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἄρτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιγιγνομένης.

§ 10. Κρής : cp. Diod. xv. 82 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἅγης (!) . . . ἐξέπεμψε τινὰς Κρήτας ἡμεροδρόμους, δι' ὧν κ.τ.λ. ; Plut. Ages. 34 Εὐθύνου δὲ Θεσπιέως, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησίν, ὡς δὲ Ξενοφῶν, Κρητύς τινος, ἐξαγγείλαντος τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. According to Polybius (l. c.) and Polyaeus (ii. 3. 10) a deserter.

ἔφθη : Polybius (l. c.) makes Epaminondas reach Sparta before Agesilaus.

ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν. The presence of this advanced guard in Arcadia perhaps accounts for Polybius' statement just quoted that Agesilaus was at Mantinea.

τὸ ξενικόν, 'the mercenaries.'

τῶν λόχων δώδεκα : cp. Appendix, p. 347, and vii. 4. 20.

οἱ τρεῖς : for the article cp. i. 1. 18.

§ 11. ἐπεὶ . . . ἐγένετο : cp. Polyb. ix. 8 προσμίξας δὲ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῇ πόλει.

ἐν τῇ πόλει : cp. Isocr. v. 48 (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἠναγκάσθησαν διακινδυνεύειν . . . ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀρχείοις περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον.

†πλέονες : the sense of this corrupt passage must be, 'where he could not use his superior numbers to advantage': cp. Critical Note. For ἔνθεν cp. Appendix, p. 362.

τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε : cp. Polyb. (ix. 8) κατέσχε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστραμμένους τόπους ; and *ibid.* v. 22 τῆς Σπάρτης . . . κειμένης ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ περιεχοῦσης . . . διαφόρους ἀνωμάλους καὶ βουνώδεις τόπους.

οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν : if these words be genuine (cp. Critical Note), they must mean that Epaminondas did not force his way into the higher parts of the city.

§ 12. τὸ . . . γενόμενον : for the accusative instead of the genitive cp. i. 7. 31 and Cyrop. vii. 2. 22 οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι οὐδὲ τάδε τὸν θεόν.

ἔξεστι . . . ἔξεστι : for the anaphora cp. vii. 4. 30 and *infr.* §§ 18, 22.

τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις : for the sentiment cp. vi. 4. 23.

Ἀρχίδαμος : son of King Agesilaus : cp. v. 4. 25 ; vii. 4. 20 : cp. Plut. Ages. 34 ἐν δὲ πρώτοις τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπερηφάνως τῇ τε ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῇ κουφότητι τοῦ σώματος, ὅξέως ἐπὶ τὰ θλιβόμενα τῆς μάχης διαθέοντα διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ πανταχοῦ μετ' ὀλίγων ἀντερείδοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις.

διαβὰς . . . κώλυμα, trans. 'having crossed the only thing which seemed to present some obstacle to the enemy's advance.' What the thing was, is not specified.

πρὸς ὄρθιον : it is rather difficult to harmonize this with the κατέβαινε of the previous section, though perhaps any hillock occupied by the enemy would justify the expression.

οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες : cp. Soph. Antig. 1146 ἰὼ πῦρ πνέοντων χοράγ' ἄστρον.

οἱ νενικηκότες : cp. vi. 5. 23 οἱ Βοιωτοὶ . . . ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ.

§ 13. πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ : cp. ii. 3. 24 πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ.

§ 14. τῶν δέ : the Thebans, opposed to ἐκείνοις . . . ἡτύχηκόσι : genitive absolute.

προσκατερῆσαι, i. e. in addition to the fatigue of the thirty miles march from Sparta to Tegea, the advance on Mantinea was made by night : cp. Polyb. ix. 8.

σίου συγκομιδῆς : about July, cp. Introd. p. lxxi.

§ 15. ἐν Ἴσθμῳ : the isthmus is nearly fifty miles distant from Mantinea.

τὰς Κλεωνάς : some twelve miles south of Corinth on the road to Argos : cp. Paus. ii. 15. 1. Epaminondas had heard (§ 7) that the Athenian contingent was advancing by sea.

προσελαύνοντες : cp. Polyb. ix. 8 ἥδη δὲ τῆς Θηβαίων πρωτοπορείας συναπτούσης πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ὃ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες συνεκύρησεν, ἅμα καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιφαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν τῆς Μαντινείας ὑπερκείμενον λόφον.

§ 16. αὖ : refers to the brave defence of their city by the Spartans.

ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος : the lapse of time (let alone the definite τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν) seems too great to allow this to be referred to the skirmish recorded in vii. 1. 20, 21. Breitenbach conjectures with great probability that the Corinthians themselves, who were by no means friendly towards the Athenians (cp. vii. 4. 4, 5), must in some way have obstructed the passage of the cavalry through their territory, and that Xenophon, who was living in Corinth at the time, found it convenient to give no further details.

εἶδον . . . συνέρραξαν : the battle was evidently fought just outside the gates of Mantinea : cp. Polyb. l. c. and Plut. Glor. Athen. 346 [Ἀθηναῖοι] ὀλίγοι μὲν ὄντες ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ

όδοῦ δὲ κεκμηκότες, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντος, ὅμως εὐθὺς εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο τοῖς πλείστοις· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς διεσκευασμένοι καὶ προσεξέλασαντες ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἔθεντο καρτερὰν ἵππομαχίαν καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Ἑπαμεινώνδα ἀφείλοντο τὴν Μαντίνειαν.

§ 17. *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί* : thus modestly Xenophon refers to the death of his own son Gryllus, who with his brother Diodorus took part in the fray on the Athenian side ; cp. Ephorus (frag. 146 a) *ὁ δὲ Γρύλλος τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἵππεας* (ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη περὶ Μαντίνειαν) *ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν*. Euphranor painted a picture in the Ceramicus at Athens (of which there was a copy at Mantinea) apparently representing Gryllus in the act of striking the Theban commander : the Mantineans afterwards set up an equestrian statue in honour of Gryllus. Cp. Paus. i. 3. 4 ; viii. 9, 8 ; ii. 5 ; ix. 15. 5 ; Plut. Glor. Athen. 346. Diodorus and Pausanias hopelessly confuse this cavalry engagement with the great battle of Mantinea fought two or three days later.

§ 18. *ἐξήκειν . . . τὸν χρόνον* : cp. § 9 *ὁρῶν . . . τὸν χρόνον προβαίνοντα*. The Boeotarchs entered upon office about the time of the winter solstice, so that on this occasion there can have been no question, as in the first invasion of the Peloponnesus (vi. 5. 24 note), of Epaminondas' own period of command coming to an end. To what time then does Xenophon refer ? Dodwell believes that it must be the time for which the mercenary troops had been engaged, and compares vii. 1. 28 *ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος, ὃς ἦν εἰρημένος*. Schaefer believes that the Theban government had fixed a definite time for the length of the campaign. Stern (p. 238) conjectures that Epaminondas' Peloponnesian allies were becoming impatient for the *σίτου συγκομιδῇ*, so that he could no longer rely on their continued support.

λελυμασμένος . . . ἔσοιτο : for the periphrasis cp. vii. 3. 11.

ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ : an anacoluthon after *ὁ Ἑπαμεινώνδας ἐνθυμούμενος*, due to the length of the intervening clauses.

ἀναλύσοιτο : cp. Dem. xiv. 34 *τὰς προτέρας ἀναλύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀμαρτίας*.

καλὴν . . . ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι : the indicative, repeating the notion of the participle *λογιζομένῳ*, is more vivid than the more regular construction *ἔσοιτο* would have been.

ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου: cp. § 1.

§ 19. ὥς = ὥστε: cp. v. 2. 9.

πόρον . . . ἀποκάμνειν: for the accusative cp. Thuc. ii. 51 τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκέιοι ἐξέκαμνον.

§ 20. ἐλευκοῦντο: cp. ii. 4. 25.

ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ῥόπαλα: cp. iv. 4. 10 τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων belonging to the Sicyonians: Paus. iv. 28. 5 (Μεσσήνιοι) σημεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι Λακωνικὰ ἔχοντες; Aristoph. Achar. 1095 καὶ γὰρ σὺν μεγάλῃν ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργόνα. This passage seems to mean that the Arcadians painted clubs on their shields, the club being the symbol of Heracles, the patron deity of the Thebans. Grote (x. 97) contests this interpretation.

§ 21. ἐξήγαγεν, i. e. out of Tegea: § 14.

συντομωτάτην: between ten and twelve miles.

τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη: known as the Maenalian mountains; so vi. 5. 15.

τοῖς πολεμίοις: apparently drawn up in the narrowest part of the plain, some three or four miles south of Mantinea: cp. Paus. viii. 11. 4, 5. Xenophon, however, is absolutely silent about the movements of the Spartans and their allies, and it is difficult to supply his omission from other sources; in fact their position has to be inferred from what he says of Epaminondas' manœuvres.

§ 22. ἐξετάθη . . . ἡ φάλαγξ. This must mean that Epaminondas brought his army from column into line opposite the enemy.

ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς. Epaminondas seems to have marched under the Maenalian mountains from somewhere near the site of the modern Tripolitza to the Pelagian wood.

τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς . . . παρασκευήν: cp. iii. 4. 20 τὴν γνώμην παράσκευάζουσιν ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι.

παραγαγὼν . . . ἔμβολον, 'having brought the regiments which were marching in column into line (εἰς μέτωπον) he thus strengthened the beak-like formation around himself.' Xenophon's brevity makes it impossible to follow exactly Epaminondas' evolutions: he evidently means to describe the manœuvre by which the Theban general here, as at Leuctra, vastly increased the depth of the phalanx on the left wing; on his arrival at the mountain Epaminondas must have formed his marching column, headed by himself and his Boeotians, into line by making his men face to the right (ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ).

Then to strengthen τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον he must have changed his line (or part of it) once more into column by making the men face to the right (or left) and brought τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους one behind the other, so that when the command to front was again given, the phalanx on the left wing would be of the desired depth. According to Diodorus (xv. 85) the Thebans were posted on the left with the Arcadians next them and the Argives on the right; in the centre were the Euboeans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, Malians, Aenianians, Thessalians, and the other allies. In the opposing army the Mantineans with the other Arcadians held the right wing; next them stood the Lacedaemonians, and further on the Eleans, Achaeans, &c., the Athenians forming the left wing. It is remarkable that no authority mentions the commander-in-chief on the Lacedaemonian side; in all probability he must have been some nameless Mantinean according to the terms of the alliance (§ 3) ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι ἡγήσονται. Neither does it appear who was in command of the Lacedaemonians themselves. Diodorus (xv. 84) puts the numbers of Epaminondas' army at more than 30,000 foot and not less than 3,000 horse, of the enemy at more than 20,000 foot and about 2,000 horse.

§ 23. τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον . . . προσῆγε: for the simile cp. Rep. Lac. II. 10 τὸν λόχον ἑκάστον ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι: cp. Grote, x. 102 'His column (ἔμβολον) would cut through the phalanx of the enemy, like the prow of a trireme impelled in sea-fight against the midship of her antagonist.' The words ἐμβάλων διακόψειε continue the metaphor.

τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ . . . τὸ ἀσθενέστατον. These words prove that the deep formation applied only to the Thebans and Boeotians on the left wing; the Argives occupied the right: cp. Diod. xv. 85.

βάθος ἐφεξῆς: cp. Critical Note. Rüstow and Köchly's conjecture ἐφ' ἑξ for ἐφεξῆς is almost certain: it explains the comparison ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα; the commentators explain the MSS. ἐφεξῆς as equivalent to συνεχές, i. e. without intervals for the ἀμύπποι, which is very otiose, as it is followed immediately by the more exact expression ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμύπων: cp. iii. 4. 13 ἵππεῖς ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι.

πεζῶν ἀμύπων: restored by Morus from Harpocration: foot-

soldiers interspersed between the files of the horsemen : cp. Thuc. v. 57 ἱππῆς πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἄμπεποι ἵσοι. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 24. τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον : Diodorus (xv. 85) states that in both armies the cavalry were posted on the wings ; this is quite consistent with the present passage, although these words seem to refer only to the cavalry on the left wing ; for the ἱππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας mentioned just below as opposite to the Athenians were on Epaminondas' right wing.

τῶν ἐαυτῶν : ἐαυτῶν is genitive dependent on τῶν : cp. vii.

I. 13 τῶν ἐκείνων δούλων.

ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου : cp. § 22 : this is the only indication Xenophon gives of the disposition of the wings.

τὴν . . . συμβολήν. Here, as in general, after he has described with some minuteness the disposition of the troops previous to the engagement, Xenophon has little to say about the course of the battle, and it is impossible to supply his omissions from Diodorus' rhetorical narrative based, as it probably is, upon Ephorus. For Polybius (xii. 25) singles out Ephorus' description of this battle as 'extremely incorrect and absurd, arguing great ignorance both of the ground where it was fought and of the possible movements of the armies' : cp. Grote, x. 104.

ἣ προσέβαλεν : on the enemy's right, where the Mantineans and Lacedaemonians were posted : cp. § 22.

§ 25. ἐκείνος ἔπεσεν : the honour of striking the blow was claimed by more than one warrior ; cp. Paus. viii. 11. 4 Ἐπαμεινώνδαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν Μαντινέως μὲν ὑπὸ Μαχαιρίωνος Μαντινέως φασὶν ἀνδρός· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σπαρτιάτην λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, τίθενται δὲ Μαχαιρίωνα ὄνομα καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔχει λόγος, ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαῖοι, τρωθῆναι τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ὑπὸ Γρύλλου (Xenophon's son). Plutarch (Ages. 35) ascribes the death-blow to a Lacedaemonian Anticrates, whose descendants the Spartans honoured under the name of Μαχαιρίωνες, ὡς μαχαίρα πατάξαντος. Pausanias (l.c.) goes on to describe the death of Epaminondas : ὡς δὲ ἐτέτρωτο ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐκκομίζουσιν ἔτι ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῷ τραύματι ἐταλαιπώρει καὶ ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους ἀφεώρα, ὁπόθεν δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὠνόμαζον Σκοπὴν οἱ ἔπειτα, λαβόντος δὲ ἴσον τοῦ ἀγῶνος πέρασ, οὕτω τὴν χεῖρα ἀπέσχευ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθαψαν ἔνθα σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή : cp. Paus. ix. 15. 5, 6.

αὐτοῖς . . . αὐτοῖς : datives of the agent : cp. Oec. 2. 14 ἀποφεύγειν μοι πειρᾶ ; Mem. ii. 10. 1 ἂν τις σοι ἀποδρᾶ.

διέπεσον, i. e. slipped away through the broken ranks of the enemy.

ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. If the disposition of the forces be correctly described in § 24, the cavalry interspersed with the ἄμιπποι must have left them behind, and then the ἄμιπποι and πελτασταί must have wheeled to the left against the centre of the enemy ; this seems to be implied in ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

§ 26. ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος : cp. Diod. xv. 86 οὐδέποτε γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἀγωνιζομένων οὔτε πλήθος ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτο παρετάξατο οὔθ' ἡγεμόνες ἀξιολογώτεροι τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν οὔτε ἄνδρες δυνατώτεροι ταῖς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνδραγαθίαις.

ἀντιτεταγμένων, sc. ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

νεκρούς : the numbers of the slain are not recorded.

§ 27. οὔτε χώρα . . . πλέον ἔχοντες : this is rather an exaggeration : Messenia and Megalopolis at least benefited : cp. next note.

ἀκρισία καὶ ταραχή : cp. Dem. xviii. 18 ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστῆκει καὶ οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστ' ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. After the battle a general peace was concluded, in which the Messenians were allowed to share as a separate state. On this account the Spartans refused to consent to it καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον ἔκσπονδοι, Diod. xv. 89 : cp. Polyb. iv. 23 ; Plut. Ages. 35.

ἐμοὶ . . . γραφέσθω : cp. De re Equest. 10. 17 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . μέχρι τούτων ἡμῖν γεγράφθω, and ibid. 12. 14 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . γεγράφθω ἡμῖν.

APPENDIX



§ 1. NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγύς, κ.τ.λ. Diodorus (xiii. 48-51) gives a much fuller and more rhetorical account of the battle, and conceives it quite differently. Plutarch (Alc. 28) seems to follow Xenophon in the main, but to add details from the same source as Diodorus, i.e. probably Ephorus and Theopompus.

According to Diodorus, the several divisions of the Athenian fleet united at Cardia, and then sailed up the Hellespont to Proconnesus, taking care to pass Abydos by night, that the increase in their numbers might not be noticed by the enemy. Mindarus, with the help of Pharnabazus, had just taken Cyzicus by storm. Next day the Athenians disembarked their soldiers, under Chares, close to the Cyzicene territory, and with their fleet in three divisions, under Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes, sailed against the enemy at Cyzicus. Alcibiades went ahead in order to προκαλέσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, the other two generals aiming to surround them and cut them off from the city. Mindarus saw only Alcibiades' ships, and, despising their numbers, sailed out to meet them; whereupon Alcibiades by pretending flight drew him πορρωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, till suddenly he faced about, and Theramenes and Thrasybulus, seeing his signal, sailed towards the city and cut off the Peloponnesians. Mindarus, now seeing the whole Athenian fleet (nothing is said about any mist), fled to shore at Cleri, where Pharnabazus was encamped. Alcibiades hotly pursued him, sunk some of his ships, took others, and tried to

drag others off the beach. The Peloponnesian land forces and the troops of Pharnabazus now came to the assistance of Mindarus, whereupon Thrasybulus disembarked his marines and sent word to Theramenes to bring up the soldiers under Chares. Meanwhile Mindarus, supported by the mercenaries of Pharnabazus and also by Clearchus, firmly stood his ground. When however Theramenes arrived with the reinforcements and joined Thrasybulus, first the mercenaries broke the line and fled, and then Clearchus was obliged to retire. Theramenes and his troops now went off to the help of Alcibiades. Mindarus was thus obliged to divide his forces: one division he sent to oppose Theramenes, while he himself at the head of the other made a brave resistance against Alcibiades, until after many heroic exploits he was himself slain. His death was the signal for a general flight among the Peloponnesians; but the Athenians were unable to pursue them far, because their retreat was covered by Pharnabazus, who now arrived on the scene.

According to Plutarch, Alcibiades, on arriving in the Athenian camp, hearing that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were in Cyzicus, determined to fight, and exhorted his troops accordingly. Then he sailed with the whole fleet to Proconnesus, where he ordered *ἐντὸς περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα*, that no news of his intended attack might reach the enemy, his precaution being much aided by a great thunderstorm and thick mist. Then the whole fleet set sail, and when the mist gradually lifted, Alcibiades saw the Peloponnesian fleet *πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Κυζικηνῶν*. Thereupon he ordered the other generals to keep behind out of sight, while he himself, sailing on in front with forty ships, *πrouκαλείτο τοὺς πολεμίους*. The Peloponnesians, despising his small numbers, sailed to meet him, and at once joined battle; but when the rest of the Athenian fleet came up, they turned and fled. At this juncture Alcibiades, *διεκπελεύσας* with twenty of his fastest vessels, made for the shore, disembarked, and slew many of the enemy, as they fled from their ships. Mindarus (who is not mentioned as being on board the Peloponnesian fleet at all) and Pharnabazus now came up to the rescue, but in vain: for Alcibiades quickly slew Mindarus and put Pharnabazus to flight.

§ 2. POLITICAL HISTORY OF ATHENS,
411-404 B. C.

411-410 B. C. After the expulsion of the Four Hundred in the spring of 411 B. C. the Athenian constitution, remodelled¹ chiefly through the influence of Theramenes, became a modified democracy, which Thucydides² declares to have been the best government that the Athenians ever enjoyed within his memory. The two leading features³ were the abolition of all paid offices of whatever kind, and the limitation of the full citizenship to such Athenians as could furnish themselves with arms at their own expense. It was thus the nearest approach that we read of in Greek history to Aristotle's ideal *πολιτεία*⁴, or model democracy, being based chiefly on the middle class, and combining in itself the best elements of oligarchy and democracy.

But though this constitution had already received⁵ the approval of Alcibiades, and the Assembly persuaded by Theramenes⁶ had actually passed a decree for his recall, the breach still remained open between the Athenians in the city and the Athenians on board the fleet. The latter could not have been less than 10,000 in number, and had just unmistakeably shown their democratical zeal in suppressing the simultaneous conspiracy of the oligarchical party in their midst⁷: in fact, it was not until the return of Alcibiades four years later, in 407, that this breach was finally healed. Till then the city and the fleet were almost as much separated as two independent states; the city annually elected the usual number of ten generals; the fleet still retained at its head Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Thrasyllus, and apparently the other generals whom they had chosen at the time of the revolution⁸. Theramenes and Thrasyllus alone acted as a sort of go-betweens: for the former, being sent out⁹ by the city in 410 to try to prevent the Boeotians

¹ Diod. xiii. 38, 42. It is a most shadowy conjecture to suppose that the paper constitution described in Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 30, 31, was the work of Theramenes, or was ever put into force: cp. Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 71.

² viii. 97.

³ Cp. 'Aθ. πολ. 33. 1.

⁴ Ar. Pol. iv. 8. 3; 'Aθ. πολ. 33. 2.

⁵ Thuc. viii. 86, 97.

⁶ Diod. xiii. 38.

⁷ Thuc. viii. 75, 76.

⁸ Thuc. viii. 76.

⁹ Diod. xiii. 47.

and Euboeans from building a dam across the Euripus, and failing in that object, finally joined Alcibiades at the Hellespont, and did not return to Athens till three years afterwards : while the latter, after the victory at Abydos in the autumn of 411, was despatched to Athens for reinforcements.

When at last these two divisions of the Athenian people again united, the union was due on the one side to a return at Athens, more or less complete and certainly rapid, to the old extreme form of democracy, and on the other to the extraordinary successes of the *ναυτικὸς ὄχλος* under the command of Alcibiades. It is these changes and their connexion with each other that must now be traced.

At the same time that the Four Hundred had been deposed, Thucydides tells us¹, a board of Nomothetae had been appointed with the object of adapting the old Solonian laws to the new constitution². Four months were assigned them for their work. But it would appear that nothing was really done : for six years afterwards Nicomachus, one of their number and called *ἀναγραφεὺς τῶν νόμων*³, had not yet sent in an account of his office, and c. 399 B. C. he was accused of having taken bribes to alter illegally and otherwise tamper with the special laws assigned to him for revision⁴. Thus the new constitution was never really put upon a permanent legal footing, and party feeling, which had shown itself in the condemnation of the most extreme of the oligarchical leaders, like Antiphon and Archeptolemus, was still too much excited to allow things to remain long⁵ as they were. In the early autumn of 411 B. C.⁶ the Athenians at home had been greatly encouraged by the news of their partial success at Cynossema. In the winter the general Thrasyllus, who had been one of the democratical leaders at Samos, had arrived at Athens with the tidings of a fresh victory at Abydos, and with a request for reinforcements for the fleet. And in the spring of 410 B. C. Alcibiades totally annihilated the Peloponnesian fleet under Mindarus at Cyzicus. The completeness of his victory was vividly confirmed by the despatch written by Hippocrates, Mindarus' secretary, to the Spartan

¹ viii. 97.

³ Lysias, xxx. 2, 11, 28.

⁵ Cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 1 τούτους (the 5,000) μὲν οὖν ἀφείλετο τὴν πολιτείαν ὁ δῆμος διὰ τάχους.

² Cp. Andocides, i. 83.

⁴ Cp. Lysias, l. c.

⁶ Thuc. viii. 106.

government for immediate help, which was accidentally captured and brought to Athens.

410-409 B.C. Once more the democratical party became active and powerful under the leadership of Cleophon the demagogue. Thus when the Spartans¹, in dismay at their defeat, sent Endius at the head of an embassy to offer as terms of peace, that both parties should accept the *status quo*, that the Peloponnesians would withdraw their garrison from Decelea, if the Athenians would withdraw theirs from Pylos, and that an exchange of prisoners should be arranged, the Assembly, notwithstanding the efforts of the ἐπιεικέστατοι, voted their rejection on the motion of Cleophon. Moreover it must be remembered that, whatever the Athenians at home might wish or decide, it was undoubtedly at the moment Alcibiades' interest to continue the war. 'The Athenians,' says Diodorus, 'excited by their recent good fortune, thought that with their forces under the leadership of Alcibiades they would soon recover their old supremacy.'

Nor were their hopes entirely unfounded; for the victory at Cyzicus meant much more than the annihilation of the Peloponnesian fleet. It meant relief from the financial distress which had prevailed at Athens ever since the Sicilian disaster, and more especially since the loss of Euboea. Immediately after the battle Alcibiades set up a custom house on the Bosphorus to exact toll from all passing ships; once again some of the Hellespontine and Thracian cities began to pay tribute; and once again the corn ships sailed as of old into Piraeus². Money had been the basis of the Periclean democracy, and now money opened the way for a return to it. The fleet at the Hellespont maintained itself by marauding expeditions, and cost the home government nothing. Thus it was found possible to vote as much as twenty-three talents towards the expenses of certain sacrifices and festivals and of the διωβελία³, which was now at the proposal of Cleophon⁴ first distributed among the poorer citizens to relieve the distress caused by the war, and which seems to have been the first of the distributions of public money to be restored. As the revenue continued to improve, the old system of payment for all offices

¹ Diod. xiii 52, 53; Philoch. fr. 117.

³ CIA. i. 188; i. 7. 2 note.

² i. 1. 35.

⁴ 'Aθ. πολ. 28.

little by little came once more into force, though the several dates of its reinstitution cannot be ascertained. Aristophanes in the *Frogs*¹, which was exhibited in 405 B.C., complains of the huge sums swallowed up by the *δικαστικὸς μισθός*, showing that by that time the change was complete.

There is equal difficulty in tracing the steps whereby the restrictions on citizenship, imposed after the dissolution of the Four Hundred, were gradually removed. Payment for public services evidently meant the readmission of the poorer citizens to the full discharge of all civic duties. But the means whereby this was brought about are unknown. All we can say is that Xenophon describes the Athenians as meeting for the trial of the generals after Arginusae in 406 B.C., *πάντας κατὰ φυλάς*, as if by that time none were excluded from the Assembly.

One constitutional change can however be referred with certainty to this year on the authority of the historian Philochorus². The members of the old Council of Five Hundred, which it appears had already been restored³, henceforward were to sit like the dicasts, in ten divisions denoted by the first ten letters of the alphabet. The reason of this measure is not stated, but in all probability it was directed against the members of the oligarchical clubs⁴, who were wont to sit together, and thus by their united action to acquire an influence totally disproportionate to their numbers⁵. Gilbert⁶ has ingeniously conjectured that these democratical changes were carried through by a board of *συγγραφεῖς*, on the ground that Demophantus, the proposer of a decree of which more will be said hereafter, *συνέγραψεν*, and not, as usual, *εἶπεν*; and that an inscription⁷ of this year mentions *συγγραφεῖς*, though it does not explain the nature of their office; and further that on the analogy of Thucydides (viii. 67), when Pisander proposed to appoint ten *ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες*, and of Xenophon (Hell. ii. 3. 2), when the Thirty were chosen, *οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι*, it may very well be argued that they were extraordinary magistrates chosen to draw up a new constitution, and this time in a democratical direction.

¹ 141 sq.; 1466 sq.

² Philoch. fr. 119.

³ Cp. Andoc. i. 96.

⁴ Cp. Thuc. viii. 66; and esp. vi. 13.

⁵ A practice set on foot by Thucydides, son of Melesias; see Plut. Pericles c. 11.

⁶ Beitr. z. inn. Gesch. Athens, p. 341 sqq.

⁷ CIA. i. 58.

Two documents of this year illustrate still farther the growing power of the democrats. The first is the above-mentioned Psephism of Demophantus, preserved in Andocides' speech on the Mysteries¹, which decreed that all Athenians, both in the city and in the fleet, should swear to hold as a public enemy, who might lawfully be put to death, any one who should attempt to overthrow the democracy, or who should hold any office after the democracy had been overthrown. This oath was to be taken just before the Great Dionysia in the spring of 409 B. C. and finds its parallel in the oath sworn to by the Athenian democrats at Samos in 411 B. C.² The second is a psephism proposed by Erasinides³, who was afterwards one of the generals at the battle of Arginusae, that Thrasybulus⁴, one of the assassins of the oligarch Phrynichus, should be rewarded with a golden crown and the gift of citizenship, and that a proclamation to that effect should be made at the same Dionysia. Moreover at the same time the prosecutions against those implicated in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred, which had been suffered to lapse after the punishment of the worst offenders, seem to have been revived, and to have gone on with more or less vigour until the Amnesty of Patroclides in 405 B. C. Not only were individuals attacked, but whole classes, like the soldiers who had supported the Four Hundred, were punished with partial disfranchisement⁵, so that e.g. it was made unlawful for them to speak in the Assembly, or to become members of the Council. Lysias⁶ says that it was these prosecutions that ruined the democracy; for that numerous sycophants accused innocent persons for the sake of their wealth, while they left the guilty untouched, if only they were sufficiently bribed.

Meanwhile Alcibiades had pursued a career of unbroken success on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. In the winter of 409-408 he had been joined by Thrasyllus at the Hellespont with a considerable reinforcement from Athens, and the two generals combined to defeat the satrap Pharnabazus, first at Abydos, and then

¹ Andoc. i. 96 ff. Gilbert, *Gesch. Ath.* p. 344, proves against Droysen and Herbert that this decree belongs to the period after the Dissolution of the Four Hundred, and not to that after the expulsion of the Thirty. Cp. Grote, vii. 321.

² Thuc. viii. 75.

³ CIA. i. 59.

⁴ Cf. Thuc. viii. 92.

⁵ Andoc. i. 75 f.

⁶ Or. xxv. 14, 15.

408-407 at Chalcedon, after which he was reduced to come to terms and to submit to see Chalcedon once more pay tribute to Athens. These successes were followed by the capture of Selymbria and Byzantium. On the other side the Athenians had indeed to set the loss of Pylos in Messenia, and of Nisaea, the port of Megara—losses serious in themselves, but with little effect upon the revenue. Anytus, the demagogue, who had been despatched to relieve the former place was, on his return, accused of treachery, and only escaped, it was said, by bribing his judges¹. In the autumn of 408 B.C., therefore, Athens had regained the whole of the Thracian and Hellespontine provinces of her old empire, besides many of the islands in the northern Aegean. The Peloponnesian fleet had been annihilated. Pharnabazus, who had so long and so ably supported the Spartan cause, had been forced to consent to an armistice, and to promise a safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the Persian king. And all this had been mainly due to the courage and capacity of a single man, and him an exile; for Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission to return home granted him in 411 B.C.² So far indeed he had acted almost as a sovereign prince. Much still however remained to be done: Euboea and most of Ionia were still in open revolt. Before attempting their reconquest, Alcibiades seems now to have felt that a return to Athens was necessary for him, if ever there was to be a complete reunion between the city and the army. In the spring of 407-406, therefore, he sailed with all his ships to Samos: thence he despatched his friends and colleagues Thrasyllus and Theramenes to Piraeus with all the spoils of war and captured vessels and a crowd of prisoners³ to prepare the way for his reception, while he himself sailed with the remainder of the fleet to Caria, to collect still more money. The Athenians at home were by this time just as ready on their side to welcome him, and even before the arrival of Thrasyllus and Theramenes had chosen among the

¹ Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 27. 5; Diod. xiii. 64, 65.

² Thuc. viii. 97.

³ Diod. xiii. 68. Gilbert (Beitr. 361) refers to this year a newly discovered fragment of Androtion, recording a Spartan embassy to Athens in the archonship of Euctemon, 408-407, to negotiate the ransom of Lacedaemonian prisoners. But the text is too doubtful to base much argument upon it.

generals for the following year, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon. The news of his election reached Alcibiades at Gythium in Laconia, whither he had sailed from Caria, and he at once set out for Piraeus, which he entered on the day of the Plynteria (June), when the shrine of the goddess Athena was covered with a veil. Arrived in the harbour, even now he hesitated to land, so suspicious was he of the real feelings of the people towards him; and it was not until he had seen Euryptolemus and other relatives among the crowd that had assembled to meet him, that he ventured to set foot on shore. Then his partisans closed round him so as to form a sort of body-guard, and escorted him in their midst in triumphal procession from Piraeus to Athens.

In the city opinion was still much divided¹: some said that he had been the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had plotted against him and procured his exile in order to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others maintained that he had been the real cause of all the Athenian misfortunes in the past, and would be just as dangerous in the future.

But for the moment Alcibiades with his marvellous personality carried all before him. The effect of his speeches in his own defence before the Council and Assembly² was such that none dared raise a voice against him. It was at once decreed that the column set up to record his condemnation in 415 B. C. should be cast into the sea, that his goods should be restored to him, and that the curse which the Eumolpidae had pronounced against him should be recalled. He himself was proclaimed *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* by sea and land, as the only man able to restore Athens to her former power. The rich hoped to find in him a strong opponent to the ever-increasing encroachments of the extreme democrats. The poor saw in him a champion who would relieve them of their poverty, and whom they would be glad to support, even though he should assume to himself the rights of sovereign power and make himself tyrant of Athens³. For the moment his enemies were silenced, although they continued, as events soon showed, as active as ever in their intrigues against him. The demagogues seem to have been especially bitter, so completely

¹ i. 4. 13-17.

² Diod. xiii. 69.

³ Plut. Alc. 35; Diod. xiii. 69: cp. Thuc. vi. 15.

were they overshadowed in the eyes of the people by their new rival for popular favour.

It was ominous too that Theodorus the high priest, in removing the old curse, had said¹ that for his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth: while many of the pious and superstitious noted with foreboding that Alcibiades had landed on the Plynteria, the unluckiest day in the whole year.

Meanwhile Alcibiades was occupied in fitting out a new fleet of 100 vessels with the money that he had himself brought into the treasury. He chose Adimantus and Aristocrates, apparently out of the already elected generals for the year, to be his colleagues in the command². But before he sailed, hoping once for all to quiet the religious fears of the Athenians, as well as to assure them of his military prowess, he escorted with all his forces the annual procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which ever since the fortification of Decelea by the Peloponnesians had been obliged to go by sea, King Agis now venturing to offer no opposition.

At last in September all was ready for his departure, for which none were more eager than his enemies; some, according to Plutarch, because they feared that he would soon make himself tyrant; others, we may certainly suppose, because they wanted a clear field left them in which to prosecute their own schemes.

But during the four months that Alcibiades had stayed in Athens, an entire change had come over the aspect of affairs in Asia. The able and energetic Lysander had succeeded the incapable Cratesippidas as admiral of the Spartan fleet; and Cyrus, the younger son of King Darius, had taken the place of the vacillating Tissaphernes as Satrap of Sardis, and had announced his intention of supporting the Peloponnesians with money and by all means in his power, even persuading Pharnabazus, notwithstanding his solemn promises, to hinder the Athenian envoys from proceeding to the Persian court³.

Events soon proved the wisdom of Alcibiades' enemies in hastening his departure. His attack on the little island of Andros was only partially successful. Arrived at Samos, he tried in vain

¹ Plut. Alc. 33.

² Xen. Hell. i. 4. 22; Diod. xiii. 69.

³ i. 4. 7.

to draw Lysander out of the harbour at Ephesus to a general engagement. His overtures to Cyrus through the mouthpiece of Tissaphernes were rejected with scorn. Money and supplies soon ran short, and he was obliged to scour the neighbouring coasts on marauding expeditions, making in his requisitions, it would seem, but little distinction between friend and foe. To crown all, his lieutenant Antiochus, in defiance of his strict orders, ventured on a general engagement during his absence at Phocaea, and suffered a defeat at Notium; and do what he could, Alcibiades could not induce Lysander to give him an opportunity for revenge. Disappointed in their unreasonable expectations of a speedy conquest of Chios and even of all Ionia, the Athenians both at home and on board the fleet were now as vehement in their denunciations of Alcibiades as but shortly before they had been in his praises. All complaints against his conduct were eagerly listened to; and when Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason (not to be confused with the more famous Thrasybulus, the general), returned from the camp to Athens¹, and accused him of maladministration, of treasonable intrigues with Persia and the Peloponnesians, and of building forts of his own, like a sovereign prince, in Thrace², the people at once suspended Alcibiades from his command, ordered his colleague Conon to take his place, and in the annual elections, which happened to occur just at the same time, chose ten new generals, among whom Alcibiades was no longer one³. Alcibiades himself, finding that he was equally unpopular with his own troops, did not wait to hear the result of the accusations against him at home, but retired to his forts in the Thracian Chersonese.

406-405 B.C. At this juncture democrats of all shades seem to have combined to support the constitution, if we may judge from the list of the new generals: for among them Thrasyllus, Leon, and Diomedon had all taken a prominent part in the counter movement against the oligarchs at Samos, in 411 B.C.⁴: Erasinides⁵

¹ Gilbert refers a statement of Himerius (ap. Phot. Bibl. 377) to this affair: Κλεοφῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγράφετο, and sees in it a formal *γραφὴ προδοσίας*. Cobet refers it to the year 415 B.C.

² Diod. xiii. 73; Plut. Alc. 36.

³ Plut. Lys. 5; Nep. Alc. 7; Just. v. 5. 4; Lysias xiv. 38.

⁴ Thuc. viii. 73.

⁵ CIA. i. 59.

had proposed the decree to crown the assassin of Phrynichus the oligarch; Pericles was the son of the great Pericles and Aspasia; while Conon seems rather to have succeeded Nicias in the leadership of the more moderate party. The year was one of great financial distress, due to the difficulty of maintaining Conon's large fleet of 100 vessels, and to the Peloponnesians under the admiral Callicratidas once more taking the offensive by sea, and so cutting off the sources of Athenian revenue. To meet the deficiency all the gold in the Acropolis was coined into money¹. Still, when the news reached Athens that Conon with all his fleet was blockaded at Mytilene, within thirty days the Athenians fitted out a fleet of 110 vessels, making² all the inhabitants of Attica, rich and poor, slave and free, serve alike on board. About August, 406, the two fleets met off the islands of Arginusae, and the Athenians under the command of eight of their ten generals gained a complete victory over the Peloponnesians, Callicratidas himself perishing in the fight. In the ordinary course of things such a victory would have sufficed to ensure for some time the political power of the successful generals. But unfortunately in the moment of victory the generals had neglected both to rescue the survivors clinging to the wrecks of the vessels which had been disabled in the battle, and to bury the corpses of the dead. The news of this neglect excited great indignation among the Athenians at home. A summons was immediately issued for their recall. Thereupon two of their number retired into voluntary exile: the remaining six returned to Athens, were hastily condemned almost without any form of trial, and all alike executed (November 406).

Although there seems to be no evidence for supposing the condemnation of the generals to have been due to an oligarchical conspiracy, its effect, no doubt, was to produce chaos once more among the political parties at Athens. The democrats still clung to their old war policy; and Cleophon was again successful in procuring the rejection of a peace which the Lacedaemonians offered about this time on the same terms as before³—a fact which

¹ Aristoph. *Frogs* 720; Philoch. *Frag.* 120; CIA. i. 140.

² Diod. xiii. 97; Aristoph. *Frogs* 33, 693.

³ Arist. *'Aθ. πολ.* 34. 1.

shows that the power of the demagogues was still as great as ever. Many, on the other hand, began to repent of their recent dismissal of Alcibiades, and even to advocate his immediate recall¹. His friend Adimantus had been one of the two² generals elected to assist Conon. The financial distress was greater than ever, and to meet it an extraordinary board of magistrates, called Poristae³, seems to have been appointed to consider ways and means. The fleet at Samos, paralyzed by the proceedings taken against its late generals at Athens, never followed up the results of its victory, though now commanded by the skilful Conon; and was soon unable to support itself by marauding expeditions, being entirely occupied in watching the movements of the enemy's fleet. For the Peloponnesians, after their disaster, had procured from the Spartan government the restoration of Lysander to the command; and he in the spring of 405 had completely restored its efficiency, being backed up, as before, by Persian gold.

It was probably about this time that the Athenians began to repent of their harsh treatment of the generals, who had won for them the victory of Arginusae: in the spring elections Theramenes, who had taken the leading part in the prosecution, was rejected on the *δοκιμασία* after he had been actually chosen general, because he did not seem to be *εὖνους τῷ πλήθει*⁴; and at the same time complaints seem to have been brought before the Assembly against those individuals, especially Callixenus, who had deceived the people in the trial. The Assembly listened favourably to the complaints, and decreed that the persons accused should be bound over to stand their trial, but amid the internal confusions of the following year they all escaped. It is remarkable that Theramenes was not included in the accusation.

It mattered little, however, what the Athenians at home did or did not do. The fate of Athens was settled once for all at the battle of Aegospotami (c. August 405), when Lysander, without the loss

¹ Aristoph. Frogs 1422, 1500 ff.

² i. 7. 1. Beloch (Att. Pol. 313), relying on the words *στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων* in Schol. Aristoph. Frogs 679, thinks that Cleophon was also elected general at this time. The evidence is of the slightest.

³ Aristoph. Frogs 1505; cp. Gilbert, Gesch. Athens, p. 387; Beloch, Rh. Mus. 1884, p. 249.

⁴ Lysias xiii. 10, 13.

of a single ship of his own, captured the whole Athenian fleet¹. The citizens were at first stunned by the news, reflecting that at last the misery that they had inflicted on less powerful states was about to return on their own heads². But next day the Assembly met and resolved to block up two of the three harbours at Piraeus, and to prepare the city for a siege. Really little could be done : for the Athenians had no fleet, and the corn supply was entirely cut off now that the Hellespont, as well as Euboea, was lost, and the Peloponnesians still harried the country from Decelea. Many weeks, however, passed before the appearance of the dreaded Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was employed in the interval in receiving the submission of the Athenian allies, and in sending all the Athenian citizens and cleruchs, whom he captured, back to Athens in order to increase the number of mouths to be fed on the ever diminishing supply of corn. At last in November he appeared and blockaded Piraeus at the same time that the two Spartan kings Agis and Pausanias advanced with the entire Peloponnesian forces close up to the city walls. Within the city, as a last despairing measure, the democrats carried a proposal made by Patroclides to grant an amnesty to all disfranchised citizens, more especially those who had suffered partial disfranchisement for the part they had taken in the Revolution of the Four Hundred³. At the same time the full rights of Athenian citizenship⁴ were conferred on their faithful allies, the Samians. The exiles however were not recalled. None the less the oligarchs, who saw that their day of power would soon and certainly come with the surrender of the city, seem at the time to have remained quiet. But the forces that the Athenians could muster, even with the citizens all thus united, were so obviously incapable of offering a successful resistance, that so early as December, when the corn supply had completely failed, envoys were sent to Agis with offers of peace on condition that the Athenians became allies of the Lacedaemonians, and retained Piraeus and the Long Walls. Agis referred the envoys to the ephors at Sparta, who alone, he said, had powers to conclude a treaty. But when they reached Sellasia on the Lacedaemonian

¹ Arist. *'Aθ. πολ.* 34. 2.

² ii. 2. 3.

³ Andoc. i. 73 ff.; Lys. xxv. 27; ii. 2. 11 and note.

⁴ CIA. iv. 2, 1 b.

frontier, the ephors, on hearing the terms they had to offer, sent them back with an injunction not to return until the Athenians had come to a better decision. It appears however from the sequel of Xenophon's narrative¹ that they were at the same time informed that a peace might be concluded if the Athenians would consent to the demolition of ten stadia of their Long Walls. For when on their return the envoys announced before the Council the result of their mission, Archestratus was arrested for proposing submission to this condition, and at the same time Cleophon carried a decree in the Assembly forbidding any such proposal for the future on pain of death².

At this crisis Theramenes came forward and promised that, if the people would send him to Lysander, he would at least procure certain information as to whether in requiring the demolition of the Long Walls the Lacedaemonians meant the utter enslavement of Athens, or only a guarantee of Athenian good faith. Theramenes was accordingly despatched, but instead of returning at once with the necessary information, he stayed with Lysander for more than three months, waiting for the moment when the Athenians would be compelled by famine to accept any terms whatsoever. In the fourth month he returned, saying that he had been detained by Lysander, who had at last advised him to apply to the ephors, as they alone had power to conclude a peace. Meantime Cleophon had been put to death on a false charge of failure in his military duties³, brought against him by the oligarchical conspirators, who were once again secretly active: and now hunger silenced all further opposition. Theramenes therefore and nine others were chosen to go to Sparta as ambassadors with full powers. At Sellasia the ten new ambassadors were again stopped by the ephors; but when they said that they were invested with full powers, they were invited to attend a conference of the Peloponnesian confederates at Sparta, which had been summoned to consider the fate of Athens. Here the Thebans and Corinthians advocated the total extirpation of the Athenian name; but the Lacedaemonians, guided, it would appear⁴, rather by motives of self-interest than the patriotic senti-

¹ ii. 2. 14, 15.

² Lysias xiii. 8; Aeschin. ii. 76.

³ Lysias xiii. 15; cp. Xen. i. 7. 35 note.

⁴ Cp. ii. 2. 20 with ii. 3. 41.

ments which they openly professed, refused to allow a city, which had wrought so much for Greek freedom in the past, to be wiped out of the map of Greece, and decided to offer terms, far harder indeed than those offered four months earlier, but reasonable under the circumstances. The terms were to be that the Athenians should demolish their Long Walls and their arsenal at Piraeus, that they should resign all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their Attic territory, that they should readmit all their exiles, and become the allies of Sparta, recognizing the same friends and enemies and following her leadership by land and sea. The number of ships, which they were to be allowed to keep, was left to the discretion of Lysander¹.

The day after their return to Athens, Theramenes, as spokesman of the ambassadors, recited the Lacedaemonian conditions, and proposed their acceptance. Even now a few, headed by Cleomenes, one of the younger demagogues, raised some opposition, but the prevailing distress was too great for any farther delay². The peace was accepted, and on the 16th of Munychion (c. April) Lysander, coming from Samos, sailed into Piraeus along with many of the Athenian exiles. All the ships left in the dockyards were handed over to him, save twelve, which he permitted the Athenians to retain. Then his troops occupied the fortifications, and began the destruction of Piraeus and the Long Walls.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian War almost exactly twenty-seven years after its first outbreak in April 431 B.C.

§ 3. THE TRIAL OF THE GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE.

For this incident in Athenian history Xenophon, as being himself contemporary with the event, is undoubtedly the chief and the best authority. His account seems to be a simple and impartial statement of the facts of the trial, and the points of obscurity are apparently due, not to any wilful perversions, but to omissions as to

¹ ii. 2. 20; Diod. xiii. 107; Plut. Lys. 14; Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 34. 3.

² Cp. Lysias xiii. 13.

questions of fact and of law, which it is difficult to supplement from any other sources. Diodorus (flor. 15 B.C.) gives only a meagre narrative of the trial, based on Theopompus (flor. 333 B.C.), and evidently here, as in other passages, holds a brief in favour of Theramenes, though he condemns the treatment of the generals. Aristophanes' *Frogs*, exhibited in the year 405 B.C., shows us somewhat of the prevailing feeling at the time in Athens, and more especially as to the part played by Theramenes, which would seem to have incurred the general displeasure of the people. Plato (*Apol.* 32 b) and Xenophon (*Mem.* i. 1. 18; iv. 4. 2) more fully describe the bold resistance offered by Socrates to the unconstitutional demands of the Assembly. It may therefore be gathered that the whole literary opinion of the day strongly disapproved the condemnation of the generals.

In his own narrative (i. 6) Xenophon gives a very brief summary of events. In the battle at Arginusae the Athenians, he tells us, lost 25 ships, crews and all, except a few survivors, who made their way to shore. The generals in command had ordered the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus and some of the taxiarchs, with 47 ships, to rescue those still clinging to the wrecks, while they themselves sailed to Mytilene against Eteonicus. But a great storm¹ arose and prevented the rescue, and also, it would seem, their own passage across to Mytilene. Euryptolemus, however, in the course of his speech² adds several details. Immediately after the battle, he says, the Athenian fleet returned to the Arginusae islands, and there the generals held a council of war. Diomedon wished to rescue the survivors on the wrecks, Erasinides to sail at once against the enemy: but Thrasyllus pointed out that both

¹ Grote (vii. 430) points out that immediately after the battle the Peloponnesian despatch boat brought the news of Callicratidas' defeat to Eteonicus at Mytilene, apparently without any difficulty, although its course was NW.; and that afterwards the storm was not sufficient to stop the same boat from sailing out of the harbour and in again once more, nor yet to prevent Eteonicus' fleet from sailing SW. to Chios: in fact the wind was *οὐπιος*, which means not 'fair,' but 'favourable': though it is true that Conon at the same time thought it more prudent to wait till the wind was *εὐδιαίρετος* before he started in pursuit. Probably therefore it blew a strong gale from the N. or NE. Cp. Theramenes' speech (ii. 3. 35) and Diodorus (xiii. 100).

² i. 7. 17, 29.

objects might be effected by leaving 47 ships under the command of the trierarchs, Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and of other subordinate officers, to look after the 12 disabled vessels [13 of them must therefore have sunk in the interval, cp. i. 6. 34], while they themselves sailed with the rest of the fleet against Eteonicus at Mytilene. They accordingly tried, he adds, to sail (§ 31, *ἔπλεον*), but the storm prevented the rescue. Diodorus (xiii. 100) here makes an important addition: the sailors of the 47 ships refused to work *διὰ τε τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κακοπάθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κυμάτων*, the general result being that the men clinging to the sinking ships were left to perish.

Afterwards the generals met together to draw up a despatch to the Athenian Council and people¹. Six of them wished to mention in it the orders given to Theramenes and Thrasybulus; but Pericles and Diomedon out of kindness to the trierarchs persuaded their colleagues to omit it. Accordingly in the despatch they merely wrote that the storm had prevented all rescue².

Xenophon³ goes on to relate that the Athenians at home, as soon as they heard the news, deprived all the generals of their command except Conon, and that they chose to be his colleagues Adimantus and Philocles. Diodorus states in addition that they summoned the generals home with all speed to stand their trial. Thereupon of the eight that had fought at Arginusae two, Protomachus and Aristogenes, retired into voluntary exile: the other six returned to Athens. Among the latter Erasinides was accused immediately on his arrival before a *δικαστήριον* (probably on a *γραφὴ κλοπῆς δημοσίων χρημάτων*) by Archedemus, who was at that time *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*, other charges being made at the same time against his generalship. The result of the trial was apparently

¹ i. 7. 17.

² Diodorus (xiii. 101) gives quite a contradictory account of the despatch: he makes out that Theramenes and Thrasybulus had already returned to Athens before that the generals, suspicious that they might intrigue against them in the city, addressed a letter *πρὸς τὸν δῆμον* to explain that they had given orders to the trierarchs. Grote's attempt (vii. 429) to reconcile the two by supposing that Diodorus has confused a private letter addressed by the generals to their friends at Athens with the public despatch mentioned by Xenophon, is a mere subterfuge.

³ i. 7. 1; Diod. xiii. 101.

that a fine was imposed upon him and imprisonment until he should pay it.

Afterwards the generals jointly made a statement before the Council as to the battle and the severity of the storm, of which Xenophon unfortunately does not give the details. Possibly it may have been the same as the defence that they afterwards made before the Assembly, that they had indeed given orders to Theramenes and Thrasybulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews, but that the violence of the storm had rendered all rescue impossible. This hypothesis would account for Theramenes saying at the first meeting of the Assembly that in their despatch they blamed no one but the storm, and some two years afterwards maintaining in his defence against the accusations of Critias¹ that the generals had begun to accuse him first, so that he had acted, as indeed Critias had asserted, only in self-defence. Such too seems to have been the prevailing opinion as to his conduct at the time, if we may believe Aristophanes²; and Diodorus' account leaves much the same impression. On the other hand it is almost as easy to suppose that Theramenes, being *in extremis*, devised this defence, which, such as it is, seems excessively lame, on the spur of the moment, and that Diodorus invented his account of the trial to justify this subsequent defence. But, however this may be, on Timocrates' proposal, the Council resolved to arrest the generals, and bring them before the Assembly.

The question here arises, what particular form of judicial machinery was thus set in motion against the accused generals. It has been very generally assumed³ that the accusation was an *εἰσαγγελία* of the form which Harpocration⁴ (s. v.) defines to be applicable ἐπὶ δημοσίοις ἀδικήμασι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναβολὴν μὴ ἐπιδεχομένοις, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς μήτε ἀρχὴ κατέστηκε μήτε νόμοι κεῖνται τοῖς ἄρχουσι καθ' οὓς εἰσάξουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἢ πρώτη κατάστασις γίγνεται. In this case the ordinary procedure was (1) for the Council, if after the preliminary hearing the charge appeared to be beyond its own competence, to refer it either to a Heliastic court or, if the charge were very extraordinary, to the Assembly. Then

¹ ii. 3. 35.

² Cp. Frogs 533, 964.

³ Cp. Schömann, *De Comit. Athen.*, p. 206.

⁴ Cp. Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 8. 4; 43. 4; 59. 2; *CIA.* i. suppl. 27 b.

(2) the Assembly when it met might either itself consider whether there was sufficient evidence against the accused for the charge to lie, or, if there could be no manner of doubt upon that point, simply to determine what should be the method of the trial. Now Xenophon's narrative does to a certain extent support this theory: for Euryptolemus in his speech (§ 33) entreats the people not to convict the generals of *προδοσίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας*, and it is well known that in cases of *προδοσία* the *εἰσαγγελία* was the ordinary form of procedure. Again in § 4 Theramenes maintains at the first meeting of the Assembly, that the generals *δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχέιν*: and in § 28¹ Euryptolemus urges the people not to deprive the accused of all opportunity of legal defence: so that both passages might be taken to imply that at its first meeting the Assembly merely gave the case the usual preliminary hearing. On the other hand it must be remembered that neither Xenophon nor Diodorus speak of the charge as an *εἰσαγγελία*, nor of the first meeting of the Assembly as summoned merely to consider the² justifiability of the accusation; that all the precise information we possess about this particular kind of procedure is subsequent to the *νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός*, the date of which is certainly not earlier than the archonship of Euclides 403 B.C.; and that in this particular case the proceedings were irregular throughout.

There is indeed an obvious reason why Timocrates should have proposed in the Council that the generals should be brought before the Assembly rather than before an ordinary Heliastic court: for Theramenes and his party would evidently expect to be able to work with much more effect upon the feelings of the Assembly, made up, as it was at this time, of the old, the young, and the infirm (the large majority of the able-bodied citizens being still on

¹ Cp. §§ 5, 23.

² § 7 may very well be taken to imply that this meeting was merely preliminary, for (1) the generals produced so favourable an impression that many *ιδιώται* were ready to go bail for their appearance, and such appearance could only have been at a proper trial; (2) it was decided (*ἔδοξε*) to adjourn the case *εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν*, and this can only mean that the accusers, seeing things going so much in the generals' favour, contrived to defer the voting, which would evidently have resulted in a decision that there was no *prima facie* case against them.

board the fleet), than upon the feelings of a comparatively select body of sworn dicasts.

Accordingly at the first meeting of the Assembly Theramenes and his followers appeared as the most prominent accusers of the generals, maintaining that, if *any one* was to blame for the death of the shipwrecked crews, it was the generals themselves, who in their despatch had simply mentioned the *storm* as the cause. In reply the generals made only a short defence, as the legal time for speaking was not allowed them, relating how they had given orders to Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and other capable men to rescue the crews, while they themselves were sailing against the enemy; and repeating that really it was the storm which had prevented the rescue¹. Their defence was supported by the evidence of the pilots and sailors of the fleet; and short as it was, produced such a favourable impression, that many came forward to go bail for the generals, and it was quite evident that, had a vote been taken, it would have been in their favour. It was, however, too late in the evening for a show of hands to be seen; so that it was resolved that the case should be adjourned to a second meeting of the Assembly, and that meantime the Council should prepare a *προβούλευμα* as to the method by which the generals should be tried.

In the interval occurred the festival of the Apaturia, which the members of each family met to celebrate in common, and at which the youths, just come of age, were registered on the roll of their demes. This time many a place was seen to be vacant, and many a family appeared in mourning garb. Theramenes and his party, availing themselves of these natural feelings of grief to kindle great indignation against the generals, seem not only to have induced the kinsmen of the dead to attend the second meeting of the Assembly, but, at least according to Xenophon's narrative², to have gone so far as to suborn men to appear among the crowd of real mourners, clad in black garments and with shaved heads, just as if they had been kinsmen.

At the same time too they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the

¹ This is a direct contradiction to Theramenes' statement in ii. 3. 35 that the generals had asserted *οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας*.

² Cp. i. 7. 8 note.

generals in the Council, which met according to the decision of the Assembly, and at his instigation drew up a most monstrous *προβούλευμα*, that since the accusation and defence had been already heard at the previous Assembly (which of course was only partially true), at the next meeting the people should vote at once by tribes, without any further hearing of the case, upon all the generals collectively; that the votes should be deposited in urns, two such urns for each tribe, one for votes of acquittal, the other for votes of condemnation; and that if the generals were found guilty, they themselves should be put to death and their goods should be confiscated. Thus in defiance of all Athenian legal procedure and traditions no real trial was to be granted to the generals at all, the voters were to be intimidated, and sentence was to be passed upon all the accused collectively instead of separately.

Accordingly at the next Assembly Callixenus brought forward this *προβούλευμα*: and the general excitement thus produced was still further heightened by the declaration of a sailor, who had saved his own life by clinging to a meal-tub, that his drowning companions had bidden him, if he should escape, tell the people that the generals had left the most patriotic of the citizens to perish.

Hereupon Euryptolemus, who was cousin to Pericles, one of the accused generals, together with some others, threatened Callixenus with a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* for making so unconstitutional a proposal; but they were howled down by the people and forced to withdraw their threat, one Lyciscus even proposing that they should be included in the same vote as the generals, unless they gave way. Now, however, some of the Prytanes, who were presiding over the meeting, refused to put the question to the vote; but when Callixenus menaced them with the same treatment, they all withdrew their opposition except Socrates.

Foiled in this attempt to procure justice for the accused, Euryptolemus now came forward with an amendment to the *προβούλευμα*, or rather perhaps with an alternative proposal, in advocating which he was able to make a speech of considerable length in defence of the generals. In the course of it he stated and restated the facts of the case, adding that one of the accused had himself been among the shipwrecked mariners, and had only saved his own life

by his own exertions, and pointed out that two legal methods of procedure were open to the people. Either the generals might be tried before the people¹ in accordance with the decree of Canonus², which laid down certain most severe penalties against such persons as had injured the commonwealth: or they might be tried before a Heliastic court under the law against sacrilege and treason. But whichever of these two methods the people preferred, they ought to be tried *separately*, fair time being allowed for the accusation, defence, and taking of the votes. In conclusion, therefore, Euryptolemus formally moved that the former of these two methods should be adopted, namely, that the accused should be separately tried according to the decree of Canonus.

When the two proposals were put to the vote, the people preferred that of Euryptolemus: but *ὑπομοσαμένου Μενεκλέους* a second vote was taken, at which the Council's proposal was adopted. Afterwards the eight generals were condemned to death, the votes being taken presumably on the method laid down in the *προβούλευμα*, and the six of them, who had returned to Athens, were immediately executed.

What however was the nature of this *ὑπωμοσία*? Viewed simply

¹ *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*. Grote seems to be mistaken in laying so much emphasis on the fact that the people in the *ἐκκλησία* were not put on oath: for this passage alone, where Euryptolemus is emphasizing the proper legal procedure, would be sufficient to show that the Assembly had full competence to try such cases itself without referring them to a Heliastic court, and other analogous instances are produced by Schömann (*De Comit. Athen.*, p. 206).

² *τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα*: cp. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1089. Although there is no particular reason why the words *δίχα ἕκαστον* should not have occurred in the decree, the balance of evidence seems on the whole to be against it. For in § 23 Euryptolemus insists just as much on the importance of separate trial for each of the accused, if the other constitutional alternative *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* . . . *ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις* should be adopted instead. Moreover, in § 34 he seems to put the words *δίχα ἕκαστον* into his amendment rather in opposition to the *μὲν ψήφῳ* of Callixenus' *προβούλευμα* than in close connexion with the *κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα*. Finally, the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*ad loc.*) gives quite a different interpretation of the word *διαλελημμένον*, which commentators have assumed to refer to the supposed *δίχα ἕκαστον* of the decree, viz. *κατεχόμενον ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸν κατ' εἰσαγγελίαν ἀποκρινόμενον*—an interpretation which fits in very well with Xenophon's *δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν*.

in relation to the context, the passage seems to mean that Menecles challenged the vote on some formal ground, which rendered it necessary for the *ἐπιστάτης* to put the question to the vote again. Ordinarily, however, a *ὑπωμοσία* meant much more: it meant a determination in the mover of it to bring the question challenged under the cognizance of a court of law, and had the effect of suspending the validity of the resolution until the court had given its decision. But Xenophon never says a word about any such adjournment, and evidently implies that the second vote was taken immediately after the first and on the same day. We have therefore to suppose either that Menecles interposed a *ὑπωμοσία* of a kind not otherwise known, or that the neglect to carry into effect the adjournment that it entailed was merely one more among the many unconstitutional incidents of the day, unless indeed we may believe the otherwise untrustworthy author of the *Axiochus*¹ (Plato 368 e), who speaks of Theramenes and Callixenus having at a subsequent meeting² *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ* suborned the *προεδρί* and so procured the condemnation of the generals.

However that may be, shortly afterwards the Athenians repented of their injustice, and voted that a public prosecution should be

¹ It is impossible to attach much weight to this statement in the *Axiochus*, because, short as it is, it contains two obvious mistakes: (1) it speaks of *πρόεδροι*, although none were instituted before the archonship of Euclides, 403-402 B.C.; (2) it speaks of *τρισμυρίων ἐκκλησιαζόντων*, which is evidently a fallacious computation of the whole body of Athenian freemen. Moreover the whole dialogue, as Grote (Plato, cap. iv.) shows, is a late production, and possesses no authority.

² Gilbert here raises the question as to what became of Socrates' opposition, which both Plato and Xenophon represent to have been unswerving; and finds its solution in the hypothesis of an adjournment, because at a second meeting Socrates would no longer have been *ἐπιστάτης*. Probably, however, Socrates' scruple, which was a strictly legal one, was satisfied by his putting Euryptolemus' alternative motion to the vote, which contained a strictly legal proposal, although its rejection carried with it the passing of the Council's *προβούλευμα*; for this seems to be the force of the preposition in composition in the words *διαχειροτονουμένων*, *διαχειροτονίας*. Nor need the interposition of Menecles' *ὑπωμοσία* have made any difference, if the question was immediately put again on the same day: in this case all that Socrates had to do was to put Euryptolemus' motion over again: and then, when it was rejected, the *προβούλευμα* was *ipso facto* carried. Cp. Goodwin in the *Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1885, p. 172.

instituted against those who had deceived the people. Callixenus and four others were accordingly arrested, Theramenes not being among the number, which seems to show that some distinction was drawn between his conduct and that of the rest, possibly because it was felt, as Diodorus insists at some length, that he was driven to it by the exigencies of self-defence. But before the accused could be tried, they all escaped amid the political confusion of the following year. Callixenus indeed ventured to return with Thrasybulus and the exiled democrats in 403 B.C., but hated by all, says Xenophon, he died of starvation.

§ 4. SPARTA.

In the period covered by Xenophon's *Hellenics*, the three leading features of Sparta and the Spartan Constitution are the decrease of population or at any rate of the full Spartiate or ὁμοιοι, the decay of the kingly power, and the increase of the power of the ephors. In the absence of materials nothing like a continuous history of these changes can be written: still for this particular period we are peculiarly fortunate; we possess not only the scattered notices which, as coming from a writer the circumstances of whose life made him specially qualified to speak with authority on all Spartan affairs, are of chief importance, but also a contemporary sketch¹ (c. 378) of the Spartan Constitution, which has been generally attributed, not without good reasons, to Xenophon himself, and which at the very least must have been written by a well-informed contemporary. To these we can add the well-known criticisms of Aristotle in the *Politics*², which, though taken strictly they apply to a period some twenty or thirty years later, are most useful as confirming and supplementing the contemporary evidence. Finally, some further materials can be derived from the nearly contemporary *Encomium of Agesilaus*³ (c. 354-338), from antiquity onwards often, but without sufficient reason, attributed to Xenophon himself, Plutarch's *Lives of Lysander and Agesilaus*, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, &c.

¹ Cp. Roquette, p. 83.

² ii. 9.

³ Cp. Roquette, p. 101, and on the other side Class. Review, xiii. 343 ff.

Population.

Aristotle's ¹ opinion on the cause of Sparta's ruin is well known : *μίαν γὰρ πληγὴν* (Leuctra) *οὐχ ὑπῆνεγκεν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν*. From the context it appears that he refers to the fully privileged Spartiates or *ῥῆμοιοι*, who contributed their share to the *συσσίτια* or public messes : for though there was enough land, he says, to maintain 1,500 horsemen and 30,000 hoplites, in his day there were less than 1,000 ; once on a time however there had been 10,000. Can we estimate the number of full Spartiates before Leuctra ? At the time of the Persian Wars there were 8,000 ², but at the time of Leuctra these seem to have dwindled to some 1,500, for at that battle four ³ *morae* contained 700 Spartiates of all ages up to 55. There were however six *morae* in all, or some 1,050 Spartiates between 20 and 55 years of age ; consequently the total number cannot be put at more than 1,500. Long before Leuctra the conspiracy ⁴ of Cinadon had in 396 B. C. made the Spartiates only too well aware of the insecurity of their position. Then in the market-place Cinadon could count only 74 Spartiates and more than 4,000 helots, neodamodes, hypomeiones, and perioeci, all of whom would 'gladly eat the Spartiates raw.' No wonder therefore that we find a growing aversion to employ Spartiates on foreign service : these 1,500 Spartiates had in the first instance to act as garrison against some 80,000 internal foes, all of whom were for various reasons anxious to break through the walls of the ever-narrowing oligarchy. Thus in 399 no Spartiates at all were despatched in Thibron's army ⁵, but 1,000 neodamodes ; in 396 King Agesilaus volunteered ⁶ to command in Asia at the head of 30 Spartiates, 2,000 neodamodes, and 6,000 allies ; in 382 Eudamidas led ⁷ 2,000 neodamodes, perioeci and Sciritae against Olynthus with no Spartiates at all. By 374 this custom had become notorious, and Polydamas the Pharsalian warns ⁸ the Lacedaemonians that it is useless to send against so powerful a monarch as Jason *νεοδαμῶδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ιδιώτην*. In 369 Ischolaus

¹ Pol. ii. 9. 16.² Her. vii. 234.³ vi. i. 1 ; 4. 15, 17. Cp. Ages. 2. 24 καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μείωνων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων.⁴ iii. 3. 4 ff.⁵ iii. i. 4.⁶ iii. 4. 2.⁷ v. 2. 24.⁸ vi. i. 14.

had ¹ as garrison in the frontier station of Oeum only 400 neodamodes and Tegean exiles to resist the Theban advance. Thus when their own numbers could not, after Leuctra, have been more than 1,000 able-bodied men, the Spartans had only too good reason to be afraid of the 6,000 helots who at this time, in response to the promise of freedom, volunteered to fight as hoplites against the Thebans, because, as Xenophon ² puts it, *λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι*. But even this policy of wholesale manumission of helots, which seems to have been begun ³ in the course of the Peloponnesian War, and which raised them to the position of neodamodes, did not suffice to secure their fidelity; for in a later, perhaps exaggerated, passage ⁴, Xenophon tells us that after Leuctra all the helots and many of the perioeci revolted. Messenia of course was never recovered: but how the Spartiates succeeded with their small numbers in quelling the revolt in Laconia itself—which, however difficult a task, they certainly achieved—we are nowhere told. When once their military prestige was gone after the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea, and the disgrace of the Theban invasions, it was obvious that so narrow an oligarchy, composed of about 1,000 citizens, could never regain Messenia, still less their old Peloponnesian hegemony, and least of all their empire over the Aegean coasts. The amazing thing is that they ever won an empire at all and managed to keep it so long as they did.

Kings.

In the course of the fifth century the dual monarchy had lost much both in power and in dignity. The quarrels between the two royal houses had been almost constant. Prosecutions for misconduct, which generally resulted in condemnation, had been frequent—Cleomenes, Demaratus, Leotychides, Plistoanax, Pausanias, had all been driven into exile. This again had occasioned long minorities ⁵; and the guardians of the infant kings had often played into the hands of the ephors or in other ways degraded the kingly office. Of the kings who reigned between 411 and 362 B. C. Xenophon mentions Pausanias, Agesipolis, and Cleombrotus of the

¹ vi. 5. 26.

² vi. 5. 29.

³ Thuc. iv. 80; v. 34; vii. 19.

⁴ vii. 2. 2; cp. Ages. 2. 24.

⁵ iv. 2. 9.

Agiad line and Agis and Agesilaus of the Eurypontid line: Plistoanax (426-408), Agesipolis II (371-370), and Cleomenes II (370-309) of the Agiads he passes over in silence, the last, doubtless, because he was a minor. The other five occupy an important position in his narrative: yet, notwithstanding the commanding influence of Agesilaus, they all appear as subordinate to the ephors. The honorary privileges of the kingship, however, enumerated by Herodotus¹, seem to have remained unimpaired. As of old, the kings held² the traditional priesthoods and performed the traditional sacrifices. When they were at home they messed³ together, and they were always provided with a double portion. They consulted⁴ the oracles on behalf of the state. In the field they were attended⁵ by a body-guard and by a retinue⁶ of polemarchs and officials. After death they were buried⁷ with more than human honours.

Again, their military powers were but little curtailed. Though the author of the *Respublica Laconensis* states (15. 2) that Lycurgus only gave them the privilege *στρατιὰν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ*, there is still some trace of the more independent power ascribed to them by Herodotus⁸ *πόλεμόν γε ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται*. Thus c. 388 Agesilaus declared⁹ war against the Acarnanians, as he had promised them the year before; and again in 387 he threatened that he would *πόλεμον ἐξοίσει* against the Corinthians; of course it is possible, or, rather perhaps probable, that in both instances Agesilaus did not really act independently, but relied¹⁰ on his influence with the ephors and Assembly. Once in the field, however, although in European campaigns there were two ephors¹¹, and in Asiatic campaigns 30 commissioners¹² always in attendance, the king enjoyed the full powers of commander-in-chief, unhampered by his colleague; for since the quarrels¹³ of Cleomenes and Demaratus of old, the Spartans had, with only one exception¹⁴,

¹ vi. 57.

² iii. 3. 4, 43; iv. 3. 14, 21; v. 1. 33; de Rep. Lac. 15. 1.

³ v. 3. 20; de Rep. Lac. 15. 4. ⁴ iv. 7. 2. ⁵ iv. 3. 4, 6; 5. 8.

⁶ de Rep. Lac. 13. 1, 7. ⁷ iii. 3. 1; v. 3. 19. ⁸ vi. 56.

⁹ iv. 6. 13; 7. 1; v. 1. 34. ¹⁰ Cp. ii. 4. 29; v. 1. 32.

¹¹ ii. 4. 36; de Rep. Lac. 13. 5. ¹² iii. 4. 20; iv. 1. 5, 30, 34.

¹³ Her. v. 75.

¹⁴ ii. 2. 7, 8. Agis being already at Decelea, Pausanias led the Peloponnesian forces against Athens in 405.

adhered to the law made at the time *μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπασθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης τῆς στρατιῆς*; indeed it had become customary, exceptions being rare, for one of the kings always to be at home¹. As commander-in-chief, the king summoned² or not, as he chose, his council of war, but he was not bound to follow the advice of his councillors. He controlled all military operations, both strategical and tactical. He had full powers over life and death. He could make truces³ and enter into negotiations⁴ with the enemy, though the ratification and indeed the conditions of any permanent peace rested⁵ with the home authorities. In conquered states he could appoint harmosts⁶ as he would, and make any changes he thought fit⁷ for the proper administration of government. None the less the king was held responsible for the good or ill success of all his measures, and on his return home could be cited before a court composed of the other king, the 28 gerontes and the 5 ephors. Thus Pausanias, for his failure in Boeotia in 395, was brought⁸ to trial by his enemies at Sparta and condemned to death, only escaping by flight; and his friends pointed⁹ out to Cleombrotus just before Leuctra the danger of prosecution that he ran, if he again declined battle. Thus the kings still enjoyed and exercised to the full their ancient right of commanding the Spartan armies in the field. Only once was a king entrusted with the command of the fleet as well, when in 395 the government, wishing to strengthen his position in Asia, commissioned Agesilaus *καταστήσασθαι*¹⁰ *ναύαρχον ὄντινα αὐτὸς βούλοιτο*, and he abused their trust by appointing his incapable brother-in-law Pisander. The kings were, as Aristotle says¹¹, *στρατηγοὶ αἰδίοι*, and their form of kingship was *στρατηγία διὰ βίου κατὰ γένος*.

It is when we come to consider their political powers that we see the real weakness of the Spartan kings, even of such a king as Agesilaus himself. In earlier times the two kings had apparently¹², if united in their action, exercised independent powers; but the disasters to the dual kingship in the fifth century had rendered any

¹ v. 3. 10.² iii. 5. 22; iv. 5. 7; vi. 4. 14; de Rep. Lac. 13. 1.³ iii. 4. 5.⁴ v. 1. 32, 33.⁵ ii. 2. 12; iii. 4. 26.⁶ iii. 2. 29; v. 4. 15, 41.⁷ iii. 4. 7; iv. 2. 5; iv. 2. 3, 4; Ages. 1. 37, 38.⁸ iii. 5. 25.⁹ vi. 4. 5.¹⁰ iii. 4. 27.¹¹ Pol. ii. 9. 33; iii. 14. 6.¹² Her. v. 75; vi. 50.

such action, even if still possible in theory¹, quite impossible in practice. Perpetual dissension was considered² the normal condition between the two kings, and even the philo-Laconian Xenophon notes³ almost with surprise that Agesilaus sincerely mourned the untimely death of his youthful colleague Agesipolis. Consequently we are not surprised to find that except in a few judicial functions of minor importance, like the marriage of heiresses, &c., which they certainly possessed in Herodotus' time⁴ and probably still held, we hear of the kings in the fourth century exercising no powers of their own which were not shared by the gerontes or ephors. As members of the *γερονσία*—a body only thrice mentioned⁵ by Xenophon in the Hellenics—they of course took their share in its deliberations, and gave their votes⁶ in its judicial proceedings. Like other magistrates they also had the right⁷ of initiating business and speaking in the Apella. But practically, even when the two kings are not at loggerheads, they appear powerless to effect their objects unless they can secure the support of the ephors or the majority of them, or the support of their own personal followers. Thus Pausanias⁸, wishing to checkmate Lysander's policy at Athens, 404-403, first wins over three of the ephors to his side, and finally receives commands from the ephors and Assembly to reconcile the democrats and oligarchs at Athens as best he could. Similarly Agesilaus was unable⁹ to coerce the Phliasians into submission until his friends at home at his instigation had carried *ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη*. In fact the author of the Encomium cites¹⁰ as one of his virtues Agesilaus' submissive attitude towards the ephors; and in the same way Plutarch¹¹ states that Agesilaus got his way only by courting and flattering the ephors. Once, it is true—at any rate according to the latter authority¹²—the Lacedaemonians after Leuctra chose Agesilaus *νομοθέτης* with full powers, but he used them only to suspend the harsh law against survivors

¹ Cp. Plut. Agis, 12.

² Ar. Pol. ii. 9. 30 *σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς*.

³ v. 3. 20.

⁴ vi. 57.

⁵ iii. 3. 5, 8; vii. 1. 32.

⁶ v. 4. 26.

⁷ iii. 4. 2.

⁸ ii. 4. 29-38.

⁹ v. 3. 23.

¹⁰ Ages. i. 36.

¹¹ Plut. Ages. 4, 5.

¹² Ibid. 30.

from a battle field; and again¹ at the time of the first Theban invasion we find Agesilaus not only taking all the military measures for defence, but quelling conspiracies by putting even Spartiates to death without trial—*οὐδενὸς δίχα δίκης τεθανατωμένου πρότερον Σπαρτιατῶν*. Once too a king—it was Agesilaus—goes² as ambassador. Nothing, however, more clearly shows the utter degradation of the kingship than the fact that in his extreme old age Agesilaus not only consented, but volunteered to serve as a mercenary leader in Egypt. Nor do we find throughout the whole period any attempt to reform the kingly office or revive its old powers, except we credit the very dubious story in Plutarch³ of Lysander's scheme, discovered in his papers after death, to throw open the kingship to all Heraclidae, or, according to another version, to all Spartiatæ. Kingship in any ordinary sense of the word had at Sparta become impossible, and nothing demonstrates this so clearly as the career of Xenophon's hero, Agesilaus himself.

The Ephors.

Many passages in the Hellenics illustrate the great powers of the ephors in this period, but no particular steps can be traced in their development. Writing about 360, Plato⁴ remarks *τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων θαυμαστὸν ὡς τυραννικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ γέγρονε*, and some twenty years later Aristotle⁵ similarly describes their power as *λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύραννον*. On what then was this power based and wherein did it consist? Any Spartiate⁶ was eligible for the office, and the five⁷ ephors were elected by the whole body of the people: decisions of the majority⁸ were binding on the rest. The only independent authority however attributed to them is jurisdiction⁹ in civil suits—probably their original function; their supremacy rested on their position as the executive magistrates both of the Senate and of the Assembly, whose decrees it was their business to carry into action. Often then, we must suppose, Xenophon and our other authorities attribute to the ephors alone actions which were really due to the voting of the deliberative bodies. They

¹ Plut. Ages. 31-33.

² vi. 5. 4.

³ Plut. Lys. 24.

⁴ Laws, iv. 712.

⁵ Pol. ii. 9. 20.

⁶ Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 19; 10. 10.

⁷ Ages. i. 36.

⁸ ii. 3. 34; 4. 29.

⁹ Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 23; iii. 1. 10.

had the right of summoning the Senate¹; they presided² over its meetings; they initiated³ business within it; they took part, either as accusers⁴ or as judges⁵ or as both, when it sat as the supreme criminal court. Similarly they summoned⁶ the Assembly, presided⁷ over its meetings, introduced measures (which would mostly be those that had already received the approval of the Senate), and carried out its decrees. We need not be surprised therefore to find that Xenophon ascribes the same powers indifferently to the ephors, to the ephors and Assembly, to τὰ οἴκοι τέλη⁸ or οἱ ἐν τέλει or οἱ οἴκοι ἄρχοντες, and to the κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων; nor to find that while Isocrates⁹ speaks of the γέροντες as ἐπιστατοῦντες ἅπασιν τοῖς πράγμασι, Xenophon speaks rather of the ephors and barely mentions¹⁰ the γέροντες in the Hellenics. For the γέροντες—no man being eligible for election before he was sixty—were too old, Aristotle¹¹ tells us, to pursue any vigorous policy; so that, when the kings were reduced to political nonentities, there was no initiative force left in the state save the ephors. In all departments of administration, but more especially in the management of foreign affairs, the ephors appear in Xenophon's pages as practically supreme. Thus, though Agesilaus¹² receives the first warning of Cinadon's conspiracy, the traitor gives his information to the ephors, and it is the ephors who with the advice of¹³ a few

¹ iii. 3. 8.² Cp. Her. vi. 57.³ Plut. Agis, 5. 8.⁴ v. 4. 24.⁵ Paus. iii. 5. 2.⁶ ii. 2. 20.⁷ Thuc. i. 87; cp. Hell. v. 2. 11.

⁸ Τὰ οἴκοι τέλη and the similar phrases seem to be used by Xenophon in no very definite sense, but merely to denote in general terms the highest home authority at Sparta dealing with the matter in hand. Thus in Anab. ii. 6. 4, τὰ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τέλη are distinguished both from the πόλις and the ephors, and mean the senators and the ephors sitting as the criminal court (cp. Paus. iii. 5. 2); in Hell. iii. 2. 23, τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων is used as the equivalent of οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία two lines above (so too vi. 4. 2, 3). Other passages, where these or similar phrases occur, but where the precise authorities meant cannot be determined, are iii. 2. 6; 4. 27; 5. 23; v. 3. 23; vi. 5. 28.

⁹ xii. 154; cp. Polyb. vi. 45 οἱ δὲ προσαγορευόμενοι γέροντες διὰ βίου, δι' ὧν καὶ μεθ' ὧν πάντα χειρίζεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν.

¹⁰ iii. 3. 5, 8; vii. 1. 32.¹¹ Pol. ii. 9. 25.¹² iii. 3. 4 ff.

¹³ In iii. 3. 8 the ephors are said not even to have summoned ἡ μικρὰ καλουμένη ἐκκλησία, but to have consulted only a few of the senators. In the absence of all further evidence it is of course impossible to determine the nature of the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, but the context and the general use

of the senators take the necessary measures for the suppression of the conspiracy and for the execution of Cinadon and his accomplices. Similarly after Leuctra the ephors¹ on hearing the news at once arranged for the continuance of the games, the suppression of all outward signs of lamentation, and the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Thebans.

Again, in negotiations with foreigners or allies, the ephors play the most prominent part, though any ultimate decision rests with the Assembly. Thus in 404 the ephors refused² permission to the Athenian envoys to cross the Lacedaemonian frontier, and again some months afterwards allowed³ Theramenes and his colleagues to enter Lacedaemon and introduced them to the Spartan Assembly. In 403 οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἑκκληῖται listened⁴ to the representatives of both the Athenian rival factions. In 401 the ephors carried⁵ on negotiations with Cyrus' envoys. Similarly in 384 the ephors⁶ listened to the appeals of the Phliasian exiles and procured their restoration to their native city; and in 382 they first heard⁷ the message of the Acanthian and Apolloniate envoys before they introduced them to the Assembly.

The Assembly alone had the ultimate power⁸ of declaring war and appointing generals; but the ephors took all the necessary measures to carry the decree into effect, the technical phrase⁹ for which was *φρουρὰν φαίνειν*. Thus they proclaimed¹⁰ what troops were to serve in the projected expedition; they gave the commanders general instructions¹¹ on their departure, kept¹² as close a watch as possible on their movements, held repeated communications¹³ with them, suspended¹⁴ them, if they saw fit, summoned

of the term *ἐκκλησία* seem to point to its being composed rather of such of the *ὄμῃοι* as were actually present in Sparta, or to some particular section of them, and not of special officials like the kings, senators and ephors. For various views cp. Dict. Antiq. i. p. 703.

¹ vi. 4. 16.

² ii. 2. 13.

³ ii. 2. 19.

⁴ ii. 4. 38.

⁵ iii. 1. 1.

⁶ v. 2. 9.

⁷ v. 2. 11.

⁸ iv. 2. 9; 6. 3; v. 2. 32; 3. 23; vi. 4. 3; cp. 5. 10; cp. v. 1. 33.

⁹ iii. 2. 23, 25; 5. 6; iv. 2. 9; v. 3. 13; 4. 47; vi. 4. 17; 5. 10, &c.; cp. v. 4. 14.

¹⁰ Cp. de Rep. Lac. 11. 2 οἱ ἔφοροι προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἡπνεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις; cp. vi. 4. 17.

¹¹ iii. 1. 1; 5. 6.

¹² iii. 1. 8, 9.

¹³ iii. 1. 7; 2. 6, 12.

¹⁴ iii. 1. 7; 2. 11; iv. 2. 2, 3; v. 4. 24; iv. 8. 23, 32; cp. de Rep. Lac. 8. 4.

them home to account for their conduct, and reversed¹ their arrangements. If one of the kings was in command, two ephors accompanied² him—not indeed in far distant expeditions like those³ of Agesilaus in Asia Minor—without⁴ however any power of direct interference. To the ephors again the commanders, whether kings or ordinary Spartiates, referred⁵ the enemy as the ultimate arbiters of peace or war—not, as we have seen already, that they really possessed this power, but only that they practically exercised it through their control over the Assembly.

Whatever therefore may have been their original powers, Xenophon clearly shows that in the half century covered by his Hellenics the ephors exercised undisputed authority in all departments of government outside military commands. No Spartan—not even a king—ventured to question their power. In fact, the panegyrist of Agesilaus can find⁶ no higher praise to say of his hero, when he was summoned home from Asia, than that ἐπείθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν διαφερόντως ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἔτυχεν ἐστηκὼς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε.

Admiralty.

The origin of the admiralty at Sparta, like that of other Lacedaemonian institutions, is shrouded in some obscurity. Herodotus (iii. 56) speaks of a Spartan naval expedition undertaken against Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, about 525 B. C., but does not mention who was the commander. He does, however, apply the title of ναύαρχος to Eurybiades at the battle of Salamis (viii. 42), but he calls king Leotychides, who commanded the Greek fleet at Mycale in 479 B. C., στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος (viii. 131), showing that at that date the office was not permanently separated from the kingship. From this time, with the doubtful exceptions of Pausanias the regent and Dorcis (Thuc. i. 95), we hear nothing of the admiralty till the time of the Peloponnesian War, after the outbreak of which till its close a tolerably complete list of admirals can be made out all the time that the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea. The list begins with Cnemus 430–429 B. C. (Thuc. ii. 66, 80, 93). Alcidas succeeded after a year's interval, 428–427 (Thuc. iii. 16, 26): then after another interval, Thrasymelidas was admiral in 425 (Thuc.

¹ iii. 4. 2.

² ii. 4. 36.

³ iii. 4. 8, 20; iv. 2. 3.

⁴ de Rep. Lac. 13. 5.

⁵ ii. 2. 7, 17.

⁶ i. 36.

iv. 11); but this year the Spartans lost their entire fleet at Pylos, and built no more ships until after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse. In 413-412 Melancredas (Thuc. viii. 6) was admiral of the newly built fleet: he was followed in the two next years by Astyochus (Thuc. viii. 20) and Mindarus (Thuc. viii. 85), who perished at the battle of Cyzicus in the spring of 410 B.C. It is doubtful whether Pasippidas, who was commissioned to collect together what ships he could (i. 1. 32), was actually admiral or not, and it is doubtful again, when the titular admiral Cratesippidas took command over the ships that he had thus collected, whether he did so in 410 (Xenophon indeed apparently narrates the fact as occurring in 410) or at the end of Pasippidas' year, i.e. 409. At any rate Cratesippidas was not succeeded by Lysander till the summer of 407 (i. 5. 1). At the end of his year of office Lysander was followed by Callicratidas, who was drowned at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. After an interval of some months the fleet was handed over to Lysander as ἐπιστολεύς, or second in command, the nominal admiral being Aracus. Then there is a gap of one year in our information, during which Lysander was again actual commander of the fleet, whoever may have been the titular admiral, and for the following year (404-403) Libys, the brother of Lysander, was appointed to be admiral.

At the time of the expedition of the Ten Thousand the succession seems to have become somewhat irregular. According to the *Hellenica*¹ the admiral Samius gave active support to Cyrus in 401. But in the *Anabasis*² Pythagoras appears about July in his place, if indeed he is not to be regarded as his successor. Then in March 400 we hear of Anaxibius as admiral, and in November of the same year³ he was succeeded by Polus. When the Spartans declared war against Persia in 397, Pharax⁴ was admiral. In 395 king Agesilaus, being in Asia, was entrusted by the home government with the nomination of the admiral and appointed⁵ his incapable brother-in-law Pisander. During the Corinthian war, when the Spartans once more persevered in naval operations with greater constancy, the list again becomes more complete. The

¹ iii. 1. 1; cp. note.

⁴ iii. 2. 12.

² i. 4. 2.

⁵ iii. 4. 27-29.

³ *Anab.* vii. 2. 5.

office was held by Podanemus¹ in 393, by Teleutias² in 392, by Ecdicus³ in 391, by Teleutias⁴ again in 390, though probably as *ἐπιστολεύς*, by Hierax⁵ in 389, and by Antalcidas⁶ in 388. Finally, after the formation of the second Athenian League the Spartans once more found themselves obliged to maintain a fleet at sea. Accordingly we hear of Pollis⁷ as admiral in 377, of Nicolochus⁸ as admiral in 376, and of Mnasippus as admiral in 374–373 with Hypermenes⁹ as his secretary. Mnasippus is the last admiral known to history.

As to the powers of the office Aristotle (Pol. ii. 9. 33) calls it *σχέδον ἑτέρα βασιλεία*—a criticism which seems, however, to be true only of Lysander, and possibly of Teleutias, the brother of king Agesilaus (392–391 B.C.); and which seems tacitly to refer to Aristotle's previous definition of the kingship as merely a *στρατηγία διὰ βίου*. In this respect the admiral was indeed another king, having a power independent of and parallel with that of the two ordinary kings. But in another respect his position was far inferior and more precarious: for the office was, as a general rule (the case of Cratesippidas, who was sent to command whatever ships he could find, being apparently an exception), an annual one—at least so it would appear from the list of admirals that can be made out with tolerable certainty so long as the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea—and moreover the same individual could not legally hold it twice (ii. 1. 7). In the case of Lysander (perhaps too of Teleutias), indeed, the ephors discovered an easy evasion of the law, by appointing him for two years *ἐπιστολεύς*, or second in command, to a merely nominal admiral: and it was while holding this subordinate position that Lysander attained to his greatest power, and acted like a sovereign prince in the Aegean. Thus at the siege of Athens (405–404) he appears as commander of the fleet quite on an equality with the kings Agis and Pausanias in command of the army, and further to have the advantage over them in that his action was not hampered by the presence of a colleague. Again, when any admiral had proved himself inefficient or untrustworthy, the Spartan government preferred, as they did

¹ iv. 8. 11.² iv. 4. 19; 8. 11.³ iv. 8. 20.⁴ iv. 8. 23; cp. Intro. p. li.⁵ v. 1. 3.⁶ v. 1. 6.⁷ v. 4. 61.⁸ vi. 2. 4.⁹ vi. 2. 25.

with the kings, rather to send out *σύμβουλοι* to advise him than simply to deprive him of his office (cp. Thuc. vi. 85 ; viii. 39), unless this was absolutely necessary. Ecdicus¹ the admiral for 391 does indeed seem to have been superseded, though even this instance is doubtful.

The office of the *ἐπιστολεύς* or second in command has already been referred to in the case of Lysander. But in ordinary cases the secretary was appointed, as Pollux (i. 96) declares, to be simply *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναύαρχου*. Thus after the death of Mindarus his secretary Hippocrates took the command of the fleet (i. 1. 23): the admiral Callicratidas left his secretary Eteonicus at the head of the squadron blockading Conon at Mytilene, while he himself sailed to meet the Athenians at Arginusae, and after his death his place was filled by Eteonicus until the arrival of a definitely appointed successor: and the secretary Hypermenes took Mnasippus' place on the death of that admiral at Corcyra.

As to the method of election to the admiralship nothing at all is known, though it is plain that the post must have been regarded as of great significance in the struggle of political parties at Sparta. Thus the choice of Lysander three times to command the fleet, once as admiral and twice as secretary, followed by the choice of his brother Libys, and later of his friend Anaxibius, points to the supremacy of his party in the home government, and similarly the appointment of his opponent Callicratidas in 406 must have meant a temporary check to his policy, though but few details can be made out from the confused and unchronological account of Plutarch. Neither does it seem possible to arrive with any certainty at the time of year at which the admiral entered upon office. *A priori* we should expect the beginning of the summer² season, and several instances can be adduced which suit best with this assumption. On the other hand instances to the contrary are also to be found. Probably therefore the Spartan government was in each case led³ by the circumstances of the moment.

¹ Cp. Introd. p. liv.

² Cp. Beloch, *Philologus*, xliii. p. 272 ff.

³ iii. 4. 27 ; Thuc. viii. 20.

Army.

In Xenophon's time all the Spartiatae of the ages from twenty to sixty years (after which no citizen¹ was bound to serve abroad) were divided into six² morae. As however there were not more than 1,500 full Spartiatae all told, and we hear³ of 576, 600, and perhaps (?) 1,000 men in each mora at different times—the number varying no doubt with the different ages called out to serve—*ὑπομείονες* and perioeci must have been included as well, though in what proportions it is impossible to discover: the term *πολιτικόν* or *πολιτικά* moreover is frequently⁴ applied to the whole Lacedaemonian force as distinct from the *σύμμαχοι*. Each mora was divided⁵ into two lochi, each lochus⁶ into four pentecostyes, and each pentecostys into two enomotiae⁷. These tactical units were commanded respectively by polemarchs⁸, lochagi, penteconteres and enomotarchs⁹. The cavalry were similarly¹⁰ divided into six morae, each commanded by a hipparmostes¹¹: they never numbered more than 600¹²; their horses were maintained¹³ by the wealthiest men in the state, but their riders were those citizens who were physically most unfit to serve as hoplites—οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι—and consequently they formed the most inefficient branch of the Spartan service.

The 300¹⁴ so-called *ἰππεῖς*, who were really hoplites, formed the body-guard of the king. By the *δορυφόροι* of Agesilaus in iv. 5. 8 Xenophon probably means this body of men, and he incidentally mentions¹⁵ one of their three officers as *ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἰππαγρετῶν* in his story of Cinadon's conspiracy.

The perioeci always served as hoplites, even before they were enrolled in the Spartan morae.

¹ v. 4. 13.² vi. 4. 12; de Rep. Lac. 11. 4.³ vi. 4. 12; iv. 5. 12; 2. 16.⁴ iv. 4. 19; v. 3. 25; vi. 4. 26; vii. i. 28; 4. 20.⁵ vii. 4. 20; 5. 10. The *τέτταρες* of de Rep. Lac. 11. 4 is probably a confusion of *δύο* with the numeral sign *δ'*.⁶ It is noticeable that in the first six books of the Hellenics no lochi are mentioned (though lochagi are, iii. 1. 28; 2. 16), and that in iv. 3. 15 the term *ἡμισυ μόρας* is used instead of *λόχος*. Similarly no pentecostyes are mentioned at all, though penteconteres appear twice, iii. 5. 22; iv. 5. 7.⁷ vi. 4. 12.⁸ iv. 3. 21, 23 and *passim*.⁹ Thuc. v. 66.¹⁰ de Rep. Lac. 11. 4.¹¹ iv. 4. 10; 5. 12.¹² iv. 2. 16.¹³ vi. 4. 10, 11.¹⁴ de Rep. Lac. 4. 1-4; Strabo, 481; Thuc. v. 72.¹⁵ iii. 3. 9.

The helots originally served only as shield-bearers¹, one being attached to each hoplite, or as light-armed troops. But during and after the Peloponnesian War a considerable number of them were given their freedom, when they were called *νεοδαμώδεις*², and afterwards served as hoplites—more especially on distant expeditions. Thus there were 1,000 neodamodes in Thibron's³ army and 2,000 in Agesilaus' army in Asia. They were generally regarded⁴ as inferior troops and were often under the command of an *ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης*, called *ἀρμυστής*.

The Sciritae, drawn from the district in the north of Laconia, formed a picked body of troops. In 418 they numbered⁵ 600. In battle array they were always posted on the left⁶ wing; on the march they formed⁷ the vanguard, and they seem to have been selected⁸ for specially perilous undertakings.

Xenophon gives us very few materials for estimating the total available strength of the Lacedaemonian forces: in fact only once⁹—before the battle of the Nemea—does he condescend to detailed numbers, when he tells us that there were 6,000 Lacedaemonian hoplites and 600 Lacedaemonian cavalry, supported by 7,500 hoplites of the allies, 300 Cretan archers, and 400 slingers, at a time when Agesilaus, we must remember, had taken with him to Asia 2,000 neodamodes. Again, as there were four morae at Leuctra¹⁰, and each mora contained sixteen enomotiae, and each enomotia thirty-six men, we may perhaps infer that some 2,300 Lacedaemonians fought in the battle. Plutarch¹¹ estimates the numbers of the Peloponnesian army at 11,000 on this occasion, but no reliance can be placed upon his figures; this, of course, would make the number of allies as three to one.

When the king was in command, he was accompanied by a select body of *σύσκηνοι*¹², comprising the polemarchs, three of the peers (*ἄριστοι*) or full Spartan citizens who were in charge of the commissariat, and two Pythii; and surrounded by a numerous staff, known as *οἱ περὶ δαμοσίαν* (sc. *σκηνὴν*), which included¹³ not

¹ *ὑπασπισταί*, iv. 5. 14; 8. 39.

² i. 3. 15.

³ iii. 1. 4; 4. 2; cp. v. 2. 24.

⁴ iii. 1. 4; iv. 2. 5; v. 2. 24; vi. 1. 14.

⁵ Thuc. v. 68.

⁶ Thuc. v. 67.

⁷ de Rep. Lac. 13. 8.

⁸ v. 4. 52; Cyrop. iv. 2. 1.

⁹ iv. 2. 16.

¹⁰ vi. 4. 12, 15, 17.

¹¹ Pel. 30.

¹² de Rep. Lac. 13. 1; 15. 5.

¹³ de Rep. Lac. 13. 7; cp. Hell. v. 3. 9.

only the *σύσκητοι*, but seers, surgeons, flute-players, and volunteers (whoever they may have been). We hear¹ too, besides the two ephors, of Hellenodicae or judges of disputes, of tamiae or quarter-masters, and of laphyropolae or purchasers of booty, as in attendance upon the king, but we are nowhere told whether they were included under *οἱ περὶ δαμοσίαν*. The polemarchs were attended by officers known as *συμφορεῖς*², or perhaps *παραστάται*, whose functions however are unknown.

The Lacedaemonians put their own officers in command of their allied contingents; these officers were known as *ξεναγοί*³; and when an expedition was voted by the Peloponnesian League, it was their duty to proceed to the allied states, muster the contingents and bring them to the Spartan general. In Thucydides' time the allies were apparently bound to furnish two-thirds of their available forces, and any ally in whose territory the war happened to be, the whole; and the same arrangement probably continued in Xenophon's time. At any rate the contingents were in some way proportional, as we see by the arrangements⁴ made for sending *τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα* against Olynthus.

The baggage train of an army on the move and the construction of the camp were entrusted⁵ to artisans and engineers drawn from the perioeci or helots.

Mercenaries⁶ were frequently employed and were generally equipped as peltasts or light-armed troops.

Peloponnesian League and Empire.

After the victory of Aegospotami and the surrender of Athens and Samos the Spartans were not only, as of old, leaders of the Peloponnesian Confederacy, but were in undisputed possession⁷ of all the old Athenian allied states on the Hellespont, in Thrace, and in the Aegean, and were *de facto* masters of not a few of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, like Chalcedon⁸, Lampsacus⁹, Abydos, and Miletus¹⁰, which *de jure* they had by treaty surrendered to the Persian king

¹ de Rep. Lac. 13. 11; Hell. iv. 1. 26.

² vi. 4. 14; cp. iv. 3. 23.

³ iii. 5. 7; iv. 5. 7, &c.

⁴ v. 2. 20, 37.

⁵ iii. 4. 2; de Rep. Lac. 11. 2; 13. 4.

⁶ ii. 4. 30; iv. 3. 15; v. 4. 14, 36, 39; vii. 5. 10.

⁷ Cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9 *ἥρχον δὲ τότε* (400 B. C.) *πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*.

⁸ ii. 2. 1; 1. 18; cp. iv. 8. 5.

⁹ Thuc. viii. 58.

¹⁰ Plut. Lys. 19.

in 412 B.C. In most of these states Lysander had set up¹ narrow oligarchies, known as decarchies, backed up, where necessary, by a Spartan governor or harmost and a Spartan garrison strong enough to overawe all opposition; and following still more closely on Athenian lines, he had even imposed a tribute² upon the subject states, amounting, according to Diodorus, to a thousand talents. So early however as 402 the misrule of these decarchies had excited so much odium that on the temporary disgrace of Lysander they were, we are told, put down³ by the ephors. The suppression seems to have been by no means complete; for in 395 B.C. they are spoken⁴ of as still existing as they were appointed by Lysander. About the same time the Ionian cities revolted⁵ from Tissaphernes to Cyrus; and when after Cyrus' death the satrap required them to return to their allegiance, they appealed to Sparta for aid. The Spartans listened to the appeal, and sent out Thibron at the head of a small expedition in 399; he was succeeded by Dercylidas (399-396), and Dercylidas in his turn by King Agesilaus (396-394). So long therefore as the Spartan forces remained in Asia, the Greek cities continued independent. Agesilaus had found them torn by internal dissensions, but by his good offices had contrived ὥστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτου ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν ὁμόνως πολιτευόμενας καὶ εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι. Only a few months however after the recall of the Spartan king (in 394) the crushing defeat of the Peloponnesian fleet at Cnidus put an end for ever to the Spartan empire beyond the seas. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, says Diodorus⁶, τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον. Only Abydos and Lampsacus on the Hellespont were saved by the energy of the harmost Dercylidas; all the other states in the course of this and the following year submitted to the victorious fleet of Conon and Pharnabazus.

Meanwhile signs of dissolution had appeared in the Peloponnesian Confederacy itself. Even in 403 the Thebans and Corinthians had refused⁷ to join the Spartan expedition against Thrasybulus and the Athenian exiles in Piraeus, and again in the

¹ iii. 2. 20; 4. 2; Diod. xiv. 10.

² Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 39. 2; cp. Diod. l. c.

³ iii. 4. 2, 7; Plut. Lys. 20.

⁵ iii. 1. 3; Anab. i. 1. 8.

⁶ xiv. 84.

⁴ iii. 5. 13.

⁷ ii. 4. 30; iii. 2. 25.

Elean War. The Arcadians and Achaeans had shown¹ their discontent at the arrogance and rapacity of the leading state. The Phliasians² were lukewarm. The Eleans, who had stood aloof ever since the Argive Confederacy of 421 B.C., had only been coerced³ into renewed alliance with Sparta after a protracted war (399-397). In the Corinthian War (394-387) Sparta saw⁴ ranged against her not only her old enemies, Argos and Athens (the latter of whom up to this time had in her humiliation obediently sent contingents to the Spartan expeditions⁵ under Thibron and Agis in 399, but had now taken courage once again to assert her independence), but also her old allies the Corinthians and Boeotians together with the Euboeans, Locrians, Melians and Acarnanians.

After the Peace of Antalcidas (387-386) Sparta took advantage of the powerful position given her by the support of the Persian king, further to secure and extend her hegemony over her Peloponnesian Confederates; she set up oligarchies⁶ in Corinth, Mantinea and Phlius; and Xenophon⁷ implies that a similar course was pursued in other states. In 382 she seized⁸ the Theban Cadmea, occupied it with a Spartan harmost and garrison, and forced a *δυναστεία* of oligarchs upon the citizens, and two years later was equally successful⁹ at Olynthus. Consequently by 379 the Spartan empire by land—for such instead of a hegemony it had now once more become—had grown more extensive and absolute than ever before; it embraced the whole of inland Greece from Olynthus to Laconia, except Athens, Argos, and perhaps the more powerful Thessalian cities, and everywhere it was enforced by harmosts, garrisons, and narrow oligarchies. But the loss of Thebes in the following winter, the renewed hostility of Athens, and the restiveness of their allies, taught the Spartans—at least according to Diodorus¹⁰—that they had gone too far. They therefore reorganized (in 377) their confederacy into ten divisions, for military purposes, on a footing more favourable to its members. The Lacedaemonians themselves constituted the first division, the Arcadians the second and third, the Eleans the fourth, the

¹ iii. 5. 12.² iv. 2. 16.³ iii. 2. 31.⁴ iv. 2. 17.⁵ iii. 1. 4; 2. 25.⁶ v. 1. 34; 2. 7, 8.⁷ v. 1. 36; 4. 46, 49; cp. Diod. xv. 19.⁸ v. 2.⁹ v. 3. 26.¹⁰ xv. 31.

Achaeans¹ the fifth, the Corinthians and Megarians the sixth, the Sicyonians, the Phliasians and the inhabitants of the Acte the seventh, the Acarnanians² the eighth, the Phocians and Locrians the ninth, and the Olynthians³ and Thracian allies the tenth. At the same time it was agreed (though according to Xenophon⁴ this arrangement was made some five or six years earlier) that one hoplite should be counted as equivalent to two light-armed soldiers, and one horseman as equivalent to four hoplites. The beneficial effect, if any⁵, was however but of short duration. In a meeting at Sparta in the summer of 376 λόγοι⁶ ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. Still, however, the war dragged on; the peace of 374 was only of a few weeks' duration; and in 371, just before Leuctra, the grievances of the allies are summarized in the speech⁷ of the Athenian orator Autocles at Sparta to the Lacedaemonians and their allies:—'Your first and last stipulation with the allied states is that they should follow you whithersoever you choose to lead; and yet what has this principle of follow-my-leader to do with independent action? Again, you pick quarrels without consulting your allies, and lead them against those whom you account enemies; so that in many cases, with all their vaunted independence, they are forced to march against their greatest friends; and, what is still more opposed to independence than all else, you are for ever setting up here your decarchies and your thirty commissioners, and your chief aim in appointing these officers and governors seems to be, not that they should fulfil their office and govern legally, but that they should be able to keep the cities under their heels by sheer force.'

The peace⁸ agreed to as a result of this conference, whereby the Spartans bound themselves τοὺς τε ἄρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν . . . τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι, was only of a few days' duration. Naturally enough therefore disaffection⁹ showed itself on the resumption of the war in the ranks of the allies at Leuctra, though even after the battle the oligarchical governments¹⁰ of Tegea,

¹ Cp. iv. 6. 2.

² Cp. iv. 7. 1.

³ Cp. v. 4. 54.

⁴ v. 2. 21.

⁵ Contrast Diod. xv. 31 with Polyæn. ii. 1. 20; Isocr. xiv. 15; Plut. Ages. 26.

⁶ v. 4. 60.

⁷ vi. 3. 7 ff., Dakyns' translation.

⁸ vi. 3. 18.

⁹ vi. 4. 5; Paus. ix. 13. 4; Plut. Ages. 28.

¹⁰ vi. 4. 18.

Mantineia, Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Achaea, and other states still eagerly supported Sparta and sent contingents to her assistance. Next year, however, the democrats in most of these states took heart and rose against their oligarchical oppressors, in many cases with success. Accordingly in 369 we find that Sparta to resist the first Theban invasion only got contingents from seven¹ allies—the Corinthians, Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Halians, Sicyonians, and Pellenians. The Peloponnesian Confederacy was really at an end: the Arcadians had formed themselves into a league and built Megalopolis; Messenia now revolted; and in 366² the Lacedaemonians allowed the Corinthians, Phliasians, and any other allies who wished it, to conclude with Thebes a separate peace for themselves. In 362 the allies who fought on the Spartan side at Mantineia—the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians—were in no sense members of the Old Peloponnesian Confederacy.

§ 5. ATHENS AND THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

*The Athenian attempt to recover empire during the Corinthian War*³.

The evidence of inscriptions more or less recently discovered has fully confirmed the old hypothesis of Böckh (Staatshaush. i. 546), which was ignored by Grote, that in the interval between the Battle of Cnidus and the Peace of Antalcidas Athens made a deliberate attempt to regain her maritime empire, the culminating point of which was the expedition of Thrasybulus in 390 and 389. The aim of this appendix therefore is to⁴ piece together all the evidence for this hypothesis which can be collected both from authors and from inscriptions.

Xenophon⁵ represents the ambition to recover their empire as the leading motive which induced the Athenians to take the Theban side in the Corinthian War against Sparta: *ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, says the Theban orator, βούλοισθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα.* Thrasybulus himself supported the Thebans, pointing out, however, the great

¹ vi. 5. 29; vii. 2. 2.

² vii. 4. 9.

³ iv. 8. 31.

⁴ Cp. Beloch, *Attische Politik seit Perikles*, p. 344.

⁵ iii. 5. 10-16.

risk run by Athens ἀπειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος. After his victory at Cnidus in 394 B.C. Conon formed alliances, which probably turned out to the advantage of Athens, with Cos, Nisyros, Teos, Chios, Mytilene, Ephesus, Erythrae, and the Cyclades¹. Then in 393 Conon first subjugated Cythera and left on the island a garrison under the command of the Athenian Nicophemus, and during his visit to Athens, which must have lasted some fifteen months (393-392), secured the necessary basis for any future naval supremacy of Athens by rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus². During this period Athens recovered possession of her ancient cleruchies, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros³, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to detach Dionysius of Syracuse from Sparta and procure his alliance with Athens⁴, at the same time that public honours were decreed to Evagoras the tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus, who had materially helped Conon at the battle of Cnidus⁵. In the same year a treaty was made between Athens and Phaselis in Lycia. Consequently we are not surprised to hear that the reason why in 392 the Lacedaemonians first sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus to negotiate a peace with Persia, was ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀγορθοίη καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπέζοι⁶; or that Tiribazus arrested Conon ὡς ἀδικοῦντα βασιλέα⁷. Again in the winter of 392-1 the ambition of Athens Χερρόνησον καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν⁸ seems to have led to the breakdown of Sparta's renewed attempt to make peace, this time without the interference of Persia. In 391, notwithstanding the disappearance of Conon, the Athenians further excited the alarm of the Lacedaemonians by their support of the democrats in Rhodes, and even ventured to send a small squadron to the aid of Evagoras in his war against the Persians; and when the Lacedaemonians took more decided measures to check their further progress, they finally despatched Thrasybulus at the head of 40 vessels (the largest fleet they had mustered since the Pelopon-

¹ Diod. xiv. 84, 94.

³ iv. 8. 15 note.

⁵ Lysias xix. 20; Isocr. ix. 54-57; CIA. ii. 10 b.

⁷ iv. 8. 16.

² iv. 8. 9 note.

⁴ Lysias xix. 19; CIA. ii. 8.

⁶ iv. 8. 12.

⁸ Andoc. iii. 15.

nesian War) to reinforce their Rhodian allies. Thrasybulus had still wider schemes of his own. Instead of sailing straight to Rhodes he turned¹ towards Thrace and the Hellespont—probably in the spring of 390. First he gained possession of Thasos through the party of Ecphantus, who contrived to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison and admit the Athenians—a success which further resulted in an alliance with the Thracian princes Amedorus and Seuthes and ὁ περὶ Θράκην τόπος. Then Archebius and Heraclides delivered Byzantium into his hands, the oligarchical constitution of which he replaced by a democracy, so that he became master of the Hellespont, and as Alcibiades had done after his victory at Cyzicus, imposed a toll of 10 per cent. on all vessels passing through the straits. The Spartan Dercylidas, however, though powerless to offer any opposition, still held Abydos. Then after making an alliance with Chalcedon Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, and with Mytilene as the base of his operations forced Eresus and Antissa to join the Athenian alliance. At the same time Samothrace², Tenedos, and Clazomenae³ appear as Athenian allies. Finally reinforced by Chian and Mytilenian ships⁴ he made descents ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν upon Halicarnassus⁵ and other towns on the Asiatic coast, until he was surprised and slain at Aspendus.

Thus it was that Thrasybulus, continuing the work of Conon, succeeded in extending the Athenian empire to the limits which marked it in the interval between the battles of Cyzicus and Aegospotami. Inscriptions further prove that in some instances he once more imposed the φόρος in its later form of an εἰκοστή or 5 per cent. tax upon imports and exports. Thus the Clazomenians⁶ agreed to pay τὴν ἐπὶ Θρασυβούλου εἰκοστήν, and the like was apparently done by the Thasians⁷. Finally the same inscriptions mention apparently Athenian commandants and garrisons, and perhaps even Athenian interference with the judicial procedure of the allies⁸. The Peace of Antalcidas (387–6) therefore was aimed, not so much against the Thebans, as against the Athenians⁹, διαπεπραγμένος

¹ Cp. Dem. xx. 60.

² v. i. 7.

³ CIA. ii. 14 b.

⁴ Diod. xiv. 94.

⁵ Lysias xxviii. 17.

⁶ CIA. ii. 14; Swoboda, Mitth. d. deutsch. Inst. vii. 176.

⁷ Köhler, ibid. p. 314.

⁸ Ἀθηναίων, vii. 1878, p. 95: but the evidence for the date is not very strong.

⁹ Cp. v. i. 25.

συνμαχεῖν (i. e. with the Lacedaemonians) βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ. And as in 404, so in 386 the Athenians were obliged to accept its conditions, because not only had Antalcidas the Great King upon his side, but by his recovery of the Hellespont τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν.

§ 6. THEBES AND BOEOTIA.

When we first meet with Thebes and the Boeotian League in the pages of Xenophon, the state of things seems to have been much the same as that described by Thucydides. They are allies¹ of Sparta, and we may assume that Thebes was still the ἡγεμών² of the Boeotian Confederacy of allied towns, all of which were under some form of oligarchical³ constitution after the model of the leading state. The discontent of the Thebans in particular and of the Boeotians in general with the policy of Sparta at the end of the Peloponnesian War, their sympathy shown towards the exiled Athenian democrats against the Thirty, their refusal to send the usual contingents to aid Sparta in her wars against Persia and Elis, and the interference of the Boeotarchs with Agesilaus' sacrifice at Aulis before his departure for Asia seem to betoken no change in the internal affairs of the confederacy. But the long duration of the Corinthian War (394-387), the outbreak of which was mainly due to Theban ambition, appears to have accentuated the oligarchical nature of the constitutions of the separate states, so that even Xenophon calls⁴ them *δυναστεῖαι*, and to have promoted the ἡγεμονία of Thebes. The Peace of Antalcidas, however (387-386), not only humiliated Thebes, but crushed the confederacy itself out of existence, giving, as it did, complete autonomy to all the contracting states⁵—καὶ μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

The Liberation of Thebes by the Theban democrats in 379 soon led to a renewal of the Boeotian Confederacy, but on somewhat different lines. The Olynthian Confederacy seems now rather to

¹ i. 3. 15.

² Cp. Thuc. iii. 61.

³ Cp. Thuc. iv. 65; v. 31; Hell. v. 4. 46.

⁴ v. 4. 46.

⁵ v. i. 31.

have furnished the model: for the aim of Thebes was no longer to be ἡγεμών of more or less autonomous states, but to persuade, or if necessary, to compel them νόμοις¹ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν—in other words to deprive them of separate political existence—though at the same time the Theban democrats retained the old formulae and officers of the Boeotian League. Thus the rebellious Plataea was destroyed, Thespieae subjugated, and Orchomenus, after maintaining its independence till after the battle of Leuctra, was (364–363) brutally razed to the ground. In fact as early as 374 B.C. Xenophon² makes the general statement οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις. This commanding position of Thebes within the new Boeotian state, which at the same time preserved the old forms of the league, accounts at once for Isocrates³ (c. 372 B.C.) putting into the mouth of the Plataeans complaints against the Thebans, who τὰς μὲν ἰδίας ἡμῶν ἐκάστων πόλεις ἀφανίζουσι, τῆς δὲ σφετέρας αὐτῶν πολιτείας οὐδὲν δεομένους κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκάζουσιν, and for Epaminondas after signing the treaty of 371 B.C. claiming, in order to assert the power of Thebes, to substitute⁴ ‘Boeotians’ for ‘Thebans’ in the original document. Plutarch too in his version⁵ of the story makes Epaminondas deliberately compare the relation⁶ of Thebes to the other Boeotian states with that of Sparta to the other Lacedaemonian states.

This state of things seems to have continued⁷ some time after the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), lasting on until the destruction of Thebes by Philip of Macedon in 338.

Of the details of the constitution of the Boeotian Confederacy but few are known. At the head stood an⁸ ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος who gave his name to the year, but history is silent as to his functions. The chief executive power lay with the college of Boeotarchs, who in Thucydides’⁹ time were eleven in number, two being Thebans, but in the fourth century were only seven¹⁰. Their mode of election is unknown;

¹ Cp. v. 2. 12, 18.

² vi. 1. 1.

³ xiv. 8; cp. Dio Chrys. 45. 13 ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ποτὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν εἰς τὰς Θήβας συνήκισε.

⁴ vi. 3. 19 and note.

⁵ Ages. 28; cp. Paus. ix. 13. 2.

⁶ Cp. v. 4. 46 τὰς περικοκίδας πόλεις.

⁷ Cp. Freeman, Federal Government, p. 124.

⁸ CIG. Sept. i. 2407, 2418.

⁹ iv. 91: cp. Classen’s note *ad loc.*

¹⁰ CIG. Sept. i. 2407, 2408; Diod. xv. 52; Paus. ix. 13. 6.

but as representatives of the several Boeotian states, either jointly or severally, they commanded the confederate forces, conducted negotiations with foreign states, and exercised other executive powers, e.g. preventing¹ King Agesilaus from sacrificing at Aulis. Thucydides² speaks of four βουλαι τῶν Βοιωτῶν, αἵπερ ἅπαν τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσι (i. e. in 421 B. C.), but nothing more is heard of them. Very probably the βουλή³ before which the murderers of Euphron were tried in 366 B. C. was some sort of federal council, not confined to Thebans only. Xenophon, however, does not enlighten us on the point, and no other authority refers to such a βουλή at all. Certainly in the time of the Theban supremacy the ultimate power rested with what Diodorus⁴ calls the κοινὴ σύνοδος τῶν Βοιωτῶν, and there is good reason for believing that though within it the Thebans undoubtedly exercised a preponderating voice, yet it was legally open to the citizens of all Boeotian towns.

Of the constitutions of the individual cities of the league still less is known. Before the Liberation of Thebes they were undoubtedly oligarchical. Afterwards, when they were subjugated by Thebes, they ceased to have any independent existence, being much in the same relation to Thebes as the Attic δῆμοι to Athens. Each city had an ἄρχων⁵ ἐπώνυμος, chosen by lot; but the chief executive power rested with the polemarchs⁶, generally three in number, though at Thebes in 379 there may have been only two⁷, assisted by a γραμματεῖς. At Thebes we hear⁸ of a βουλή in 379 and of a ἀλία⁹ or ἐκκλησία still earlier, and we may probably infer parallel institutions for the other states during the same period. Of other officials¹⁰ mentioned in inscriptions and elsewhere, like ἵππαρχοι, ἱλάρχαι, κατόπται, ταμίαι, &c., little or nothing is known beyond their names.

¹ iii. 4. 4.² v. 38.³ vii. 3. 5-12.

⁴ xv. 80; cp. 72 τὸ πλῆθος; 78 ἐκκλησία; 79 ὁ δῆμος; Plut. Dem. 18. If with Köhler (Hermes, xxiv. 638) we date the inscriptions CIG Sept. i. 2407, 2408, about the year 364, we then have certain evidence of an Assembly composed of all Boeotian citizens.

⁵ CIG. i. 1569 a; Plut. Gen. Socr. 31.⁶ v. 2. 30; CIG. i. 1573.⁷ v. 2. 25; 4. 2 note.⁸ v. 2. 29.⁹ Her. v. 79; Dem. xviii. 213; cp. Plut. Pel. 12; iii. 5. 8.¹⁰ Cp. Dict. Ant. i. 301.

§ 7. CRITICAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

- i. 2. ἦνοιγε: ἦννε Underhill; ἦνυτε Kondos; ἦννε marg. C; ἦνοιε V.
- i. 22. κατεσκευάσαν: κατέστησαν Dindorf from Socr. Hist. Eccl.
- vii. 25, p. 374 d.
- ii. 10. ἀτέλειαν: ἀτελεῖ Cobet.
- ii. 13. κατέλευσεν: κατελεήσας ἀπέλυσεν Feder.
- ii. 14. καὶ χειμών . . . Μέγαρα del. Richter and Kruse.
- ii. 19. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς . . . αὐτῷ del. Dindorf, &c.
- iv. 3. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον del. Dindorf, Cobet, &c.
- iv. 13. [ἀπελογήθη ὥς], ἀπηγγέλθη F: Riemann believes that here there was a lacuna, which the copyists filled up arbitrarily.
- vi. 21. ἦνοιγον: ἦνον Underhill; ἦντον Riemann.
- vi. 29. ὀνόματι del. Dindorf and Riemann.
- vi. 32. τοῦδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκείται†. I prefer Breitenbach's conjecture οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῇσει. Nauck conjectures οὐ δέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκῇται.
- vi. 37. τὴν ταχίστην: Riemann here marks a lacuna, which he proposes to fill with ἐπακολουθεῖν or ἔπεσθαι.
- vii. 23. διηρημένων . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι del. Blake; ἐνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι del. Nitsche; διηρημένων Leonclavius; διηρημένης MSS.; μερῶν F₂DV; ἡμερῶν the rest.
- vii. 27. ἀποκτείναιτε . . . μεταμελήσει Marchant; ἀποκτείναιτε μεταμελῆσαι δὲ ὕστερον ἀναμνήσθητε κ.τ.λ. Peter and Keller; μεταμελήσει δὲ ὕστερον ὁ ἀναμνήσθητε κ.τ.λ. Madvig.

BOOK II.

- i. 8. Δαρείαον: this form also occurs in the extracts from Ctesias ap. Phot. Anab. i. 8. 26. It is odd, even if the passage be an interpolation, to find it side by side with the form Δαρείου.
- iv. 13. τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπησημαίνοντο: τὰ φίλτατα Portus and Köppen; τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀπησημαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπέκτεινον Wyttenbach; τοὺς μὲν φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπῆγον, τὰ δ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπησημαίνοντο Kyprianos.

BOOK III.

i. 5. ὀρώων Θίβρων: ὀκνώων Θίβρων Büchschütz; οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὀρώων Bake.

i. 13. ὅτι . . . κακουργοῦσιν del. Kruse.

iii. 2. ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι, κ.τ.λ. Dindorf proposes ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυγε καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, inserting οὐκ before ἐφάνη from V: Cobet reads ἀφ' οὗ γάρ οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ and Hartmann conjectures ἐξ οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυγε ἐκ τῷ θαλάμῳ.

ἐγένου: τὸ ἔφυγε Cobet.

BOOK IV.

iv. 6. τοὺς τυραννεύοντας: τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας τυραννεύοντας Campe.

v. 15. ἦρουν: ἦρουν M.

v. 18. ὄρθρου: πρὸ ὄρθρου Büchschütz; ἔτι σκοταῖος ἀνυστὰς ὄρθρου Campe.

viii. 4. ὄντως del. Dindorf.

BOOK V.

i. 15. οἴεσθε καί: οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ Pluygers; οἴεσθε καὶ Grosser.

i. 18. προπαράσχεσθε BDV; προπαράσχετε CF; προπαρασκευάσασθε Voigtländer.

ii. 34. πότε ἀκούσεσθε: μή ποτε ἀκούσησθε Liebhold.

iii. 12. αὐτοὺς: τοὺς Cobet.

iv. 1. ὑφ' ἐνός: ὑφ' ἑνῶν Dobree; ὑφ' ἐνῶν Dindorf.

iv. 2. τὰ περὶ . . . τυραννίδα B; τὴν περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα Cobet.

iv. 30. οἷς: ὅς Cobet; ὅστις Hartmann.

iv. 56. ἐλάττους: ἐλάττους ὄντας C.

BOOK VI.

i. 5. μισθοφόρους del. Dindorf.

i. 8. ὥς γε μὴν: οἶδά γε μὴν ὥς Hartmann.

i. 9. μέν: ἡμῖν Cobet.

i. 13. After βοηθεῖν Hartmann marks a lacuna. σὺ πράττοis B and most MSS.; σὺ πράττειs CV; σοὶ πράττοis Dindorf; ἡ σὺ πράττειs Cobet; οὐ πράττοis Breitenbach; ἐν ἡ σὺ πράττειs Stephanus; οὐ πράττειs Keller.

ii. 16. *ἐκαινούργει*: *ἐραδιούργει* Hartmann.

ii. 32. *ὅπως*: *οὕτως ὅτι* V; *ὅμως* Grosser; *ὥς* Morus; *ὥστε* Madvig and Cobet; *ὅπως* . . . *ἀνεπιστήμονες εἶναι* . . . *ἀφικέσθαι δοκοῦεν* Stephanus.

ii. 39. *οὕτω θρασέως*: *οὕτως ἐθάρσει μήτε* . . . *φανείσθαι* Jacobs; *οὕτως ἔδρασεν ὥς* Hertlein; *οὕτω θρασέως ὥς* Morus; *οὕτως ἐθάρσει ὥς* Wyttenbach; *οὕτω θρασέως ἔπραττεν ὥς* Keller.

iii. 11. *†ὥς . . . τὰς πόλεις†*: *ἀς . . . πόλεις* Breitenbach; *ὅσας . . . πόλεις* Kurz; *ὧν . . . τὰς πόλεις* Grosser; *οἷς . . . τὰς πόλεις* Keller; *ἐν ᾧ . . . τὰς πόλεις* Marchant.

iii. 13. *†τί μὴν . . . ἀρεστά†*: *εἰ* and *ἡμῖν* del. Kurz; Liebhold proposes *ἔνοι* for *εἰ*: Simon conjectures *τί μὴν*; *ἔστιν εὐδηλον ὅτι, εἰ τῶν συμμάχων τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν, ἡμῖν ἦκει ἀρεστά* or *ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά* sc. *ἦκει*: Breitenbach proposes *οὐκ ἄριστα* for *οὐκ ἀρεστά*, and deletes the second *ἀρεστά* and *εἰ*: *ἡμῖν οὐδ' ὑμῖν* Leonclavius; *ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν* Morus; *ὑμῖν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡμῖν* Stephanus.

iv. 27. *δύναμιν* del. Cobet.

v. 4. *ἔσοιτο*: *γένοιτο* Pluygers.

v. 19. *οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν*: *οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν* Cobet.

v. 23. *συνιδόμενοι*: *σκοπούμενοι* Grosser; *ἐννοούμενοι* Schneider; *ταῦτα οὖν διηγούμενοι* Voigtländer.

BOOK VII.

i. 18. *ὑπεροπτικῶς*: *ὑπεροπτικῶς ἔχοντες* Kyprianos.

i. 25. *Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον* Dindorf; *πολέμαρχον Σπαρτιάτην* MSS.; *Σπαρτιάτην γεγεννημένον* del. Breitenbach; *Σπαρτιάτην γενναῖον ὄντα* Grosser.

i. 28. *ιέναι* . . . *τάναντία*: CF omit *ιέναι*; Madvig omits *ιέναι* and conjectures *ἀπαντᾶν* for *τάναντία*.

ii. 3. *ἀφέστασαν*: Madvig marks a lacuna after this word.

ii. 5. *Ἑλλείων*: *Ἀργείων* Dobree, comparing § 8.

ii. 8. *†ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος . . . ἐμάχοντο†*: *ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔσωθεν ἔτι τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ.* Madvig; *τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἀναβαίνοντας, ἐν ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ.* Cobet; *τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπαναβαίνοντας αὐτῶν, ἔτι ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ.* Hertlein; *τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἐπαναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ἐμάχοντο* Tillmanns.

- ii. 22. αὐτοῦ : cp. iii. 4. 13 ; αὐτῷ Castalio.
 iii. 3. ἐαυτόν del. Hartmann.
 iii. 7. ὁμολογήκει : ὁμολόγει Cobet.
 ἀνεμείνατε : ἀναμείναντες Schneider.
 iii. 10. ποῦ ἔχων . . . τυράννοισ ; Hartmann and Keller place these words after ἐκὼν ἦλθε.
 iv. 2. ἀγαθόν : ἀγαθὸν ὄν Cobet.
 iv. 11. ἔχοντας : ὄντας vulg. ; οἰκοῦντας Madvig ; del. Kurz.
 iv. 20. ἀπολαβεῖν Jacobs ; ἀποκαμεῖν Madvig ; ἀποκαλεῖν Stephanus ; ἀπελθεῖν Hartmann ; ἀπαγαγεῖν Hertlein.
 iv. 37. πολλοὶ δέ : πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Kurz.
 v. 4. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς : σφίσιν Cobet ; σφίσιν σὺν αὐτοῖς Breitenbach.
 v. 8. πράττοιτο : πράττοι Cobet.
 v. 11. ἔνθεν : ἔνθα Schäfer.

GREEK INDEX

A

ἀγνωμονεῖν 37
 ἀγοραῖον 231
 ἀγοράν 106
 ἀκατίοις 232
 ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ 249
 ἀκρωτηριασάμενος 233
 ἄλλος: τὰ ἄλλα 90, 91: οἱ ἄλλοι
 106: τοὺς ἄλλους 69
 ἄλοβα 106
 ἀμβάτας 189
 ἀμίππων 307
 ἀμφίαλον 124
 ἄν omitted 55, 58: with optative? 62
 ἀναβιβασάμενος 106
 ἀνάκειον 200
 ἀναλοῦν 229
 ἀναρχίαν 51
 ἀναφεύξοιτο 62
 ἀνεκονοῦτο 7
 ἀνεξυνούτο 7
 ἀνέστησε 77
 ἀνέσχεν 28
 ἀνοίγω: ἤνοιγε 2: ἤνοιγον 27:
 ἤνοιξεν 22
 ἀπέγραψε 101
 ἀπεσημαίνοντο 70
 ἀπεσσύα 6
 ἀποβαινόντων gen. abs. 15
 ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν 74
 ἀποθύσας 98
 ἀποκοτταβίσαντα 64
 ἀπολαβεῖν 295
 ἀπολυτικῶς . . . εἶχον 206
 ἀπομίσθους 230
 ἀποτεταφρευμένον 209
 ἀριστοποιούμενοι 27
 ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα 119

ἄρμωστήρων 164
 ἄρμωστής: of Spartans 9, 46, 82, 94,
 114, 123, 155, 167, 202, 203, 350:
 of an Athenian 156: of Thebans
 282, 289
 ἄρξαμένους 44
 ἄρπάζειν with acc. of person 85
 ἀρχεῖον 214
 ἀρχηγέτης 266, 290
 ἀτάρ 189
 ἀτίμους 47
 αὖ . . . πάλιν 157, 164; cp. 167,
 211
 αὐτόθεν: of place 131: of time 47,
 107, 301
 αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι 12: αὐτ. σκεύεσι 204
 αὐτοκράτωρ 19: αὐτοκράτορες 270
 αὐτοπολῖται 182
 αὐτοῦ 85

B

βάραθρον 36
 βέλτιστοι 134, 180, 290
 βία with gen. 87
 Βοιώταρχοι 104, 357
 βουλομένῳ 119

Γ

γε μὴν 84, 183
 γερόντων 100, 341
 γίγνομαι of sacrifices 87
 γινώσκω with infin. 108, 150
 γνωρίμων 46
 Γνώσιος 7
 γραμματεῦω 195, 358
 γυμνά 127, 139, 146
 γυμνοπαιδιῶν 248

Δ

δαδοῦχος 237
 δαμοσίαν 145, 248: δαμοσίας 152, 348
 δέκα ἀνδρῶν 114
 δεκαρχίας 103, 238, 350
 δεκατευθῆναι 242, 264
 δεκάτην 161
 δεξιὰ, ἐπὶ τὰ 126
 δεομένων gen. abs. 7
 διαβατήρια 104, 113, 257, διαβατη-
 ρίων 191
 διαπράττεσθαι with ὅπως 283; with
 ὥστε 136, 163
 διασκηνῶν 159
 διάφρον adverbial 285
 διαψήφισιν 35
 δίκηπλουν 28
 δίκροτοι 43
 διμοιρίαίς 221
 διωβελίας 32
 διφικίσθη 180
 δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων 209
 δόξαντα acc. abs. 93
 δορυφόροι 145, 347
 δουλείαν 222
 δούλους 27
 δραχμὴν 21: δραχμῆς 62
 δρυφάκτοις 63
 δυναστεῖαι 211, 351, 356
 δυσμενέσι 186

Ε

ἐγκτήσεσι 183
 ἐγχειρητικώτερος 160
 Εἰλωτες 100, 114, 284, 335, 348
 εἶπαν 94: εἰπεῖν with gen. 73
 εἰσαγγελία 328
 εἰσέσθαι 15
 εἰσφοραῖς 225
 ἐκ of the agent 84, 238: temporal
 220
 ἐκεχειρίαν 125, 179
 ἐκκλησία at Sparta 149, 181, 341
 ἐκκλητοὶ at Sparta 76, 186
 ἐλάν 74
 ἐμβάλλειν 169
 ἐμπόροις 29
 ἐμφρούρων 25
 ἐναλλομένους 70
 ἐναντία adverbial 221, 246

ἐνδεκα, οἱ 34, 64, 69
 ἐνδοθεν 87, 181, 230, 285
 ἐνέντας 74
 ἐνωμοτίαν 247, 347
 ἐξόν acc. abs. 57, 67
 εἰοίκατε with nom. partic. 238
 ἐπάριτοι 296, 298, 301
 ἐπεισφρέσθαι 265
 ἐπετέτακτο 28
 ἐπρσχύνθησαν with acc. of person
 121
 ἐπί: 'behind' 9, 28, 69: ἐπὶ κέρως
 37: ἐπὶ μᾶς 28: ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ
 ὁμοίοις 270, 283: ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι
 88
 ἐπιβάτης 15, 271
 ἐπιβολήν 33
 ἐπιγαμίαις 183
 ἐπικεῖν 212
 ἐπιθαλαττιδίας 86
 ἐπικούρων 274
 ἐπίλεκτοι at Phlius 192: at Thebes
 273
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 5
 ἐπιστολεὺς at Sparta 5, 41, 157,
 167, 346
 ἐπιστολιαφόρος 231
 ἐπιτειχίζω: ἐπετείχισαν 166: ἐπιτε-
 τειχικῶς 288, cp. 284: ἐπιτετειχί-
 σθαι 89
 ἔσχε with gen. 156
 ἔταιριῶν 185
 εὐεργέτης 220
 εὐκρινεῖν 123
 εὐθύ as a prep. 12
 εὐπορώτεροι 239
 ἔφοροι 75, 340
 ἐφ' ᾧ with infin. 53, 117
 ἔως final 94

Ζ

Ζήμιος 86

Η

ἥβης: τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης 74, 147, 210:
 τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἂ. ἡ. 147, 150:
 τὰ τετταράκοντα ἂ. ἡ. 203
 ἡγεῖσθαι 209: ἡγήσονται 301
 ἡμέραν πέμπτην 69

Θ

θεαροῖς for θεωροῖς 256
 θέοντες 232
 θεραπείας 221
 Θράκη, ὑπὸ τῇ 161
 θύοντος 99

Ι

ἱππαγρέτων 101, 347
 ἱππαρμοστής at Sparta 138, 347
 ἱππαρχος at Elis 295
 ἱππεῖς Athenian 27: Spartan 147, 347
 ἱπποδρομίαν 90
 ἰσοτέλειαν 72
 ἰστία (μεγάλα) 44, 231

Κ

κα for ἄν 98
 καθέντας 49
 καινῶν πραγμάτων 19
 κᾶλα 5
 κάρανον 16, 17
 κατὰ κεφαλὴν 285, 286
 καταγιγνώσκων with acc. and infin.
 207
 καταδεδραμηκώτας 169
 καταλόγῳ 73
 καταλύεσθαι 238
 κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη 288
 κλίμακας 139
 κλοιῷ 76
 κόθορνος 59, 62
 κόρης 41
 κρανείνα παλτά 106
 κράσπεδα 93
 κρίσιν ποιῆσαι 186

Λ

Λακαίνης 275
 λαφυροπώλαις 120, 349
 λεγόμενον, τό abs. 242
 λευκοῦμαι: ἐλευκοῦντο 306
 λήζεσθαι 166
 ληστείας 225
 ληστής 252
 λοχαγοί 185, 347
 λόχων 295, 303, 347
 λυμáίνεται 58

Μ

μαίνω: ἔμνηε 104
 μάλα with subst. 67, 203, 235
 μετὰ . . . σύν 169
 μετώπῳ, ἐν 42
 μέχρι πόρῳ 288: μέχ. πρὸς 129
 μή for μὴ οὐ 219
 μὴ οὐ 100, 121, 187, 238
 μισθοφόροι 140, 221, 227, 251, 262,
 286
 μνήματα 273: μνημάτων 93, 231
 μνησικακήσειν 77
 μοιχῶντα 26
 μόρα 74, 145, 219, 223, 249, 347: of
 cavalry 146, 347
 μορμόνας 142
 μυρίους Arcadian 281, 293, 298

Ν

ναυαρχεῖν 41: ναυαρχοῦντος 85
 ναυαρχίας 21, 343
 ναυάρχῳ 80: ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς 167,
 169: ναύαρχων at Athens 28
 ναυπηγουμένων gen. abs. 6
 νεοδαμώδεις 15, 82, 131, 184, 223,
 260, 335
 νησύδρια 222
 νυν 121, 176

Ξ

ξεναγός 113, 126, 145, 176, 180, 284,
 349
 ξενίζεσθαι 88
 ξενικόν 86, 131, 257, 276, 303
 ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων 190
 ξένους 77, 221

Ο

ὁ ἢ τό: τὰ ἐκ τούτων 64: τὰ πρὸς
 ἑαυτοῦ 210: ταῖς εἴκοσι 5
 οἷ γε 281
 οἴκοθεν 18, 190, 193
 οἴκοῦσι 270
 οἶος with infin. 62
 ὀλίγον δεῖν 71
 ὁμοίων at Sparta 99, 335
 ὄπλα, τὰ 285: ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα 57: πρὸς
 τὰ ὄπλα 258: ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων 68,
 145: σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις 221
 ὄποι with gen. 252

ὁπότερα . . . εἴτε 116
 ὅπως with superl. 238: with infin.
 233: ὅπως ἂν 54, 89, 121, 158,
 162, 276, 279
 ὄρθρου 148
 ὄρων 83
 ὅτε with verb of remembering 244
 ὅτι with *orat. rect.* 21
 οὐ with infin. 227: οὐκ . . . οὐκ 186:
 οὐ μή 123: οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ'
 οὐδέ 244

Π

παιᾶνα 70, 146
 παιανίζω: ἐπαιάνισαν 126
 παραβλήματα 42
 παραγωγῇ 168
 παρανενομηκέναι 60
 παραρύματα 27
 παρσκευάζετο without ὥς 122
 πεινῶντι 6
 πελτασταί 142, 147, 149, 169, 203,
 213, 258, 309
 πενέστας 222
 πένταθλος 152, 297
 πενηκοντῆρας 116, 347
 περιβαλλομένους 159
 περιείλφθε 76
 περιόικοις 100: περιόικων 261, 263,
 284, 335, 347
 περιόντι 96
 πλαισίφ 129
 πλάτανον 281
 πλείστοι, οἱ 290
 ποι with gen. 61
 ποιεῖσθαι 157
 πολέμαρχος at Sparta 116, 145, 248,
 272, 347: at Thebes 185, 196, 358
 πολεμαρχοῦντες at Thebes 184
 πολιορκήσονται 246
 πολλῇ δυνάμει 114
 Ποτειδάν 98
 πρὶν with infin. 260: πρὶν [ἂν] with
 opt. 70
 προβολάς 38
 πρόδικον 124
 προεστικώς 31: προεστικῶσιν 111:
 προεστῶτες 246
 προκεχωρηκότων 193, 295
 προσαραρέναι 153
 προσκομιζομένους 170

προστάτης of demagogues 31, 97,
 179: of Sparta 81, 177; cp. 162
 προσταχθέν acc. abs. 60
 πρυτάνεων 35
 πρῶτον . . . πρὶν 101
 πύργων, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν 286

Σ

σατραπεύειν 86
 σευ 98
 σημεία 174
 σίγμα 138
 σίδηρον 100
 σκυτάλη 101, 186
 Σπαρτιάται 99, 103, 169
 στησάμενοι 68
 στιγματίας 192
 στρατοπεδεία 120
 συγγεγραφέναι 35
 συγκεκροτημένας 229
 συκοφαντίας 54, 60
 συμμαχίαν 223
 συμμορίας 37
 σύν 119
 συνδοκοῦν 64, συνδύξαν 166
 σύνταγμα 183, 349
 συνταξάμενος 188
 σύνταξιν 187
 συσκηνοῦσι 192, 348
 σφᾶς αὐτοῦς 35
 σφίσιν 33
 σφραγίδα 281
 σφράγισμα 16
 σώματα 'persons' 42

Τ

ταγεύω: ἐτάγευσεν 223
 ταγός 221, 251
 ταξιάρχων 28
 τέλη, τά 90, 341
 τεχνάσματα 246
 τριακονταρχίας 238
 τριηράρχων 37
 τριώβολον 184
 τύ for σύ 98
 τυχών with partic. 166

Υ

ὕδριās 34
 ὑμέ for ὑμᾶς 138

ὄντος gen. abs. 4
 ὑπασπιστής 147, 164
 ὑπερδεξίων 125
 ὑπεροπτικῶς with gen. 273
 ὑπομείνες 100, 335
 ὑπομένω with dat. 210
 ὑπομοσαμένον 38, 332
 ὑποπεπωκόσιν 210
 ὑπόπτως 61
 ὑποσπόνδους 117
 ὑποστήσας 120
 ὑποφαινομένῳ 189: ὑπέφαινε 107,
 170

Φ

φαμένον 25
 φανερῶς with subs. 289
 φευγόντων gen. abs. 67
 φιλιτίου 206
 φοβερῶν 19
 φόρον 14, 355
 φρουράν a Spartan word 73, 95, 113,
 151, 190, 342

φυγὴν = φυγάδας 181
 φυλαί at Athens 68, 74, 126

X

χεῖρα . . . ὀρέγοι 183
 χελώνην 84
 χωλεῦσαι 99

Ψ

ψευδομένῳ 98

Ω

ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν 100
 ὠξυλάβησαν 296
 ὥς with acc. abs. 262: with gen.
 abs. 113, 131, 171, 200, 256, 264,
 285: final 59, 106, 178, 180, 189,
 207: with infin. 27, 109, 188,
 223, 251, 265, 299: for ὥστε 120,
 142, 306: with partit. gen. 41
 ὥς δὴ 34
 ὥς εἰς 119, 188, 251
 ὥς πρὸς 76
 ὥς 98, 170: ὥς γε μὴν 221

GENERAL INDEX

A

- ABYDOS, Athenian victory at 313.
- Aegospotami, treachery of Athenian generals at 44.
- Agesilaus: chosen king 98: undertakes an Asiatic campaign 103: humiliates Lysander 105: nominates Pisander admiral 110: Asiatic ambitions 122: recall from Asia 123: return from Asia 128: indecisive victory at Coronea 132: at Delphi 133: invasion of the Argolis and Piraeum 142, 143: retreat after the destruction of the mora at Lechaeum 148: expeditions against the Acarnanians 149, 151: acquiescence in the Peace of Antalcidas 171: hatred of Thebes 175: declines command against the Mantineans 179: crushes Phlius 190, 192, 193: mourns the death of Agesipolis 192: declines the command against Thebes 203: attitude towards Sphodrias 206: poor success in Boeotia 209: illness 214, 242, 249: excludes the Thebans from the peace of 371 B.C.: campaign against the Mantineans 257: takes the command against the Thebans 369 B.C., 258; defence of Sparta 261: takes the command against the Thebans in 362 B.C., 302: position as king 339.
- Alcibiades: breach with Persia and successes in the Hellespont 3: victory at Cyzicus 5, 310: restores Athenian dominion over the Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosporus 5, 12, 14, 15, 17, 314, 316: recall 18, 312: return to Athens and its reasons 18, 317: date of his return xlii: elected *στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ* 19, 318: escorts Eleusinian procession, sails from Athens, attacks Andros 20, 319: in disgrace after Notium retires to Thracian Chersonese 22, 23, 320: at Aegospotami 43: banished by the Thirty and assassinated by Pharnabazus 61: impartial attitude of Xenophon towards xxv.
- Andocides: inconsistent with Xenophon as to the Corinthian War xlviii, 139: attempts to negotiate a peace between Athens and Sparta 392-391 B.C., 158.
- Antalcidas: political opponent of Agesilaus 157: failure of his first attempt to negotiate a peace through Persian influence 157, 158: appointed admiral li, lvi, 167: journey to Susa 167: influence with Artaxerxes 171: forces the terms of the Peace upon the Greeks 174, 175: not sent to Persia in 371 B.C., 239.
- Antalcidas, Peace of: date l, li: terms 174, 175: aimed primarily against Athens 353: effects on Sparta 351: effects on Thebes, 356.
- Apaturia, festival of 34, 330.
- Arginusae, trial of generals after 33 ff., 325 ff.
- Argos: ally of Athens 47: receives Athenian refugees from the Thirty 67: joins the Theban League III: hostile to Sparta 114: aids the

Thebans in Thessaly 128: attempted absorption of Corinth 135: fights against the Spartans within the Corinthian Long Walls 137: territory ravaged by Agesilaus 142: celebrates Isthmian Games 144: habit of tampering with Sacred Truces 151: territory invaded by Agesipolis 152: opposed to a general peace 158: desire for peace 174: expelled from Corinth by Peace of Antalcidas 176: in alliance with Thebes 272: sends (?) envoy to Persia 280: attacks Phlius 285, 286: occupies part of the Phliasian territory 293: contingent at the siege of Cromnus 296: Epaminondas counts on her support 302.

Aristotle: story of the Thirty in many points inconsistent with Xenophon 55, 57, 58, 63, 75: date of the expulsion of the Thirty from Eleusis xliii, 77.

Athens: political history 411-403 B.C., 312 ff.: restoration of full democracy 315: reorganization of the Council 315: position of demagogues 31.

Fleet at Samos 411 B.C., 312: financial distress 411-410 B.C., 3: victory at Cyzicus 410 B.C., 5, 310: re-establishes custom-house on the Bosphorus 5: rejects Spartan offer of peace 6, 314: further successes in Thasos, Thrace, the Hellespontine region 410-408 B.C., 9-14: welcomes Alcibiades, city and fleet reunited 407 B.C., 18, 313, 318: indignation against Alcibiades after Notium 22, 320: financial distress 23, 321: efforts of the democrats to relieve Conon 27, 321: battle of Arginusae 28: rejects Spartan offers of peace 29, 321: trial of eight generals 406 B.C., 31 ff., 321, 325 ff.: defeat at Aegospotami 405 B.C., 43, 323: siege 47, 323: terms of surrender 404 B.C., 49, 325: appointment

of the Thirty 51: reign of terror 404-403 B.C., 55 ff.: the Thirty retire to Eleusis 72: restoration of the democracy and amnesty 403 B.C., 77.

As subject ally of Sparta, sends contingents of troops 82, 96: refuses Persian gold 111: eager to recover her empire, allies with Thebes against Sparta 395 B.C., 111, 115: sends troops to Haliartus 116: fights against Sparta at the Nemea 394 B.C., 125: also at Coronea 131: rebuilds her own Long Walls 393-391 B.C., 156: repairs the Long Walls of Corinth 392 B.C., 142: recovers Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros 158: opposes Spartan efforts for peace 158: aids the Rhodians 391 B.C., 160: aids Evagoras against Persia 160: recovers Thasos, Byzantium, &c., 390-389 B.C., 161, 355: at war with Aegina 389-388 B.C., 166: activity in the Thracian Chersonese 388-387 B.C., 168: crushed by Peace of Antalcidas 387-386 B.C., 171, 173, 176, 353: supports the Theban patriots 379-378 B.C., 201: embroiled by Thebes in war with Sparta 205, 207: alliance with Thebes 378 B.C., 208: effort to build a fleet 208: continues to aid the Thebans 377-376 B.C., 209, 214: formation of new maritime confederacy 377 B.C., 215, 225: victory over Spartans at Naxos 376 B.C., 216: further naval activity 375 B.C., 217: discontent against Thebes 374 B.C., 225: peace with Sparta 225: but immediate renewal of hostilities through the action of Timotheus at Corcyra 374 B.C., 227: sends help to the Corcyraeans 228: alliance with Jason 229: renewed friction with Thebes leads to fresh negotiations for peace with Sparta 371 B.C., 235-240: feeling against the Thebans after Leuctra 249: congress to swear anew to the

Peace of Antalcidas 254, 264: sends help to the Spartans against the Thebans 370-369 B. C., 263: new alliance with Sparta 369 B. C., 270: again sends help to the Spartans 369 B. C., 272: alliance with Dionysius I, and activity against the Thebans 368 B. C., 277, 280: sends envoys to the Persian king 367 B. C., 280: loss of Oropus 366 B. C., 292: alliance with the Arcadians 294, 297: cavalry at Olympia 297: appeal from Mantinea for help against Thebes 362 B. C., 300: cavalry at Mantinea 304, 305: troops on the left at the battle of Mantinea 308.

B

Beloch: solution of chronological difficulties in *Hellenica* xli: list of Spartan admirals li.
 Boeotian League 356: see 'Thebes.'
 Bosphorus, Athenian toll-house on 5, 314.
 Byzantium, captured by Athens 408 B. C., 13, 317: Thrasybulus levied toll at 390 B. C., 161.

C

Cadmea: date of its capture lx: of its recovery lxiii.
 Cannonus, psephism of 35, 332.
 Chalcedon, submits to pay tribute to Athens 14, 317.
 Chronology: years reckoned from April to April xxxv: Olympiads, archons, and ephors interpolated xxxvi: duration of the Peloponnesian War xxxvii: difficulties in the years 411-404 B. C., xl: Arist. 'Aθ. πολ.' agrees with Xen. in the chronology of the despotism of the Thirty xlii: Plutarch's date for Thrasybulus' return to Athens xlii: date of the suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis xliii: dates of the Elean War xliii-xlv: dates

of the Corinthian War xlv ff.: source of the difficulties xlvi: Grote's solution xlvii: 392 B. C. the date of the destruction of the Spartan mora xlix: list of Spartan admirals as evidence li: dates of maritime events in the Corinthian War liii-lvi: difficulties in the years 386-371 lviii ff.: date of the capture of the Cadmea lx, of its recovery lxiii: difficulties in the years 371-362 lxvii ff.: date of the battle of Mantinea lxxi.

Cleophon: proposer of the Diobelia 314: prevents peace with Sparta after Cyzicus 410 B. C., 6, 314: again after Arginusae 406 B. C., 29, 321: attempts to prevent negotiations with Sparta during the siege of Athens 48, 324: execution 38, 324.

Clinton: *Fasti Hellenici* xxxv: chronology of Elean War xliii.

Conon: elected general as colleague of Alcibiades 407 B. C., 20, 318: re-elected 406, 405 B. C., 23, 320, 36, 41: blockaded at Mytilene 26, 321: after Aegospotami sails to Cyprus 44: invited to take command of the Persian fleet against Sparta c. 397 B. C., 92: commands the Persian fleet 396 B. C., 102: besieged in Canus 395 B. C., 109: defeats the Spartan fleet at Cnidus 394 B. C., 130: together with Pharnabazus expels the Spartans from the Aegean 154: at Corinth 393 B. C., 134, 156: rebuilds the walls of Athens and Piraeus 157: attempts to restore the Athenian Empire 354: arrested by Tiribazus; doubt as to his death 392 B. C., 158.

Corinth: hostility to Athens 405 B. C., 49: refuses to join Sparta against the Athenian democrats 403 B. C., 73: so again against the Eleans 398 B. C., 96, 112: takes Persian gold for use against Sparta 395 B. C., 111: leading part in the Corinthian War 394

B.C. 125: battle of 126: contingent at Coronea 131: base of warlike operations 134: gets more Persian gold 393 B.C., 134, 140: absorption by Argos 135, 144: battle within the Long Walls 392 B.C., 136: forced to give up the union with Argos 387-386 B.C., 176: ally of Sparta 193: supports Sparta against the Thebans 369 B.C., 272: makes separate peace with Thebes 366 B.C., 293. Coronea: battle of xxx, 132: date xlv. Cyzicus: effects of Athenian victory 313, 314: different versions of the battle 5, 310.

D

Diodorus Siculus: opinion of Xenophon as a historian x: describes the Hellenics xii, xv: compared with Xenophon as an authority xxxiv: confuses consulships and archonships with the solar year xxxvi: mistakes in chronology 1, lix, lxiv, lxv: differs from Xenophon in his account of the sea fight in the Hellespont 3; of Cyzicus 310; of the trial of the generals 326, 327; of Aegospotami 43: confusion over the campaigns of Thibron and Dercylidas 82, 83, 90: mistakes about the Elean War 95: differs from Xenophon in his account of Agesilaus' campaign in Asia 107, 108; of anti-Spartan League 111; of the battle within the Long Walls of Corinth 137, 139; of the siege of Mantinea 180; of the seizure of the Cadmea 186; of the part played by Athens in the liberation of Thebes 201, 202, 207; of Sphodrias' attempt upon Piraeus 205; of the Peace of 374 B.C., 226, 236; of Timotheus' generalship 230; of Leuctra 245; of the misuse of the Olympian treasure 298.

Diogenes Laertius: story of Xenophon's publishing Thucydides' history xiii.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: opinion of Xenophon as a historian x: mention of the Hellenica xii.

Dodwell: solution of chronological difficulties in Hellenica xl.

E

Elean War: Clinton's chronology impossible xliii: lasted three years xlv: date of xlv.

Epaminondas: attitude towards the liberators of Thebes 260: at Leuctra 247: in command of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus 260: at Sicyon, Pellene, Epidaurus, Corinth, &c. 272-274: rescues Pelopidas from Alexander of Pherae 279: first mentioned by Xenophon in the expedition to Achaëa 282: naval expedition 301, cp. xxxiii, 302: in command of the fourth Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus 302: at the battle of Mantinea 306: death 308: his ambitious schemes for Thebes 357.

F

Freeman: unfavourable estimate of Xenophon as a historian xi.

G

Grote: unfavourable estimate of Xenophon as a historian xi.

H

Haacke: solution of chronological difficulties in Hellenica i.

Harpocration: division of the Hellenica into eight books xiii.

Hellenica: cp. 'Xenophon': aim and object xii, xxxiii: title ix, xiii: manner and time of composition xi, xiv: division into books xiii: statistics as to use of words xiv, xviii, xxiv: main divi-

sions xiv: relation of first part to Thucydides xv, xxiv; and of various parts to each other xv: strange beginning xvi: *first part*, annalistic, impersonal xvii: *second part*, no dates, long speeches xviii: *third part*, theme, the power of Sparta xix: *fourth part*, omissions, inequalities xx: text not very corrupt xxi: explanation of want of unity xxi: not an epitome of a larger work xxi: *first part*, omissions and inequalities xxii-xxiv; impartiality xxiv-xxvi: *second part*, omissions and inequalities xxvii; impartiality xxviii: *third part*, partiality for Sparta and hatred of Thebes xxviii; omissions and inequalities xxix: *fourth part*, partiality for Sparta and hatred of Thebes, digression on Phlius, a series of unconnected sketches, omissions xxxi-xxxiii: interpolated notices of Persian and Sicilian history xxxviii, 6, 8, 10, 24, 50, 52: chronology, cp. s. v.: MSS. of superior family lxxv, of inferior family lxxvii: editions lxxix.

Hellespont, corn trade of 314.

Helots, manumission of 336.

Hermocrates, obscurities as to life of 6, 8, 14.

I

Inscriptions: CIA. i. 27 b, p. 328: i. 59, p. 320: i. 140, p. 321: i. 188, p. xli, 32: ii. 6, p. 115: ii. 7, p. 115: ii. 8, p. 354: ii. 10 b, p. 354: ii. 11, p. 154: ii. 14, pp. 174, 355: ii. 14 b, pp. 1, lii, 174, 355: ii. 15, pp. 174, 208: ii. 16, p. 53: ii. 17, pp. lviii, lxiv, 172, 174, 215, 217, 225, 226, 241, 260: ii. 17 b, p. 174: ii. 18, p. 208: ii. 19, p. 208: ii. 38, p. 172: ii. 49, pp. lviii, lxiii, lxiv, 217: ii. 51, pp. lxxviii, 274, 276: ii. 52, p. 277: ii. 52 b c, pp. 277, 280: ii. 57 b, p. lxxi: ii. 161, p. 156: ii. 397,

p. 160: ii. 545, p. lx: ii. 830, pp. xlvii, 1, 156: ii. 831, p. 156: ii. 1678, p. 217: ii. 2084, p. xlvii: iv. 2, 1 b, p. 323: iv. 2, 830 b, p. 156.

CIG. i. 732, pp. lxiii, 198: i. 1569 a, p. 358: i. 1573, p. 358.

CIG. Sept. i. 2407, pp. 357, 358: i. 2408, pp. 357, 358.

Hicks' Manual 70, p. 154: 74 b, p. 183.

on coins, p. III.

Iphicrates: first mentioned 138: improves the efficiency of peltasts 141: destroys the Spartan mora 146: leaves Corinth 148, 163: at the Hellespont 167: replaces Timotheus in the command of the Athenian fleet, 229, 230: voyage to Corcyra 232: surprises Dionysius' ships 233: praised by Xenophon 235: recalled to Athens 243: Athenian general at Corinth 267: censured by Xenophon 267.

L

Leuctra: story of the battle of 247. Lucian: estimate of Xenophon as a historian x.

Lysander: sent as admiral to Asia 20, 319: victory at Notium 320: organizes oligarchical clubs in Ionia 25, 40: sent as secretary to Asia 41: victory at Aegospotami 42: sets up harmosts and decarchies 46: besieges Athens and Samos 47, 48: enters Athens 48, 325: captures Samos and returns to Sparta, 53: supports the request of the Thirty for a Spartan garrison 55: hated by king Pausanias 73: procures Agesilaus' accession to the Spartan throne 99: instigates Agesilaus to conduct an Asiatic campaign 103: arrogance and humiliation 105: organizes (?) a conspiracy against Agesilaus 113, 142: slain at Haliartus 115: impartiality of Xenophon towards xxiv.

M

- Mantineia : hostility to Sparta 148 : *συννοικισμός* of, 178, 180 : attacked by Sparta 179, lviii : split up into four villages 181 : renewed *συννοικισμός* 255 : at war with Sparta 257 : refuses to touch the Olympic treasure 298 : decides to resist the Thebans 300 : battle of 306.
 Marcellinus : allusion to the Hellenica 12.
 Mure : estimate of Xenophon as a historian xi.

N

- Naxos, date of the battle of lxiv.
 Nemea, numbers at the battle of the 125.
 Niebuhr : estimate of Xenophon as a historian x.
 Nisaea, loss of, by Athens xxv, 13, 317.

O

- Olympiads, interpolation of, in the Hellenica xxxvi, xxxvii.
 Olympic victors, mention of, by Herodotus and Thucydides xxxvi, lxxvii.
 Olynthus, origin of the confederacy 181 : Spartan expedition against, 184 : surrender of 193 : date lx, lxxii.
 Orchomenus in Boeotia : hostility to Thebes 113 : revolts from Thebes 131 : destruction of, by Thebes xxxiii, 301.

P

- Patroclides, amnesty of 316.
 Peloponnesian League, organization of 349 : end of 353.
 Pelopidas, part played by, in the liberation of Thebes 196 ff. : in Thessaly 277, 279 : envoy to the Persian court 279.
 Pharnabazus, in league with the Peloponnesians 3 : aids the Peloponnesians after Cyzicus 6, 310 :

comes to terms with the Athenians 14 : murders Alcibiades 61 : jealous of Tissaphernes 85 : truce with Dercylidas 90 : persuades Artaxerxes to attack the naval power of Sparta 92, 103 : at the battle of Cnidus 134 : together with Conon expels the Spartans from the Aegean 154 : at Corinth 134, 156 : marries Artaxerxes' daughter 173.

Phlius : keeps a holy truce 125 : attacked by Iphicrates 141 : varying relations with Sparta 181 : internal dissensions 190 : attacked by Sparta 190 : surrender to Agesilaus 192, and its date lxii : fidelity to Sparta 284 : attacked by the Argives and Sicyonians 284-288.

Plutarch : estimate of Xenophon as a historian x : compared with Xenophon xxxiv : account of the battle of Cyzicus 310 : of the liberation of Thebes 196 ff.

Polybius : estimate of Xenophon as a historian ix.

S

Socrates, at the trial of the generals 35, 331, 333.

Sparta : loses the whole Peloponnesian fleet at Cyzicus 410 B.C., 5 : recovers Coryphasium 409 B.C., 12 : aided by Cyrus 407 B.C., 17 : appoints Lysander admiral 21 : defeat at Arginusae 406 B.C., 28 : victory at Aegospotami 405 B.C., 43, 323 : sets up harmosts and decarchies 46, cp. 9 : capture of Athens 404 B.C., 49, cp. 61 : garrisons Athens to support the Thirty 55 : sends Lysander to support the Thirty 403 B.C., 73 : Pausanias of, reconciles parties at Athens 75 : hostile to Persia 400 B.C., 79 : champion of Greece 81, 279 : supreme over Ionian cities 279 : sends Thibron and Dercylidas against Persia 399 B.C., 82-

94: abolishes the decarchies, but retains her harmosts and garrisons 94, 104, 114: declares war against Elis 398 B.C., 95: disaffection of the allies 96, 104: policy of isolating the allies 97: conspiracy of Cinadon 396 B.C., 99: sends Agesilaus against Persia 396 B.C., 103: his campaigns 396, 395 B.C., 104-110, 118-122: declares war against Thebes 395 B.C., 113: victory at the Nemea 394 B.C., 126: defeat at Cnidus and loss of her maritime empire 130, 154, 350: indecisive victory at Coronea 132: war round Corinth 393-390 B.C., 134-148: efforts at peace 392 B.C., 158: renews the war in Asia 391 B.C., 159-170: destruction of mora by Iphicrates 390 B.C., 147: campaigns against Acarnania 389, 388 B.C., 149-151: invasion of the Argolis 152: negotiates a general peace through Antalcidas and the Persian king 387-386 B.C., 171-177, 353: once more commands the sea 173: punishes Mantinea 385 B.C., 179: political parties at 183: begins campaign against Olynthus 382 B.C., 184: seizes the Cadmea 186: surrender of Olynthus 379 B.C., 193: supremacy of 193: loss of the Cadmea 379-378 B.C., 195-204: affair of Sphodrias 378 B.C., 204-207: dissensions between Agesilaus and Cleombrotus 206: war against Thebes 209 ff.: reorganization of her confederacy 209, 352, cp. 184: disaffection of the allies 213, 214: naval defeat at Naxos 376 B.C., 216: naval defeat at Alyzia 375 B.C., 218: confesses her inability to help the Pharsalians against Jason 374 B.C., 220-223: makes peace with Athens 374 B.C., 225: renews war with Athens 374 B.C., 227: ill success at Corcyra 373 B.C., 231: makes peace with Athens,

&c., but excludes Thebes from the peace 371 B.C., 236, 240, 264: relations with her allies 241, 254, 255: sends Cleombrotus against the Thebans 243: defeat at Leuctra 371 B.C., 247: defence of, against the first Theban invasion 370-369 B.C., 261: faithful allies of 263, 284: revolt of the Helots, &c. 262, 284, 295: alliance with Athens 369 B.C., 270: loss of Messenia 276: Tearless Victory 368 B.C., 279: consents to her allies making a separate peace with Thebes 366 B.C., 293: alliance with Elis 365 B.C., 295: defence of, against the fourth Theban invasion 362 B.C., 303: contingent at the battle of Mantinea 307: refuses to consent to the general peace after the battle 309.

Population 335: Kings 336: Ephors 340: Assembly 341, 76, 95, 100, 220, 237: Admiralty 343, 9, 21, 25, 41: Secretary 346, 5: Army 347: Empire 349. Syracuse: aids the Peloponnesians 5, 6, 96, 172, 232, 273, 294.

T

Thebes: hostility to Athens 404 B.C., 49: friendly to the Athenian democrats 67, 73: receives Persian gold for use against Sparta 395 B.C., 111: alliance with Athens 111, 115: cause of the Corinthian War 112: Orchomenus revolts from 113: victory at Haliartus 115: at the battle of the Nemea 394 B.C., 126: activity of, in Thessaly 128: at the battle of Coronea 132: aims at supremacy over Boeotia 158: excluded from the Peace of Antalcidas 387-386 B.C., 175, 176, 356: the Cadmea seized by Phoebidas 382 B.C., 186: oligarchs at, send contingents to aid the Spartans against Olynthus 187: liberation of 379-378 B.C., 195-204: insti-

- gates Sphodrias to attack Piraeus 378 B. C., 204: alliance with Athens 208: defence of her territory against Agesilaus 209: successful resistance against a second invasion of Agesilaus 377 B. C., 212: so again against Cleombrotus 376 B. C., 214: instigates the Athenian naval expedition round the Peloponnesus 375 B. C., 217: victory at Tegyra 217: subdues the Boeotian states 219: threatens the Phocians 374 B. C., 219: negotiations with Jason of Pherae 222: harsh treatment of Plataea and Thespieae 236: excluded by Agesilaus from the Peace of 371 B. C., 241: victory at Leuctra 245-247: first invasion of the Peloponnesus at the invitation of the Arcadians 370-369 B. C., 258 ff.: foundation of Messene 267: second invasion of the Peloponnesus 369 B. C., 272: interference in Thessaly 277: aspires to the hegemony of Greece 279: fails to enforce the King's Peace 367 B. C., 281: third invasion of the Peloponnesus 282: appoints harmosts 282, 289, 299: friction with the Arcadians 366 B. C., 293: makes peace with Corinthians, Phliansians, &c. 293: activity of, in Thessaly and the Aegean 301: destruction of Orchomenus 363 B. C., 301: fourth invasion of the Peloponnesus 362 B. C., 304: battle of Mantinea 306-309: position in the Boeotian League 356.
- Theramenes: influence at Athens in 411 B. C., 312: in Euboea 4, 313: comes to Sestos from Macedonia 4: as trierarch, ordered to rescue the drowning sailors at Arginusae 406 B. C., 29: accuses the generals before the Assembly, 334: not prosecuted after the trial of the generals 334: rejected as general 405 B. C., 322: sent as envoy to Lysander 404 B. C., 48, 49, 324: negotiates peace with Sparta 324: chosen one of the Thirty, quarrels with Critias 56: nicknamed Cothurnus 59: accused of treachery by Critias 60: executed 64: character and policy 65.
- Thrasybulus: in Thrace 411 B. C., 4: in Thasos 410 B. C., 8, 17: elected general 407 B. C., 17, 318: fortifies Phocaea 22: as trierarch ordered to rescue the drowning sailors at Arginusae 406 B. C., 29: takes no part in the trial of the generals 33: exiled by the Thirty 61: seizes Phyle 404 B. C., 67: enters Athens 403 B. C., 76: in command of the Athenian contingent at Haliartus 395 B. C., 116: sails to the Hellespont 390 B. C.: aspires to re-establish the Athenian empire 161, 354: slain at Aspendus 389 B. C., 162: date of his death lv.
- Thucydides: relation of the Hellenica to, xv: chronological system xxxvi: on the confusions of the official year xxxv: mentions Olympic victors xxxvi: praise of the Athenian constitution of 411 B. C., 312.
- Timaeus: first historian to reckon by Olympiads xxxvii.
- Tissaphernes: policy in the Peloponnesian War 3, 21: arrests Alcibiades 3: formerly accused by Hermocrates at Lacedaemon 7: superseded by Cyrus 21: for his services against Cyrus, made commander-in-chief of all Asia west of the Halys 81: jealous of Pharnabazus 85, cp. 3: truce with Dercylidas 94: executed by Tithraustes as a traitor 101.

X

- Xenophon: *events in the Life of* lxxx: leader of Cyreians 91: in Asia Minor 107: accompanies Agesilaus xxx: at Coronea 132:

- moves from Scillus to Corinth
 xx: at Corinth 304: death of his
 son Gryllus 305.
- As a historian, cp. 'Hellenica':
carelessness 136, 139: *comments*
on events or persons xviii, xix,
 65, 70, 83, 167, 181, 193, 234,
 235, 243, 267, 284, 302, 309:
composition, manner of xiv, xx,
 xxxiii: *estimates of*, as a his-
 torian, ancient ix, x, modern x,
 xi: *evidence*, personal observation
 xix, xxvi, xxvii, xxx, xxxiii, 27,
 116, 227: *hearsay* 116, 189, 199,
 227, 251, 253, 278, 299: *im-*
partiality xxiv, xxv, xxviii, xxxiii,
 50, 164, 174, 205, 209, 246, 267;
 cp. *infr.* 'partiality': *interests*,
 personal, xxiii, xxix; little, in
 naval matters xxix, xxxii: *modesty*,
 80, 91, 305: *obscurities in his*
narrative, xxii, 3, 16, 21, 26, 61,
 109, 126, 129, 134, 136, 145, 149,
 216, 276, 277, 306, 308: *omissions*,
 xviii, xxi, xxii, xxv, xxvii, xxix,
 xxxi, xxxii, 25, 52, 54, 71, 94,
 117, 123, 128, 134, 165, 186, 196,
 209, 215, 217, 243, 255, 267, 276,
 279, 282, 301, 302: *partiality*,
 for oligarchy 234, 180, 181, 187,
 298, 300; for Sparta xii, xv, xxx,
 12, 47, 205, 217, 242, 246, 267;
 against Thebes xii, xxx, 279;
 against Thibron 83: *piety*, 195,
 243, 293, 297; notices of sacrifices
 87, 98, 99, 104, 106, 113, 119,
 127, 131, 133, 144, 151, 152, 153,
 164, 176, 191, 257: *relation to*
other historians, Arist. 'Aθ. πολ.
 63, 72; Thucydides xiii, xvi:
statistics as to the use of words
 xiv, xviii, xxiv: *truthfulness* xxx,
 xxxiv.

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